INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE ON FORESTS

An enquiry
into the worlds of
Kuttia Kondhs & Saoras
of Orissa, India

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AN ENQUIRY INTO THE WORLDS OF KUTTIA KONDHS & SAORAS OF ORISSA (INDIA)

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Dedicated to
The People, The Adivasis whose life-style, tradition
inspired us to write this Book.

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PREFACE

Three types of people inhabit Orissa - Aryans, Dravidians and Austrics. Among these Aryans are recent, whether they came from outside India or not. The literal translation of the word Adivasi, is Adi first, Vasi - inhabitant. Hence, in that light both the Dravidians as well as the Austrics are Adivasis or may be a hybrid from amongst the two that has evolved in between

In Orissa 62 categories of people have been named Adivasis and have been so recognised by the Government. According to the Census Operations their number is more than 3 millions and they constitute 23% of the total population of Orissa. Some people are of the opinion that the percentage is more. But all agree that they decidedly constitute a bulk of our population and their living are a deciding factor of our economy, social life and culture. In Orissa, Adivasis constitute the majority in several districts like Mayurbhanj, Phulbani, Koraput, Rayagada, Malkangiri, Keonjhar, Kalahandi etc., and Adivasis constitute more than half of population in as many as 118 community centre Blocks of Orissa. The background of the language, literature, culture and tradition and the evolution of its history started from the Adivasis.

But in probabilities, though the word Adivasi means "the first inhabitant", the word itself is not very old and is of recent origin. In the Indian epics they were known in various words like Sabara, Pulinda, Alasi, Nishada, Kirata etc., and are also an interesting matter for study. The Kondhs, are regarded as one of the ancient amongst the tribes, but the Kondhs, in that name, do not find a place in the epics. Perhaps, the earliest mention of a Kondh is Anu in whose name and his rebellion a place called Anugul has been named. Anu (the name of the Kondh leader) and Gol (Rebellion) stands for Angul while from the name of a Sabara Dhenka, the place Dhenkanal originates. Probably during the British days, it was "discovered" that very many groups existed in several names, in the category of the broad name tribes and they were named officially as tribes or aboriginals. The word tribes

originates from the term *tribus* in Latin, which defines a class amongst the early Romans, a sect of people bound by traditions'. Article 342 of the Indian Constitution defines the Adivasis and thus is the new classification of it.

Normally, Adivasis have the following special characteristics for which they are known.

1. Unchanged cultural spectrum arising out of long cultural and geographical segregation.

2. Limited world-vision.

3. Peculiar psychological outlook.

4. Transparent independence to cross the traditional life-style.

5. Small and compact social organisation.

6. Familiarity limited to the sect.

7. Belief and loyalty in supernatural powers, witchcraft, traditional customs.

8. Absence of caste division; but have their own sub-division.

9. Self-reliant or fully autonomous economic situation.

The tribals have their own perceptions and identity the universe in traditions, being the origin of all beliefs and human values. That also determines his living, interaction, social organisation, customs and beliefs. The culture of Orissa, like any land, owes its heritage to the Adivasis. Lord Jagannath is only one and the most significant symbol of its tradition. The Adivasis vary both in sect and culture.

Their number varies. Vary do also their modes of living. While some of them are still in the stage of food-gatherers or hunters others have descended to the slopes of the hills or to the valleys for cultivation. One can find amongst them the spectrum of a long period of human civilisation - from the nomads to the settled agriculturists, from absolute nudity to wearing dresses. Broadly, they can be divided into hunters and food-gatherers, animal tenders, Podu cultivators, plains cultivators, industrial and mine labourers. Language-wise they can be divided into Dravidians, Austric (Munda) and Indo-Aryans. Similarly, the languages and

dialects of the tribals are :

1. Munda - Bhumija, Birhor, Bonda, Didayi, Gadaba, Ito, Juang. Khadia, Korku, Koda, Mundari, Parenga etc.

2. Dravid - Gondi, Kanda, Kui, Kubi-Kondh, Kisan, Koya, Kolami, Naiki, Ovaon, Olari, Parji, Peny etc.

3. Indo-Aryans - Bathudi, Bhatri, Bhumiya, Bhuyan, Desia, Halbi, Jharia, Kurumali, Sadri, Saunti.

The Adivasis have a very rich oral tradition, enriched by epics, myths, legends, magic (Black magic,), witchcraft etc. Some written scripts have been created from Olchiki of the Santals or the Sorang sompeng of the Saoras. But it is the rich oral tradition, arising out of their interaction with nature, and plants and forests that has drawn national and international attention. The Rg. Veda, the Adi text of mankind, starts with Agni, the power and the plants. Man started worshipping the plant, the plant that gave him food, shelter and medicine. Attachment with the forest hence became economical, social and emotional. Literature, Rhymes developed around plants and forests. Man identified himself with the forest and identified God as well with the forest.

That was hour zero. Time flows on, Civilisation marched, sometimes in Seven League Boots. Yet man remained loyal and attached to the forest. This gave birth to a plethora of literature, including the Ramayana, immortal rhymes of which is said to have originated at the sight of the killing of a consummating couple of doves by a Sabara. Myths, legends, stories have evolved among the Adivasis and quite naturally associated with the forests.

Their songs, stories have attracted many scholars who have taken the pains to collect them and sometimes translate them into English.

Their life-style and thoughts also have inspired writers and immortal novels and stories have been the result of it, enriching our literature on the one hand and developing a respect and appreciation of the Adivasis, their tradition, love and lyrics on the other.

With the march of the civilisation two things developed. Firstly, the foot-steps of the civilisation affected their lives, life-styles and secondly, their tradition, their literatures getting affected in the process. There is an argument in favour of keeping the Adivasis as they are, to keep their life-style and traditions intact as they

were. Others pooh-pooh it with the argument, as powerful as the first one, that one can not keep them away from the mainstream for all times to come and it is high-time for the development of the country as well as theirs that they become really equal with the rest of the world.

We are caught in between. The Adivasis grew with the forest, amidst the forest. Everything of theirs, their lives, economy, culture, tradition, grew round the forests. With the increase in the number of Adivasis dwelling in the top of the forests, they were forced to come down the hills and the food-gatherer became the land cultivator Adivasi. They "cleared" the forests out of necessity but could not stick to one piece of land, due to the lack of knowledge of modern cultivation and lack of amenities, resulting in what is called the shifting cultivation or Podu (arising out of the word "burning"). The denudation of forests started with the Podu cultivation on the one hand and the predatory march of the civilization on the other. His links : emotional, social and cultural links with the forest, started getting disturbed resulting in a consequential loss of the past tradition, lores, myths. ..

A number of "researches" have been made on the Adivasis, then remaining in intractable areas. They enriched the libraries to be followed with more researches and but very few of the researchers lived with them, knew their language and could become a part of them, to develop a real appreciation and respect for them and their culture.

The present publication results from an attempt to study two among the tribes - the Kondhs (specially the Kuttia Kondhs) and the Saoras (both Lanjia and Suddha Saoras). They cover two districts of Orissa State namely Phulbani and Rayagada. The team has tried to record the events - from the possible zero hour when man developed the powers of perception and memory till almost the end of the twentieth century.

Dr. K. Seeland came to Orissa to fall in love with the tribes and their traditions and guided the research. the GTZ, SFIT (ETH), Zurich were kind enough to provide necessary assistance and the Council of Cultural Growth & Cultural Relations became the nodal agency, to organise the team and the product is this book.

The scholars are neutral. They are recorders of time. They have recorded things they saw, as they heard and as they perceived.

Let the facts speak for themselves.

THE SOCIO-CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF RESEARCH FOR DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

By
Klaus Seeland

LOCAL KNOWLEDGE AND THE LEGITIMACY OF RESEARCH

Local knowledge matters must in the primary production sector of a society. The objectives of forestry research in the perspective of an applied social science for development cooperation is to document and analyse the indigenous local knowledge of selected rural and tribal communities particularly as far as plants, trees and forests are concerned. Age-old knowledge and patterns of a great variety of forest-related life are considered to be valuable sources of knowledge for some nowdays' problems. To collect and complie social and cultural data covering the relationship between man and plants, trees and forest in tribal and forest dwelling as well as in non-tribal communities of the areas under investigation are the objectives of the research that has been conducted in Orissa over the last three years. It aims at inquiring into the worldview and cosmology of tribal communities as well as into the local traditions of the non-tribal settled population as far as their attitudes towards nature in general and their respective local environments (e.g.plants, trees,forest and forest dwelling animals) in particular are concerned. A framework for a comparative study of rural traditions of work and knowledge and environmental perceptions of villagers and forest dwelling communities in the light of deforestation is therefore needed including the development of an appropriate methodology as one of the results of the ongoing research. this study of tribal forest dwellers' traditions of work. and their development under living-conditions of increasing scarcity due to continuing deforestation is a focus of interest as well as the tribals' ideas of preservation and conservation within their notion of environment. The ideas and attitudes of local people on deforestation and ethnobotanical aspects of socially useful plants are further topics of interest to

cover phenomena of environmental knowledge. Peoples' Perceptions of deforestation and changes in the world of plants and animals and the role and significance of forests under conditions of changes in the environment shape their world-view and the future of their forests likewise. The impact of deforestation on their social and cultural institutions and values, on their ideas of preservation and conservation will influence their attitudes towards forest management as a means to survive in settings of growing scarcities. As far as their future outlook on indigenous ways of forest management is concerned, development cooperation can only be of any help in this process where it tries to reach out for the roots of a culturally defined cvonsciousness and local concern for the social, physical and spiritual aspects of environment. A legitimate approach for research and cooperation under these conditions is to work with socially accepted and politically aware bodies who are able to define and pursue their objectives within the local contexts. Technical experts in this setting are so to speak all "outsiders" be it from within India or from abroad. Legitimacy of research in remote areas, where self-sufficient communities live is not to be taken for granted, because it paves the way for the commerical >opening<of an area which has more often than not a negative impact on the environment and the people of this region. However, modernisation is spreading and hence research has to shoulder responsibility whereever it is confronted with questions of survival of so-called >marginal people<in>marginal areas<.

TODAY'S DEMANDS FOR RESEARCH AND COOPERATION

The last development decade was strongly emphasizing the community participation approach as a means to secure the sustainability of development projects and programmes thus helping to make development efforts become more a social process than a purely technical approach. To involve local communities in development programmes by cooperation and motivation and setting them in a position to become responsible beneficiaries of activities they participate in is a major goal of development policy. However, it had always been dificult to elaborate methodological guidelines to achieve better results through an improved personal intercultural communication. Cooperation with and motivation of local communities require personnel that is not only acquainted with the respective social and natural surroundings of the area it is working in, but tries to get an insight of its cultures. As long as foreign technical experts are working closely together with communities, user groups etc., they have to face religious and ethnic realities being part and parcel of their technical activities. It is not meant that the technical professionals of today should become tomorrow's ethnologists or Sociologists. However, they should not ignore any longer the local knowledge of people but should rather face a new type of assignment which is to be a challenge to a narrow

technical view of development cooperation.

On the one hand cooperation between social and technical experts has to be intensified but on the other hand it will be the technical expert who has to identify the social and cultural dimension as a key to contribute to the success of the work and to detect where he or she can make proper use of a social scientist's expertise. He or she would know about crucial points where project activities get stuck due to probably non-technical reasons. Who else might be in a position to give hints why for instance some sections of a local community would obstruct to participate in a particular program or activity, would not respond to suggested measures etc.? Interdisciplinary teamwork of technical and social experts is hardly possible without an intermediary link. There is a demand for socio-cultural expertise focussing core problems and going into detailed studies being in close touch with technical colleagues, and the local people.

Nowadays, extension in rural areas is said to be much more a process of mutual learning than an one way transfer of scientific knowledge and an application of advance technology in an economically underdeveloped setting. Extension is client-oriented, meant to transform participation based policies to the community level. People in rural areas of the Third World, however, are most difficult clients to reach. Here intervention into the vicious circle of poverty and environmental degradation seems utmost necessary but often requires long term engagement, patience, mutual trust and goodwill as well as knowledge about the lifestyle, values and notions of the natural and supernatural world of the common people. To acquire a sociocultural background tha enables an expert, foreign or local to do effective and sustainable work, is not only desirable but will become a prerequisite for a successful development cooperation.

THE 'BASIC NEEDS' OF EXPERTS

Experts who are educated and trained in the tradition of Western modern science of whatever colour, race or nationality they may be - generally experience to be quite for away not only from the everyday life but even more from the world view of the common people be it of their own or of an alien culture. They get their know-how from schools, high-schools, universities and the like ; all being institutions of highly formalized education and training based on a scientific world view. Since the enlightenment in 18th century Europe has separated a technical/ secular from a religious world view, the gap between European and non-European cultures and traditions, where mostly an undivided holism contradicts the notions of a modern one-world theory, has become remarkably deep and essential. A technical expert is thus an alien person in a multifold sense. How can he or she

transgress these boundaries between him or her to get into contact with that 'new and unknown' world of tradition ?

Historically, an expert's task was normally a clearly defined technical assignment to transform traditional modes of production, of resource management and use of the environment in general to raise output figures, employment and per capita income. The laws of social change, through mainly as dependent variables of technological change, were claimed to be universal. They had work for two centuries in the West-why should they fail in the Third World? The role of technical experts was logically the same in the West as elsewhere.

The turn of the tide came in the 1970s when many of the fundamental failures with technology transfer to the Third World led to the ideas of intermediate and appropriate technologies for the undeveloped countries. Still the transfer of advanced and even high technology continues and contributes to regional and social imbalances in those countries to which Western technology and know-how is exported.

As far as development cooperation is concerned, it was more or less realized that apart from conventional Western technology and expertise a new type of expert would be necessary as an intermediary to act in the widening technological gap between North and South. This situation gave birth to the idea that extension for small entrepreneurs of the so-called informal sector, for rural farmers and fishers is relevant. An extension design for those tasks was never really shaped due to the difference of target groups and geographical areas where solutions-to-measurement are needed. The identification of 'basic needs' for experts and training to know particular cultures and societies better, was left to individual initiative. Since experts have got advanced technical education but no or very few intercultural communication training, they are very often left alone with their adaptation problems.

It is essential that apart from their standard professional know-how experts should be aware of :

1. the role of his/her professional status and its rank in the local society
2. the existence of multiple codes and values in the local society
3. the relevance of customs and religious beliefs

One's role and professional status as a foreign expert can be high and low at the same time in a non-European society. For the local religious and spiritual leader it is considered as being rather low, because sometimes they are convinced

that technical know-how does not contribute to the spiritual salvation of people. Common people might consider it to be very high, because the expert's prestige gains from the affiliation with the government and his power to mibilize financial resources. Reflection about how others see experts, what they might hope or even expect are essential in any encounter.

The existence of multiple codes and values in a local society has to be acknowledged as another basic need for an expert to 'survive' in an aline social and cultural environment. Multiple codes (SABERWAL, 1982) denote different layers within a particular culture or subculture of a society referring to particular sections of the population (caste-people, nomads, tribals,etc.) or phases of history (traditional society, colonialism, liberation from foreign rule etc.). All these codes are simultaneously valid in their respective sphere of reference. A code is like a currency to which a certain value is ascribed by an economic reference system and may not always be convertible to others. Within a society it may be that not all members know about these codes - sometimes not even the members of the respective group where a code is current know about them. Furthermore, codes are of different importance. In an argument for instance, a religious notion may be of utmost importance to one section of the population, whereas others would not feel concerned at all. The impact of this multitude will certainly be puzzling for any expert but to know about it will surely contribute to his/her awareness and may be it might decrease the frustration of a culture he/she 'would never understand'.

Values refer to codes and their use and effectiveness make only sense in connection with the referred code. Religious or ethic values for instance may not be very dominant in an economic context, but if they appear in a discussion it might be that by bringing these values in, the discussion has been transferred to another level and at this level economic points of view would not matter at all. This example shows that it is not only important what codes are used but who decides why to switch to another reference system. Status and power, codes and values and last but not least the rhetoric of local leaders decide about the use of codes.

Customs and religious beliefs are generally underestimated dimensions of society and culture, because experts are often alienated from their own customs and religion. Customs as well as religious beliefs are salient features of traditional and transitional societies. They are the spheres where ethnic identity is performed, where social and cultural patterns have been and still are confirmed, when colonialism subdued autonomous societies and where the challenges of modernity have not yet been able to destroy these fundaments. On the contrary, there are lots of revivalist movements to reestablish or strengthen the powers of tradition. Customs and religious beliefs belong to the basic or archaic layer of the traditional

code of a society. The more is known about it the better for the success of a joint development effort. The expert who shows interest for customs and religion will most probably be looked upon with more esteem by his hosts.

THE SUBTLENESS OF CULTURE AND SPACE

Culture and space are highly interwoven elements in any society. In traditional and transitional societies, agriculture still structures the life and values of these societies to a remarkable extend. Agricultural space, including forests, pastures and rivers can generally be regarded as claimed areas in a natural and supernatural sense. They might be taken as a cosmography of what is relevant in the lifes of rural dwellers. All that matters religiuosly and is also of practical importance, is to be found in this cosmography that might be considered as an archetype of postneolithic human existence. The physical space which is inhabited by agrarian people is very well known to them and has multifold dimensions which are equally valid for them : a functional, being an economic resource; an aesthetic, being a source of affectionate feelings for a beloved landscape and a ritual meaning, where folklore and religion distinguish between the sacred and the profane. Every squareyard is such defined as belonging to a particular reference system. Whatsoever space is concerned, the claiming of tenure rights and general customary law to use common property resources is regulated by social norms. Space in an agrarian social setting should never be taken as one-dimensional. It should be recognized as a subtle configuration of natural and supernatural elements.

Especially in transitional societies, where modernity (whatever it may mean in this context) is often highly appreciated and the supernatural qualities of space are hidden from the outsider's eyes or their existence is simple denied. However modern an agrarian society pretends to be and presents itself as a rational system, outsiders should be cautious. Peasants usually have a deep feeling of affiliation with supernatural powers who - provided they are properly worshipped - contribute to guarantee their subsistence and salvation. It is a sort of symbiosis in which the peasant, the earth, the weather and the supernatural beings such as gods and spirits matter. The subtle network of culture and space makes every one - dimensional intervention by an outsider a doubtful enterprise.

Any extension is a crossultural experience. Thus out of the vast field of holistic experience of rural peasants parts are selected and given prominent attention by experts who on the one hand work in a similar field, i.e. agriculture, but live in another world. The subtleness of what seems to be common experience applied to a common field of activity might be very often misleading. Perceptions and notions of devotion to supernatural powers, the will of ancestors etc. will

ultimately decide what will be practised and believed. HARRIS (1974) shows that, however well known indigenous rules of behaviour are to an expert, anybody would ever be in a position to predict how people will act (not to speak of what they think). It is a very common thing within extension that rural people often agree to experts advices but would rarely commit themselves to act accordingly. This might be so out of a feeling of responsibility to the local gods, to the ancestors or out of a deep-rooted loyalty to their peers or landlords. The earth and its yields is the fate of the living and also the deceased generation.

One more reason for local people not to respond to extension programmes is poverty. People simply cannot afford economically to participate in activities that require land and financial resources, however modest they may be. Agricultural land, being a space of omnipresent cultural values, is not always easily available for innovative practices. Thus culture preserves a vital resource that might otherwise be endangered by "trial and error" experiments. For centuries culture and human habitat have become an interwoven network of practical and numinous features which are essential for survival and cultural persistence.

The existence of many cultures within a rather small area shows that there are many possible ways of cultural patterns in the same or similar human habitat. There is no determinism of natural surroundings shaping cultures of different origin in the same way. Many examples in ethnography show great variations between cultures under same natural conditions. Therefore it would be inadequate to approach cultures in a standardized way as far as methodology in extension is concerned. Ethnicity has to be reflected in extension work where the consideration of the specific network of culture and environment matters. It is the subtleness of the respective cultures that requires particular attention whenever approached from outside. Extention in transcultural context is and will always be work-to-measurement asking for individual competence in communication and much personal commitment for the concerned culture.

THE EXPERT'S SENSIVITY - A DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVE

The contemporary literature on extension emphasizes the increasing importance of "learning from local people" as a basic prerequisite for appropriate extension work (e.g. SIM/HILMI, 1987, p.4ff.). COMPTON for instance favours an approach "to identify the range of indigenous knowledge and current farming systems and, using institutionally organized knowledge systems, to build on them features which would make them more productive or less harmful to the environment" (ibid). Such an approach, however, is as reasonable as it is difficult to achieve. As we could see above, no culture is an open book and to identify

indigenous knowledge is a very difficult and time-consuming task. Apart from that the question raises, whether indigenous knowledge is compatible with purely technical knowledge systems. It is an important question whether and under what conditions the indigenous knowledge of a culture is compatible with that of other cultures, as far as the possibility of its transfer of is concerned. (NASR, 1981).

Active intervention into an alien knowledge system and making use of traditional know-how in a semi-modern or traditional context implies the possibility to be trapped in taking surface phenomena for indigenous knowledge.

What appears to be a useful "bridge" between both the culture of knowledge might turn out to be a painful misunderstanding or even an offence to the host culture. It is hazardous to take something out of the many "black boxes" of an alien culture and take it for granted that it would be more or less the same as in one's own. In an alien culture it is essential for any expert to realize his or her distance to this culture and to see that sensivity is necessary to really be able to learn what is going on. When an expert is present, local people will rarely behave as usual but instead keep their beliefs and knowledge to themselves. Sensivity might be a means to cultivates one's ability to communicate about indigenous notions of reality. To open one's "doors of perception" to let other realities in, whether they would fit into the project feature or time frame or not, is essential. Openmindedness of course, is something hardly anybody would not agree to, yet in an expert's position, i.e. under stress and time pressure etc. it is sometimes hard to maintain.

What still remains, is the question of adaptability between the expert's knowledge and the indigenous. Provided it is not equivalent, i.e. it is of a different quality : full of magic, belief in supernatural powers and ultimately longing for spiritual salvation, it will be hard to cope with at an institutional level. Anyway, here are chances for the expert's personal potentials and abilities. His or her virtuosity will decide what communication is possible at what level of knowledge. Since an expert tries to know at what level of perception he/she has to direct the attention to, it will help him/her to avoid misunderings. This way there might be a chance to figure out levels of compatibility and incompatibility. At the level of technical know-how, cooperation between local people and the expert has all chances to be fruitful but at the level of spiritual knowledge he or she would hardly be a match. Technical knowledge, its rationalism and intellectualism is an outcome of the enlightenment and has since two hundred years reduced the manifold dimensions of existence.

Individualism, which is another characteristics of modern societies, may be taken as the social equivalent to the of different spheres of reality at the cultural

level. However, individualism can be a chance for development cooperation to cope with the challenges of extension in rural areas. We claimed earlier that extension is work-to-measurement which requires individuals to work in a team. Being an individual who is exposed to an alien culture, an expert is in a position to learn from another culture and to integrate the acquired knowledge into his development work as far as possible. Incompatibility of different levels of knowledge might thus be transformed in his/her mind individually. This will certainly have its effects on the cultural setting he/she is coming from and may possibly lead to a reintegration and re-valorization of worldviews and values that have long since been lost for the "technician's mind".

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KUTTIA KONDHS

VOLUME - I

1

MYTHS, LEGENDS, COSMOLOGY AND WORLD VIEWS OF KUTTIA KONDHS

Who came to the world first ? Kuttia Kondhs or we - the modern man ? The question remains unanswered unless we refer to the time which unfolded the events. The time has recorded all that happened in the prehistoric periods, also it knows all that is happening. The gap between what happened in remote past and what is happening today seems to be too big a spectrum. If there would not have been the memory, we would not have conceived of time when man started memorising the events and passed on from generation to generation, the events possibly could be recorded in peoples memory. Unpredictable is the birth of time; unseen is the walk of time; but the go of life in the earth, the birth of life on the earth, the upbringing and growth of societies of different life forms, though not unpredictable yet are not exactly unseen. What provokes to our thought at the instance is that who then documented the walk of time and the milestones that the time came across or passed by.

Human society is a precious gift of some unseen creation. Tributes are always made to the unseen power, the almighty, the omnipresent, omnipotent and omniscient entity, who is behind to have made it. Biological theories are many. Biological theories also sometimes match with the spiritual thoughts. Spiritual thoughts are in most ways based upon the creative ability of spontaneous composition of ethos and sentiments. But in any case biological theories that are made out through generations to explain the evolution of life on the earth has not lost sight of spiritual thoughts, ethos and sentiments of human societies. It, therefore, seems appropriate of M.Vannucci's remarks in 1993 "Ethics is the body of Biology and Biology is the soul of Ethics" It seems as if Vannucci wanted to say that the ethics has come out of Man's mind. But who is the Man ? The man itself is a component of Biological structure. Hence 'Bios' is the soul of man who has made Ethics. In this regard it is right to say that Biology is the soul of Ethics.

Time and Man, Ethics and Biology are intimately associated with evolutionary theories. Time is Ethics. Man is Biology. Here the aim gets confronted with puzzles. How then man could make Ethics or how could Biology stand without time. To make it simple, who came first Biology or Time? No direct approach is possible to unravel the problem. Rather it becomes complicated when we glance through it. Time is immortal and so also Biology. Periods of time minutes and seconds or fractions are mortal as man is mortal. Time also dies and then it is named as past, so also Man dies and becomes spirit. But time flows on, it has a continuity as man maintains its continuity of creation. So deeds of Time in the society of human beings describes the ethics and the *Man in Past* describes the epics.

It is probably right to say that the deceased 'Man' who is converted to a 'spirit' recorded the walk of 'Time'. The spiritual connotations of 'spirits' are most often followed by the enlisting human societies. Time is the Being, man is the Being. Difference between the two is sometimes broad, and sometimes narrow. The broad spectrum takes into account an intermediate factor, a miraculous process of creation, the precursor of which is the 'Nature' and their interrelations make the whole story of life on earth, of what is life, of how the societies evolved, the birth of plants, animals and all that we see now. Man has dissected the Nature to describe its vivisectional view. Time stood as witness. Time was also there when Man jotted down or orally transmitted his findings of what is there inside and outside the nature. In fact, Man documented the morphology and anatomy of Nature, described the different parts seen in the morphological and anatomical features, described their functions, made the parts recognised to the followers, made the parts recognised to the followers of 'Man' in course of 'Time'. Different parts of the 'Nature' like Sun, Moon, Earth, Air, Sky, Fire, Star, Planet, Plants, Trees, Animals came into being. The functional aspects of these beings in later times were recorded in forms of Epics and Myths, Legends. In this approach Man tried to give a mention of how all these things are operated, how powerful these things are, how should man treat them and above all what those 'being' contribute to Man for his possible survival on the earth.

Putting it straight, we are at the moment investigating, trying to decode, the language of that pre-historic man. It has been always interesting and educative to study the themes, meanings in the epics, myths and legends, study the guidelines made in those texts for Man, its implications on the practical life processes of man. Larger epics like Bible, Vedas, Ramayana, Mahabharat etc.,in their concised versions record about the Man - Nature relations. In later times, the legacy holders of these texts posed themselves as groups of higher social forms or simply developed societies.

We came across a man primitive in nature; also known as a tribal, an aboriginal. He is different from us. He has a different mode of life style and

livelihood, a distinguished type of costumes, a specialised type of habitat at the foot of the hill. He escorted us to his village, a village with many houses in two rows. We begged his introduction. He said he is a *Kuenja*. We met his wife and asked her introduction. She said she is a *Kuiladu*. The Kuenja and Kuiladu jointly are known as Kuttia Kondhs. Kondhs make a large population among tribes. The Kuttia Kondh lives in a hut. The hut is a mud walled, thatched house. The floor of the hut is about two feet at a lower level than the village road. He describes his low levelled floor as Kutti. He maintains it because he lives in a Kutti, so he is known as Kuttia. That is his identification. Kutti is the main index of his type - Kuttia Kondh. We turned back, we wanted to know about his daily life. He said it is running in the same way as their '*deranja* - senior Kuttia people taught them. We consulted a *deranja* and asked him the same question. He stated, his *dukelanja* was doing so. *Dukelanja* denotes the ancestral man. While *Dukeli* means ghost.

Finally, the matters went to the ancestral spirits. Ancestral spirits were also living beings once upon a time. they were loving in a manner abiding to their predecessors. So predecessors are always referred to have made the working principles of the Kuttia society. Everything that is now observed in the Kuttia Kondhs society is a transmission of rules, regulations, rights, wrongs, taboos, beliefs, patterns of life styles, social and cultural traditions from the predecessors to the successors.

The present *Kuenja* is the legacy holder of his predecessors. He came to the earth through the processes of heredity. He followed the specific pattern of life style as his predecessors were doing. But he is unable to give an idea of the history of their social evolution. Those whom he knows as the predecessors took birth in the same way as the present one. But the knowledge pertaining to the livelihood patterns and social relations passed on and on through generations. No written literature is available in which the history of Kuttia society is recorded. The only reference known is the oral tradition that is preserved through generations.

The oral tradition is nothing but all that a man tells about his history, upbringing, growth and development. Here we are concerned about a *Kuenja* and a *Kuilada*. *Kuenja* and *Kuilada* are the terms that are born out of the word *Kui & Kuvi*. Kui or Kuvi is the name of the language they speak. The suffix - *enja* and - adu refers to the male being and the female being respectively. It is, therefore, right to say that the Kui speaking male being is the *Kuenja* and the Kui speaking female being is the *Kuiladu*. The Kuttia Kondh is branched out of the main tribe, Kondh. Mainly on account of their Kutti they are differentiated from the mainstream.

We are confronted with another question. Why do the Kuttia Kondhs make their houses at a lower level than the village road? Or to say directly why do they make Kutti. The *deranja* was asked about it. For, he is an experienced man. He is

at his old age and he knows the wholesome tradition. He is the man who holds all the traditional knowledge. He attributed time to have seen everything that happened. He has not seen the happenings or the time. But he knows all that he heard from his predecessors; all the social processes, all that is known about the evolution of the *Kuenja* and all the things that are now regarded as traditional or customary were recited by the predecessors in songs. The songs and tales are the only source referring to which the deranja can go back the hoary past.

Time to the *Kuenja* is sun (*weda*). For, time is measured by the position of Sun in the sky. The morning is known as '*Laesi*', the mid day as '*Maleni*' and the evening as '*Miteni*' and night as '*Laa-angi*' '*Icheke wedate*' - means what is the time. The answer is like '*ra wedate*' meaning one O'clock. '*Icheke wedata*' thus means the position of the sun. This gave a sound idea to ask '*icheke wedate imu sate*' meaning 'at what time did you take birth'? He answered '*ina pui*'; meaning who knows. Then he referred to his mother who knew about his birth. Our next question was '*Icheke wedate inu grudu kuenja, Kuiladu satane*' meaning when did you all Kui speaking men, women took birth. The answer came, *Noa bachra kata* i.e. since many years. He referred to his myth. He pointed out then it was '*weda sile*' when Kuttia people took birth. Weda sile literally means 'Sun - less'. In our interpretation we interpret that then there was no sun and so to say no time which is understood as Zero time.

Hence the whole story of birth of Kuttia Kondhs goes back to the zero time, to the Sunless period, to the darkness. The story began with the birth of Kuttia Kondhs. The Time took birth with or after the Kuttia Kondhs. For, the Kuttia recorded the story when the time was zero. Time moved on with the Kuttias. Time is unseen but time is recorded - the *Kuenja* maintained, in their *Gaani* i.e. songs. The song details about the whole process of Kuttia birth and mode of myth.

Myths are of course, a powerful expression of the flow of time and the social events that come with time. Larger references of myths like the creation myths of higher societies are also initially composed in forms of songs. The Kuttias' have developed it like our myths as evolutionary theories. The creation myth is better understood as cosmogonical myths. Associated with myths are epics and legends. In all the cases myth, as it always has been, is an expression that points out the positive and negative sides of human action, concisely gives a guideline to the societies for a proper functioning and amply provokes the investigating mind to decide the codes made in the myth. Later on myths become a set of principles for societies to follow, a minimum agenda for societies to survive, a picturesque description of the patterns of livelihood, a description on the total well-being of the human beings and the societies. The Kuttia Kondhs have a series of traditional myths.

KUENJA - THE MYTH NARRATOR

When we attempted to record the time and to know about the time, the *Kuenja* was the greatest reference, the major source, the key informant and his understanding about the myth and the society obviously regards him as a resource person. The *Kuenja* is named by 'Lochan Jani' - an inhabitant of Burlubaru village of Belghar around which we roamed about to record the time that is flowing on since time immemorial. Lochan Jani is widely known in the area as a priest, as an astrologer, as a wizard, as a myth singer and a good story-teller. Above all he is amply feared by other folk for his art of converting man to a tiger or bear or a snake, not only in his village but also in villages around. He has a good name for his profession and miraculous art. Yet he is a social man. He has a very simple style of livelihood, is a good farmer and a good hunter also. He is quite amiable, helpful. We feel, that he is an authentic man.

Our *Kuenja* - Lochan Jani gave a short description about the types of songs and tales that are existing still in their society. Usually there are two songs having long description. Such songs are named as *Kui Gaani* and *Kapka Gaani*. Apart from these two songs many songs are there with short compositions. *Kui Gaani* is the myth of origin or creation myth of the present day Kuttia Kondhs. The *Kapka Gaani* is about a mythical hero whose name is concealed or not mentioned in the song. Thus *Kui Gaani* is their cosmogonical myth and *Kapka Gaani* is one epic. The short songs, tales and legends are not being touched now. Mentions about these will be found in the later chapters where parts of the songs, legends are described to make the information authentic and reliable.

In a nut-shell Lochan Jani described the cosmogonical myth, that all the Kuttia Kondhs took birth out of blue. It is impossible to narrate the whole story in too short a time. Because the song when sung in their social events takes seven days and seven nights continuously. The song is not in a written literature. He advised to participate in their socio-cultural events to know the whole song. Our participation in their socio-cultural events however, made us able to record the whole song in memory and then it was translated.

KUI GAANI : THE COSMOGONICAL MYTH

The *Kui Gaani* starts with '*Linganainjane Jananainjane*' which literally means that 'taking birth, getting covered'. So something is taking birth. Here something refers to human beings i.e. Kuttia Kondhs. Many a number of people are there under the earth. Narendali who has many other names like *Nerandi, Kapandali, Kapandi, Raniadu, Bendi-adu* is the supreme lady who has given birth to other people under the earth. The population pressure under the earth is maximum. Now they are searching for a way to come out of the underground. But

no way is there to come out. Only darkness prevails over the underground cells. Nerandali, the main character is confronted with problems. How to come out. How to place people on the earth. This is the bignning. People are under the earth. The underground is in complete darkness i.e. *weda silae* - lightless, sunless. So the time starts flowing since then. *Nerandali* contemplates how to help her followers to come out. This is the beginning of time, beginning of the thought. In the lines of the song - *'Edu itere, budhi itere. Inisatisi adine, Inisatisi Ranjine'* give the problem to *Nerandali*. The lines mean that Nerandali is thinking deeply how it will be alright, how it will be fit. Through the process of thinking knowledge comes or consciousness arises which in turn solves the problem of how to do, what to do, how it will be alright and so on.

Nerandali has many followers. She is being followed by a number of women named variously. *Srengel aji - Brabel aji, Sringuli aji - Gundeli aji, Palupuri - Datapuri, Tendeli aji - Mranjeli aji, Kuttimai - Kabadmai, Sareni Tali, Banjuri Tali, Rangeni tali - Paweritali, Kandra aba - warpu aba, Enguri aba - Sechkuri aba, Kutakadu - Lambikadu, Deheradu - Pejerada* and many after her who are in the way of searching for a way to come out on the earth. They all have taken birth under the earth at the same time or after Nerandali. All these names mentioned here are named in accordance with their professional skills based on the distribution of works.

Aji is the term that means to maternal grand mother, Aba refers to sister-in-law (Brother's wife) and Adu refers to woman. It has already been mentioned that male folks are suffixed by - *enja* and female folks by - *adu*. *Tali* refers to mother. Eia also means mother. The difference lies here that the child calls her mother as *Eia* but the child's mother is called by others as the child's *Tali*. Hence in the process of creation in the underground women of three different generations took birth. *Aji* makes one generation, *tali* is the second generation, *Aba* is the third generation. Since *Adu* is commonly used to describe women beings, it may be placed in any of the generations.

Srenguli aji is named after her cosmetic adornment with hearth black. That the Srenguli grand mother is polished with hearth black over her body. So is also Gundeli aji who is polished with ashes over her body. In the poetic version sometimes both are regarded as one with two different names.

Palupuri and Datapuri are also grand women. Palupuri derives the name from Palu meaning molar tooth. She is an old woman having only the molar tooth. Dutapuri is named after her big front tooth.

Foot notes *Edu - Thought : Budhi - Knowledge ; Adini - Right*
Edut itere - Thinking : Inisatisi - How ; Ranjine - Fit

Tendali grand mother has a hunch back 'Tende refers to hunch. So she is a hunch back woman. Mranjali grand mother is named after *Mranja* which refers to the pigeon chest like appearance. She walks with her chest sufficiently projected towards the front.

Kuttimai is an old woman who is efficient in making 'Kutti' - the traditional style of house making of Kuttia Kondhs. Kabadmai is the woman who makes Kabda i.e. the compost pits and puts the household wastes and garbages in the compost pits.

Sareni tali and Banjuri tali are regarded as the operating experts of Sareni and Banjuri respectively. As mentioned earlier Tali refers to mother. Sareni is a large porous bamboo vessel which is used to separate a mixture of two solid things of varied size.

Rangan tali and Paber tali are also regarded similarly as the masters of Rangani and Paberi. Rangan simultaneously means to an object and a process. Rangan is a rounded massive stone which is used as a roller to level land. Paberi has also similar uses. Paber simultaneously refers to a small stone used to press earth. The women who are specialized in this art are regarded as *Rangan Tali* and *Paberi tali*.

Kandra aba and warpu aba are related to bamboo artisan groups. Kandra is the person who slashes bamboo to pieces and makes thin foils out of them. Werpu is the person who weaves bamboo foils to make bamboo mats, porous vessels, other bamboo artifacts. *Aba* means brother's wife. So Kandra aba and Warpu aba are understood as bamboo artisan women.

Enguri aba is the woman who separates a mixture of solid things by filtering them through porous bamboo vessels. Sechkuri aba is a woman who separates things by winnowing.

Nanimai and Kabamai are the names associated with fire. Nani is fire, Nanimai is thus the in charge of fire. She is always responsible to keep fire burning at one place. Kabamai is the name associated with Nanimai in the poetic version and both are understood to have signified the same profession.

Among other names, particularly of women, various skillful persons are described. They are suffixed as - *adu* meaning women folks. Description about them also deserves mention here.

Deheradu and Pejeradu are the women who are working as wizards. They are able to show miraculous tricks. Sometimes their art causes psychic manifestation among others who observe the art right at the time of the process. *Pejeradu* is a barren woman.

Kutakadu and Lambikadu are astrologer women. They are responsible to predict and forecast the happenings. Also they are the women who can speak about the auspicious and inauspicious events. They formulate taboos and beliefs for other people to follow.

Janiadu and Sisadu are women shamans. Janiadu has to perform ritualistic worships. She is responsible for performances to satisfy Penu (god) for the total well being of the society as a whole and for the well being of individuals. Janiadu is the elder woman and Sisadu is the younger woman.

Sanamudadu and Bakimudadu are women who put on finger rings of gold and brass respectively. They are also regarded as goldsmith women.

Pangaliadu and Radaliadu are the women who make tattooing. They have also on their face tattoo marks. They collect lamp blacke by putting a siju *Pedilanthus tithymaloides* leaf on the lamp. Taking the lamp black they first prick the face of women by a thorn preferably of Bael tree *Aegle marmelos* and then polish the black over the face.

Sandraliadu and Basiliadu are rice frying women. They fry rice for others. Sandra refers to the fried rice.

Titikumbari and Matikumbari are the potter women. They make earthen pots for cooking and also for other purposes. They are usually responsible to provide earthen pots to the people. Dombumila, Gasimila, Hadi mila, Chandal mila i.e. children of Domb, Gasi, Hadi, Chandal are lower castes. Leptimai and Kumbarmai are also potter women who are specialized in making decorative earthen pots.

Ekkagandadu and Kahagandadu are women who steal young children to sacrifice them to the specified duty. They are the women who are often arrested and tied for their sinful act of stealing children.

Tala Gabuli and Bana Gabuli are women named after their hair. Tala is hair and Gabuli means few. Tala Gabuli is thus a woman who has few hair on her head. Bana Gabuli is a long haired woman. So also Tala Jetting - a woman who used to have a short chained hair knot and Bara Jetting is a woman having a long chained hair knot.

With the above women, female folks of Gora Sahib and Collector Sahib (Batli sahib) are also mixed. They hold the administrative ranks among other women folks who took birth under the earth.

Many a number of women took birth following Nerandali to find out a passage for coming on to the earth. The huge gathering of women folk in the

underground is described in a metaphorical way. In the *Kui Gaani* the mixture of many types of women is compared to *atpa bicha*. *Bicha* is seed and *Atpa bicha* is the term often attributed to mixture of crop seeds. Hence, the gathering of women in the underworld was alike mixture of seeds. As per the Kuttia interpretations, as each seed is typical of a plant or tree, likewise the above mentioned women in later times will give birth to children who will hold the same skill or profession as their mothers. Further, the huge population in the underworld is compared metaphorically to ants and white ants, sometimes as herds of cattle. People, particularly women at this instance, of many castes and types had taken birth. Different castes and types (Gachiganata Binaganata) are compared to the different types of seeds. The Kuttias mention that as seed is to a plant so a women to children.

The afore mentioned folk took birth under the earth. The denomination of the place is Sapangada. Sapangada is a plain land circumscribed by a number of hills. Sapangada and Sarchangada are two places situated in a small instance to each other. Sapan in Kui language means birth and Gada stands for hole. The mythical attribute goes that Kuttia Kondhs took birth through hole. From this the place is named as Sapangada in later age. More about the Sapangada will be dealt in succeeding chapters.

Women of different clans and lineages are taking birth under the earth. So long women are there the birth process is going on. Nerandali is inspecting the birth process. She is also known as Rani - *adu* and *Bendi-adu*. Rani refers to queen and *Bendi* is its synonym. She is in puzzles. She thinks again for a full fledged creation. She sits in deep contemplation. She feels that the society or the generation she is generating looks handicapped without the presence of male folks. Male folks are also an obvious requirement of the society. For, certain works in the society can only be done by the male folks only. Certain work schedule is also specific to male beings. She thinks, without male beings who will go for hunting, who will roam about hills and hill slopes, who will worship, particularly who will organize worship of Dharni Penu (Earth goddess). Hence, the idea of bringing out male beings was conceived. She appreciated herself for the thought, she felt it a sound idea to give birth to male beings.

The birth process continued again. But this time only male people took birth. Like ants and termites they gathered at one place. Like herds of bullocks and buffalos they looked clustered and dispersed.

Amongst male folks who took birth after the women certain names are worth mentioning here. Basing-pirida and Tundapirida took birth. Basing stands for flute and Basingpirida is the man who is a flute player and Tundapirida is the man who plays organ pipes.

Kutanaik and Lambinaik are the astrologer men. They took birth with

Sanamuden (wearing gold ring on fingers) and Bakimuden (Poetic synonym of Sanamuden). Further came Dia Majhi and Purbu Majhi who are Majhi people. Majhi is always regarded as the political headman of Kuttia society. Many people also have Majhi surnames. But by Majhi it means to the village political headman. So Dia Majhi, Purbu Majhi and with them Rake Majhi, Gurpa Majhi took the charge of politics, decision-making. Raka Majhi and Gurpa Majhi are referred to afterwards for the origin of clan. Dia Majhi took birth from rice container made of gourd. Dia literally means young bottle gourd.

Pajibandi and Argada Majhi followed others. Pajibandi is the name of a man who was born out of an earthen pot in which pigs were being fed. Argada Majhi took birth when an earthen pot burst for no reason.

Wisanguard - Sungibutni joined. Wisangurad took birth with a small axe on his shoulder. The flat sharp edge of the axe was narrow. Wisangurad is associated with the name Sungibutni which means country cigar-smoking man. In fact, both the names identify only one person who is smoking a cigar with an axe on his shoulder.

Makapuju and Atarnaka joined. Maka stands for maize and Puju for flower. Makapuju is the name given to the man who took birth carrying maize flowers in his hand. The Atarnaka is also meant as maize. For maize has many seeds in it which are uncountable. So Makapuju and Atarnaka both the names refer to the same person.

Further, Sui Dedhi - Dapa Dedhi joined. Sui dedhi refers to the vertical poles on either sides of the door of a house. Dapa dedhi are vertical poles on either sides of window. Sui dedhi - Dapa dedhi are the people who carried with them such poles when they took birth.

Meragunda - Bandan Majhi followed. Meragunda refers to turmeric powder. The man named as Meraunda was polished with turmeric powder over his body who later was known as Bandan Majhi. Bandan is also the name of a tree. Bandan or Dengen tree is botanically known as *Xylia xylocarpa.*

Wikajuda - Banjen Majhi were created. Wika refers to the thatching grass with which Kuttia Kondhs thatch their houses. Wikajuda is a man who made his hairs designed like a chain made of wika (Thatching grass). The man was further known as Banjan Majhi.

Ispajagale joined with his synonym Kajagela. Ispajagela is the man who distributes seeds equally among the share- holders. Sarasambu joined. Sarasambu refers to *Colocacia* seedling. The man took birth from it. *Sarabasa* is the synonym of Sarasambu which refers to seedling of yam (*Dioscorea* species) known to Kuttias as *basang*. With them came Diatrelu and Duditrelu who took birth from

wild non- edible *Lagenaria* fruit. Came Todupaeri - Todupungera who took birth from *Siali* plant *(Bauhinia vahlii)*.

Then other people followed. They are Lohrubadi the blacksmith. Kandrabadi - the bamboo slashing man. Kumberbadi - the potter man and many others came out as ants coming out of holes. With them joined men from other lower castes like Hadi. Chandal, Washerman, servants ... etc. Ceaselessly the birth process continued.

The people are now divided in groups in lineages. The lineages are marked out from names given to them. A number of lineages are there given mention in the later parts. The whole text of *Kui Gaani* is given in Appendix - A. Lineage has its origin in *Kui Gaani*. In the song collected by us only one line mentions the origin of Vansa or lineage. It is described as '*Sender lienja - Baser lienja judeka*' meaning people of different lineages joined.

None of the male folk so created occupied the dominant position of hero. After an interval of many events Nerandali felt the problem of managing the society without a real leader. So Nerandali thought to bring about a heroic man. She thought that without a real hero, who would roam about earths and fields, who would worship goddess earth and thunder god, who would organise rituals and worships, who would climb hills, slopes, who will welcome guests, who will be the king etc. To fulfil all these needs she brought out Betamangera. Who is also known in many other names like *Prambumangera, Betaka, Prambuka, Ana manger, Gatimanger, Kandangurad, Nipingurad* .. etc. The birth of Betamangera is thus need based. Beta means hunting, Ana and Gati refer to hill slope and hill top. He is given the name to suit to the purpose for which he was needed. However, Betamangera came at last fulfilling the need of the society. Nerandali thus is regarded as the sole originator while Betamangera is the real lord, the real king on the earth. The lines in *Kui Gaani* numbered 36, 37 (Appendix-A) mention about the birth of Betamangera. With the coming of Betamangera the entire drama of birth episode ended.

Nerandali started crying, weeping and repenting for there was no space in the under earth for the mammoth population to live in. Even she was not able to get a path or a passage through which she could lead the people to come to the exterior. Nerandali now repented for giving birth to a lot of people unnecessarily. She felt, she should have given prior attention about the living space before giving birth to people under the earth, where there was no light, where there was no food, no shelter. In darkness she came out to find suitable places where people could be in- habited. She searched for a passage to come out. She roamed around many places, across hills and mountains, fields and plains crossing ghats and searching for a way to come out. But she failed to get a way out. She sat weeping with hands on her head. She is crying with tears rolling down to her checks and repenting for

her unnecessary creation under the earth.

TIME GAVE THE WAY

Hope of life came suddenly. A beam of light flushed into the underground. It lighted the dark underground. Everybody got frightened and went in searching out the source of light. Light fell on the earthen pots, flashed the cattle. Nerandali set in deep thought. She enquired the source of light in her thought. It's amazing to get light in a place where there is no sun, no moon. Another beam of light came and removed darkness. Nerandali got an idea that light was coming from the outer world.

With hopes in mind Nerandali asked Tendali aji - the hunch back grand mother to see from where did light come. Tendali aji went in search of the source of light. She saw that a beam of light came through a narrow orifice from above. On her further observation with Mranjeli aji she came to know that light was coming from the sun. She rushed back to Nerandali and reported her that the sky (wani) has come down and so also the sun (weda). The sky has come down means that the earth and sky are at one place.

Everybody with Nerandali felt happy on hearing the news from Tendali aji. Everybody hurried and started preparation to come out of the dark underground. Nerandali sat thinking for what were the things to be taken out from the underground. She took small children in her arms. Other people wounded up their bags and baggages, luggages. Women carried their babies on their waists. Nerandali hunted for seeds that need to be taken with them. She collected all types of crop seeds and vegetable seeds with her. She also collected soil from such places where crops were grown earlier. They gathered all the livestocks, like cattle, pigs, goats, sheep, fowls. They also took with them soil of cattle sheds, pig sheds ...etc.

All the things were gathered. Everybody got ready to come out. After the preparation ended, everybody pushed the sky up to separate it from the earth. They pushed the sky up with the help of Pundeni dedhi (pole of *Cassia fistula*) and with the stem of Tila (*Guizotia abyssinica*) plant. Also they pushed the sky with Trasu Trees (*Terminalia chebula*) pole and with help of Katadi tree (?) pole. They were pushing the sky up with one of their hands pressing the earth and the other hands pushing the sky with poles. Finally they became successful in separating the earth from the sky. The narrow orifice through which light came first now became an open space.

The sky was kept supported over the poles, particularly with the poles of Pundeni and Tila. Nerandali made the poles to take oath that till her next order the poles should carry the sky. She ordered the poles to lift the sky up for seven days and seven nights, until the blacksmith replaced the poles with iron beams. On finishing her works with the poles she turned back to the underground again.

Nerandali went to the people inside. She again inspected the underground if anything was left. She literally swept the underground. Then she came out. Following Nerandali and Kapandali other people rushed out of the dark underground.

The mammoth population occupied the whole overground. They were looking dispersed like anything. No place to take shelter was there on the overground. Nerandali then ordered Ganandali to count all the people and to report her. Ganandali did the job.

Nerandali again was caught in problems. She thought for a while for how to provide shelter to all. She went to Betamangera and asked him to look for shelter. Rain was approaching then. She ordered Betamangera to construct houses for people. Betamangera with the help of other male folk constructed houses and people stayed therein. Nerandali saw the work and felt satisfied. A cool breeze with thunders and rain approached immediately. Again light showered on the earth. Everybody came to know that it was raining.

BAMBOO CAME INTO BEING

After the morning broke out Nerandali decided to go for a water bath. She went to a small water pool nearby. She took with her turmeric pastes, hair washing soil, a pitcher. She enjoyed a good water bath there. On finishing her bath she brought pitcherful of water to cook for others. She cooked rice, dal and distributed to all. She first called the senior people to take food, then other people and finally she took food. Towards the end of the day Nerandali made a cot for herself and went to sleep.

Nerandali was deep asleep. Everybody was also enjoying a sound sleep. *Ratudeka* (midnight) passed on. By the time of *Kajugnepata* (i.e. the time when cock calls) bamboo was taking birth. In that small water pool where Nerandali took bath, bamboo came up. While Nerandali was taking bath, coarse turmeric pastes fell down there. Some of her hair had fallen. Bamboo took birth out of such turmeric pieces and fallen hairs. Nerandali's sleep broke up on hearing the unpleasant sound that came from the water pool. The sound was like a tiger's roar, like coarse tune from horn pipes, like a mass crying. She immediately enquired about the sound. She thought something inauspicious event took place at the water pool. She called for Tendali aji and sent her to see what was happening. Tendali with her hunch back walked typically to the water pool. She saw there that upright bamboo bushes have came up. She investigated and came to know bamboo bushes grew from turmeric pieces and hairs. Bamboo is described here as *Sikdibandha* with synonym of *Kadabandha*. *Sikdi* refers to iron chain and *Kada* to iron ring that is worn in the wrist.

She returned to Nerandali and reported that bamboo bushes have grown up. She requested Nerandali not to think bad of the earth or the place. Nerandali got angry with bamboo. She got severely annoyed and scolded bamboo bushes. For, the sound interrupted her sleep. Smell of bamboo was unbearable. It was smelling like rotten mouse body. She felt the birth of bamboo unnecessary. She yelled at the bamboo bushes. She said to the bamboo "you cannot stay in this part of the earth". Due to the sound that bamboo produces, no guests will come. Conversations cannot be made properly with the interference of that sound. She got very much annoyed for its smell. She thought about Meria festival. With the sound Meria festival can't be performed properly. Nobody can hear of what is recited in the festival. Talks with sahib people can't be alright. When somebody dies, on his death ritual day no discussion be held with the kins and relatives. Overall, the Sapangada deity can't tolerate the bad sound of bamboo. So she decided bamboo should not stay any longer with her and it must be driven out. She came to a hard decision to uproot the bushes. She called for others to help her in uprooting the bamboo bushes. She commanded bamboo to go away and leave the place for ever and told it to stay in low lands with Puju mara (*Madhuka longifolia*) i.e. Mowra butter tree. She ordered the bamboo to leave immediately and to go away to stay with Sreka mara (*Buchanania lanzan*) and Ganju mara (*Semecarpus anacardium*) in other fields.

Finally she uprooted the bamboo bushes. She threw the bushes towards Kandabada and Bakabada hills and also told the hills to take care so that insects can not destroy the bamboo. Again she thought it unwise to wipe out bamboo from earth for ever. Impelled with this thought she planted the bamboo in holes dug by people for tubers in Kandabada - Bakabada hills. She then cautioned the hill not to allow birds to eat young shoots, monkeys to break bamboo tips. Also she maintained that the hill should beg offerings from anybody who wanted to take bamboo from there. The hill should not give a piece of bamboo to anybody without a worship and Nerandali's final instruction to the Kandabada hill. To her saying, the worship which would be offered to the hills would be the wages for the hills for their labour devoted in providing shelter to bamboo. Bamboo will be required for many household artifacts like winnow, baskets, box, filtering vessels, to stitch leaf plates and leaf cups.

People who have taken birth would obviously need bamboo for various purposes. So anybody who wishes to take bamboo from the Kandabada - Bakabada hills shall have to offer a worship to such hills - Nerandali ordered.

Nerandali visited different patches of the earth. She saw that not all parts of the earth are levelled. So she sat to think how can the earth be levelled. She asked the Sareni tali to make a Sareni to be used to level the earth. Sareni is a porous bamboo basket in which bamboo foils are woven to give it a net like appearance.

Sarenitali said that, to make a new Sareni, bamboo would be needed. But bamboo was driven away to Kandabada-Bakabada hills.

Nerandali repented for her deeds. She asked everybody enquiring if anybody has seen bamboo elsewhere. She asked women who go out collecting *Kundu* (mushrooms), *Kucha* (spinach) and *Terka* (young bamboo shoots) to find out bamboo. But nobody could see it anywhere. Betamangera then returned from hunting. He was requested by Nerandali to go in search of bamboo. Betamangera immediately replied that he had seen bamboo in Jendabedi - Sababedi hills.

BAMBOO IS SEARCHED OUT

Betamangera went in search of bamboo. He took his axe, bow and arrows with him. He covered many fields, plains, hills and mountains. Betamangera reached the Jendabedi - Sababedi hills and said to the respective hill god that he had come to take bamboo by the order of Nerandali. The hill god asked for what purpose. Betamangera said that to make sareni for levelling the earth. Nerandali had sent him, he said to the hill god. The hill god said that these bamboos are never suitable for your purpose because such bamboos are affected by orchids.

The hill god was not in a position to talk anymore to Betamangera. He drove him out. Betamangera turned back to Sapangada where Nerandali waited him. Nerandali a awaited with positive expectation. Betamangera narrated the whole story and rude behavior of Jendabedi and Sababedi hill god. He said that the bamboo there is not useful for the Sareni purpose, rather it can be used to stitch leaf plates and leaf cups. Nerandali sat upset. Betamangera gave hopes that he would again go in search of bamboo and in one way or other he would fetch bamboo. Again he set out in search of bamboo. He took his axe on his shoulder, bow and arrows and set out for hunting and searching for bamboo. Betamangera also felt the problem deeply that without a Sareni the earth can't be levelled and so the earth can't be useful in any way.

On his adventure, he covered a large part of the earth, he crossed many hills, forests, mountains, ghats but could not find bamboo anywhere. Many different parts of the earth was covered by Betamangera. He even searched out the abodes of animals and birds. Finally he reached Kandabada-Bakabada hills.

On reaching Kandabada - Bakabada hills he could see the bamboo bushes. Immediately the god of Kandabada-Bakabada hills came in front of Betamangera. He was then in a fury. He was looking furious. He asked the where-abouts of Betamangera and the purpose of his visit. Betamangera said that he was sent by Nerandali to take bamboo from the place. Bamboo is required to make Sareni without which that earth can't be levelled. But the hill god came to a frown. He rubbed his teeth, and laughed at Betamangera with furious look. Betamangera was

quite frightened. The god tried to drive him out of that place. Betamangera tried to convince the hill god but he failed in his attempt. The hill god demanded gold ornaments, fowl, a small child as a price of bamboos which Betamangera wanted to take. Betamangera at the moment could not do the needful. He said that he could only offer a worship to satisfy the god. The hill god disagreed and drove Betamangera out of the place.

Betamangera rushed back to Sapangada. There he met Nerandali. He described all that happened with the Kandabada-Bakabada hill god. He said, the god demanded a small child for sacrifice. But we could not give.

Betamangera went back to Kandabada-Bakabada hills again. He saluted the hill god told him about what he had brought to be treated as offerings. The hill god was still not happy. He asked Betamangera for his son and grandson as sacrifice. Betamangera saluted him seven times fell prostrate at his feet, offered rice flour which he brought from Sapangada - Sarchangada.

The hill god was still reluctant to give bamboo. The god said if the fowls do not sound, if monkeys do not make sound then only he will accept offerings. Betamangera took bath and invoked all hill deities and other deities to be witness to his oath. In the oath he said, "if I am really Betamangera, if I am whole heartedly offerings the things, may the Kondabada - Bakabada hill god accept my offer". He saluted again to the Kandabada-Bakabada hill god and offered him rice flour. The god felt satisfied and immediately left the bamboo bushes; Jungle fowl and monkeys stopped making sound suddenly. Betamangera became sure that the hill god is satisfied. He felt easy and sent to cut the bamboo. He cut the watered bamboos, cleaned its branches and nodes, made them into smaller pieces and carried them to Sapangada where Nerandali eagerly waited for him. He followed the same path through which he went to Kandabada-Bakabada hills.

Betamangera brought bamboo. But the next problem was to find the man who would make bamboo blades to weave and make a Sareni. That man was called Kandra. The Kandra who took birth with Betamangera had already left Sapangada. Kandra was neglected by Nerandali when Betamangera was out for bamboo. Kandra was given no food. Nerandali did not give him gruel or rice. That's why he desparately left Betamangera. He again went out in search of Kandra. He went after his foot steps. Betamangera asked Nerandali if she kept the measurement of the Kandra's foot steps. Fortunately enough, Nerandali had that. Betamangera got the measurement and went on measuring foot steps which he saw on the way. Somehow he could be able to detect the Kandra's foot steps. He followed such steps. He found Kandra hidden behind a bush. Betamangera asked him about his problems at Sapangada. Kandra said everything that happened. He said how he was ignored and neglected by Nerandali. Betamangera requested Kandra to return

back. He also said to Kandra he would carry him on his shoulders. He understood that Kandra has taken a lot of pain.

The Kandra agreed to out the bamboos into pieces, into blades. He tried with many things to cut the bamboo pieces. Even the used his teeth and nails to cut bamboo for blades. After trying for a long time Kandra could make blades of bamboos. He then sat to weave bamboo blades to make Sareni. He made many types of Sarenis. But Nerandali ordered for a Sareni which must have four corners with ribs, should be strong and tough. Kandra got occupied in the work.

On the otherside Nerandali was immersed in deep thoughts. She did not know what is the material that can be dusted over the earth. They had corns and seeds with them. Nerandali got an idea. She ordered to make the corns and seeds powdered. She wanted to dust such powder on the earth to make it levelled. But how can these seeds be powdered without a Seni (pounding hole) and a Kutani (the hammering wood) ? There was no mortar, no pestle. If the seeds were to be powdered then there was need of pestle (Kalu) and so also a mortar - a hole made on a piece of wood, placed almost at the centre of each Kuttia house. So Nerandali looked for a mortar and a pestle. She thought of many trees, poles or branches of which could be used as pestle. Then she went in search of a good wood to make the pestle.

She enquired for what wood could be better for making mortar and pestle. She tested the quality and strength of different species of trees. She made pestles from wood of mango tree (Maska mara - *Mangifera indica*), from Mahul trees (*Sargimara - Shorea robusta*), from Piasal tree (*Bengeri mara - Pterocarpus marsupium*) from Asan tree (*Mardi mara - Terminalia trmentosa*), from Jambu mara (*Syzigium cuminii*). But those wood were not appropriate to her satisfaction. All on a sudden her eyes caught sight of a Sissoo tree (*Muje mara - Dalberghia sissoo*). She went to test its quality and strength. She became happy. It was a good tree which could be used for her purpose. She ordered her fellow being to cut the tree.

The problem of wood was solved. But who would bore the mortar and who would engrave on the pestle. Her fellows could make a pestle somehow. But how, could the mortar be made? Then the wood of the tree was shaped in the form of a *kalu* i.e. pestle. Then Nerandali sat hopeless for, nobody could make a hole on the piece of wood for the purpose of rice pounding. Her idea took her to a bird locally called Titikiriai i.e. woodpecker. On request of Nerandali woodpecker agreed to make a hole on the wood. But before it worked, it demanded wages for its labour. Nerandali was happy with the woodpecker and she said the bird that since that day it could eat all the insects that affect or causes harms to the trees and plants. The woodpecker was happy to get such a wage. The Kutani was then taken into

a house and established in the middle of the house. Kuthani i.e. mortar is also called seni in Kuttia Kondhs' language. With the help of the Seni and Kalu, people started grinding the corn and seeds. They were powdered and the seed coats were separated from the powder later on.

TREYENA : CYCLIC MOVEMENT

The preparatory phase for Sareni came to an end. The Sareni was made ready. Corn powders were also prepared to be dusted upon the earth by Sareni. Then Sarenitali tested the functioning of Sareni. It was evening when people started the operation of Sareni. People fired the dried plants of Tila (*Guizotia abyssinica*) which acted as the torch. Following the torch the Sareni operation started. The Sareni was being operated by Sarenitali. Sareni moved foreward from Sapangada to level the different parts of the earth.

The Sareni moved from Sapangada following a particular path. After making all the parts levelled it again returned and reached Sapangada. The path which the Sareni followed is mentioned in the chapter 'Denomination of forests..' The Sareni followed the same path which was later on followed for operation of manang and mooting. The movement of Sareni from Sapangada and finally its return to Sapangada is formed terued as '*Treyena*' in Kuttia language.

After Treyena of Sareni. Nerandali with others thought to keep the Sareni with them. During the operation Sareni was broken at some places. But they didn't like to throw it away. for, the Sareni has done a appreciable job for them. So they searched for a good place to keep the Sareni. The place should be well protected from rain and sun, from dust and dirt and from public interference. The Sareni is not ordinary in any case. Taking the name of gods and goddesses they promised that they will not know the Sareni though it is broken. After they promised at the godly beings a yellow string came down from the heaven to hang the Sareni. They washed the Sareni with turmeric water and hung it in a seven compartment house.

OPERATION PABERI

Narendali visited the places where Sareni was operated. She saw that the Sareni dusted corn powder on the earth. But it was not pressed. She felt that there is the need of hammering the powders to press before the powders are washed off by the wind. Hence, the idea of operating Paberi is an action in which a stone is used to press the earth and make the earth levelled. Hence, she called Paberi tali. Nerandali asked her to start the operation paberi in such places where Sareni was operated sometime before. Paberitali continued her job to press the soil by hammering the paberi stone on the earth. By this the levelling of the earth was made complete.

After finishing the levelling work of the earth. Nerandali thought of ways

to decorate nature. The idea of formation of hills and mountains around Sapangada came to her mind suddenly. The formation of large hills and small hills was completed by the operation of Manang and Mooting respectively. The formation of hills, large and small are described in the chapter 'Denomination of forests.'

After the formation of hills and mountains, Nerandali thought to beautify such landscapes with plants and trees. Reference to the birth of plants and trees is given in the chapter "Social and Cultural aspects of plants and trees"

The Kui Gaani ends here after a long poetic description. It is divided in different phases; the song can have many philosophical interpretations. In the song the different aspects of Kuttia Kondhs' evolutionary history is un-veiled. Every step of the song possesses social implications and can be regarded as a parameter of Kuttia Kondhs' existing social and cultural traditions. It different job description of men and women in the society. Nerandali stands as an image and Kuttia Kondhs have to shape their life accordingly. The distribution of labour that Nerandali made to materialize all her thoughts and ideas implies that for the performance of different works, skilled persons of different faculty must be there. Betamangera represents different activities of male folks in the Kuttia society.

BASA GAANI, KAPKA GAANI (ENVIRONMENTAL SONGS)

The song is also a lip composition. The author's name is also hidden in this song. The song begins from a bird '*Pio Pata*'. *Pio* is the name of the *pata* (i.e. bird). In the jungle the *Pio pata* sings a song, the passer-by hears the melodious song of the bird. He loses his way. He gets lost in the forest. He tries to locate the singing bird. This is the beginning and continues with descriptions of the song.

He is Betamangera. Beta refers to hunting. So he is the hunting man who roams around hill slopes, water ghats in search of an animal. All on a sudden he hears a bird's song amidst the dense forest. Betamangera searches the bird among the trees, in bushes and creepers. He climbs up the Bade Mara *Ficus benghalensis* and Daman Mara *Grewia tiliaefolia* tree to find the bird. Betamangera responds to the bird by producing similar vocal tones. The bird keeps quiet. Betamangera again produced the voice loudly asking the bird what has happened. At a time both Betamangera and the bird sounded loudly. Betamangera thinks that the bird is scolding him. He again thinks of something inauspicious happening. He runs out of fear.

On the way he met his sister-in-law and his aunt who were out to put garbages in pits. They enquired what had happened to Betamangera. Betamangera was running breathlessly. They gave Betamangera '*Dua*' i.e. powdered tobacco. They asked Betamangera about his friends. Betamangera said he did not know. They said that they have seen Beta's friends passing through that way. They told

Betamangera about their king's daughter whom Betamangera must meet.

The King's daughter was talented in painting and drawing. She knew many languages. She was the king's daughter. She will talk like a wooden oil mill. She is the daughter of the king who had canes in his hands. She was the daughter of a mustard and niger cultivating man. She massages oil extracted from sreka padasi (*fruit* of *Buchanania lanzan*).

But the girl was in confusion. She was put in a dilemma as to what art she should draw. With hands on her forehead, she thought. She drew the sun and the moon. She separated the sun & moon by drawing a sandi i.e. a midline to separate the two pictures. She could not be satisfied with her drawings. She took dirt from her body and mixed it with water. She pictured fishes and crabs. She again started drawing *'piching'* (*Chita*), drawing snakes, insects and so many things, then differentiating the figures by lines. She now drew men and ghosts, kings and gods, bullocks and cows, bags and baskets, sword and gun, boxes, utensils, king's hats with feathers. She stopped drawing with these.

Betamangera got immersed into thoughts. He heard everything about the Kings daughter. He was a friend of the King. He himself was also a king. He wanted to reach the main road. He was fearing his loneliness. Now, nobody could know him as a king. The people of lower castes would not obey him. He could go alone without way mates. So he decided to go when he could find people with him, who would escort him the whole way back to his house. He put on his dresses and shoes. He called for his horse and elephants to return to his country. Some people came to him and recognised him as the king. They got engaged to wind up the king's bags and baggages. The porters carried the luggage. Some luggage was put on the horse's and elephant's backs. People regarded him as the king and as the god. After everything was ready he wanted more people to follow him. People were required to powder the rice by grinding and to cook for him. When everybody came, he sat on an elephant with his gun in hand. He addressed the people not to feel unhappy for the Kings return.

Sitting on the elephant he still was unable to find the way. He thought that there might be demons and devils and dangerous beasts on the way, Darkness was approaching. Again he thought if he was really a king, equal to god, he should go on a grand road. He fire his gun aiming at different places. He fired to springs, to hills and mountains. He aimed at the sun and the moon, to the woodpecker's hole but the gun did not function. He tried again to shoot at the cow herds, buffalo herds, but still no firing of the gun. He felt disappointed. He was in doubt whether he could return to his country. He tried the gun again, firing at crowded places. But it seem as if there was no bullet in the gun.

Instead of bullets water was coming out of the gun. He was heartbroken. He thought that he could not be a king. He surrendered himself to the hill gods to save him.

This time a bullet really came out with a thunderous sound. He shoot at waves of water. The gun was then found dead. He thought that perhaps there was somebody more powerful than him. Could he not be the king again. He got disappointed. He was hungry then. He wanted to take rest and to have food. But where to tie the horses and elephants. Again he was in confusion. He searched for different places for horses and elephants. Should the animals be tied under maska mara (*Mangifera indica*) or should be under *Toa mara* (*Ficus glomerata*) or should it be near the hedges. These places were not suitable. Children might come to such places to play. The animals might do harm to them. Finally he selected a place to tie the animals. That was a Bade Mara (*Ficus benghalensis*) under the shade of which the animals could better stay. He got down from the elephant`s back. He cleaned the area where the animals were to take shelter. Nearby was a Pipada Mara (*Ficus scandens*) where the horse could stay. He unloaded all the luggages from the horse and elephant. The animals were hungry and he was also hungry.

He needed water for him and animals. But was not available. He set out in search of water. He went through forests of large trees, and crossed many hills and planes. At some places water was found but he thought whether such water would be suitable. Water at piju hangeri hill was good but tigers and bears are drinking it. Since he was a king he should not drink such water. He reached Gunjinanu - Mahananu planes where he could see clean water. But there are some grass hushes. They should be uprooted. Taking the name of gods he uprooted the bushes. A thin stream of water came out. He took a good bath there, he washed his clothes and got water for cooking. But there was no fire. How could he cook. He tried with wood of Daman mara (*Grewia tiliaefolia*), wood of many other trees to get sparks. But in vain he tried with two pieces of Laka Paka (wood of *Bomba malbaricum*) and sparks came immediately. He brought fire wood from Muje mara (*Dalberghia sissoo*) and put it on fire. But how could he make a hearth. He dug a hole to make a hearth. He then started cooking rice. But where to keep the rice. He searched for leaves. He found banana leaves and brought them. After the rice he wished to prepare curry. For curry he brought dal of green gram, blackgram. He adds a piece of fish to the dal. He put some meat of foul in the curry etc. He put turmeric powder and salt in the curry with onion, garlic, chilly and many other things. Because he was the king, so the dishes should be delicious. The king sat for eating. By then one of his servants passed in front of him. The king felt angry. When the king was eating, nobody should pass in front of him. The servant begged his excuse. The king finished eating and what was left behind was eaten by the servant. The servant then took the utensils to wash.

The Servants floated the leaf plates and cups in the Tel river. It was the

king's plate. The servant requested the river to take the leaves to a large river. The servant requested the god to convert the leaves into fishes. The king purchased some clothes by sending the servant. The fellow people and servants bade a farewell to the king. The king left the place to reign over his country which must have been mismanaged during his absence. The fellow people could not go to the king's country. The king moved ahead. He went through darkness. He went to the country where there was no sun, no moon, no stars. He went to his country which lay in complete darkness. He entered his country which was under Sapangada earth. He entered the underground. Here the tale comes to an end.

The song indicates how the king was lost in the forest. How he could find his way out from the forest. In between is sketched a pattern of living in the forest, the problems one comes across amidst hills and forests, the crisis of food and its solution. A distinction between common folk and a headman is presented in the song. It gives a comprehensive idea of a king who tackled the hazardous situations. The song becomes a text of aptitudes and skills for the Kuttia Kondhs from which they extract the themes to tackle adverse situations that often come when people are lost in the forest. The human activities in the forest, the idea about different places and the terms of relationship between a headman and his fellow beings are well narrated in the song.

2

SOCIETY AND CULTURE OF KUTTIA KONDHS

I

HILLS AND FORESTS AS THE LIVING SPACE

The mythical song. *Kui Gaani* states that the Kuttia Kondhs emerged out from Sapangada. They were numerous. After the mammoth population emerged out, they got dispersed on the whole landscape regarded as the Kuttia world. Later on they got splitted up in small groups. The small group lived on different parts of the earth. They constituted families of their own. They started cultivating the lands, hills and cleared patches of forests. The people who emerged out first settled near the Sapangada. Further groups which emerged out later settled in available plain lands and hill slopes. The hill slopes were called Kutti, Kutti is a place which is the junction of two Ana. Ana is the steep slope of hills. Hence, the Kuttia Kondhs lived in the space left in between two adjacent hills. Thus started their life on the earth.

The landscape of Sapangada is covered with forests and hills. Near Sapangada flow the Gunjinanu and Mahananu springs. Each hill that surrounds the Sapangada has a name. The names of the hills are mentioned in their sacred geography. Forests and hills around Sapangada constitute major parts of the Kuttia Kondhs sacred complex. Several legends and stories are associated with the names of the hills. The hills, mountains, rivers, forests together encapsulate the experience of Kuttia Kondhs living in a natural habitat and in a concentric patch amidst forests and hills. Because the hills and forests are parts of the sacred geography of Sapangada, their names are often recalled by the Kuttia Kondhs in their social events. Of the area circumscribed by the sacred geography Kuttia Kondhs makes their settlement and earn their livelihood mostly from shifting cultivation. Kuttia Kondhs are collectively known as Kuianka.

Kuianka myth of origin describes their living space. They describe

Sapangada as a plain land circumscribed by hilly forests as their primary living space. When they emerged out of the underground, they first settled in Sapangada. Sapangada is the synthesis of two terms viz; Saponi meaning taking birth and gada means hole. Collectively the two terms mean the hole from where the Kuttia Kondhs took birth. Later on the entire landscape around the hole got the name Sapangada. Names of hills around Sapangada are often associated with the description of the first settlement of Kuttia Kondhs in and around Sapangada. A part of the huge population settled on different hills. Hills differ from each other socially, culturally and ecologically. For, there are various feelings of Kuianka towards the hills. They link the hills with their social pattern and livelihood. They refer the hills to design their cultural pattern. They know the hills in terms of vegetation, productivity; as we refer to the collection of minor forest produce and yield from shifting cultivation. Thus all the hills do not have similar stories associated with them since there are social, emotional, aesthetic, ecological feelings of Kuttia Kondhs towards different hills. It also stands as a reason for why Kuianka cultivates only some hills. They do not cultivate in the hills held sacred by them. Thus irrespective of their differences, all hills are differentiated similarly by one set of terms.

HILLS AS ELEMENTARY UNITS OF SETTLEMENT

Before we get down to describe the present settlement pattern of Kuianka it would be wise to give a description of the parts of hills where they first dwelt in. As said earlier they lived on hills and parts of hills. It is therefore, important to know their understanding about hills and their parts. The parts of hills are important as these once formed the living space of Kuttia Kondhs. Again they have attributed different names to different parts of the hills, some of which are also used in their social usages.

The highest point above the earth is the topmost part of a hill. A hill is called as *soru*. Thus the topmost part of the hill is called *sorujaka* and by many it is called *gati jaka*. *Gati jaka* is a place where living of human beings is hardsome. It is because, there is negligible chance of getting perennial sources of water. The *Soru jaka* is therefore not an appropriate place for people to live in. Hence, this part of the hill is left for the godly beings to reside. The godly beings have the ability of getting everything at their hands' reach even though the things are placed at far off places. For example, the godly beings can get water to the hilltop by their servants. The godly beings live there and look over the lives of Kuttia Kondhs who live down below.

Sorujaka or *gatijaka* have also significance as regards to the vegetation in such parts. Usually in this part of the hill there is very little human interference. Also rarely animals do go there. So the vegetation at this part is not enough violated by

any of the human beings or animals. It is mostly due to this reason the hill tops are adorned with tall trees, particularly timber species. The timber species grow almost to a common height and thus make a canopy. Such type of a forest is termed as *Kamboni* by the Kuttia Kondhs. *Gati jaka* and *Soru jaka* differ from each other with regard to the height of hills. If the hills are too high then the topmost region is termed as *Gati jaka*. *Soru jaka* is the term referred to describe the topmost part of small hills.

Kuttia Kondhs also believe that the godly beings (*Penuni*) have a social life. The Kuttia Kondhs follow the social life style of Penuni and this has designed their life style. Top-most parts of certain hills donnot have vegetation. They look barren and bald. Such hill tops locking vegetation is regarded as a suitable place preferred by the Penuni to live in. The plateau at topmost part of the hills are known as '*Gati jaka agari*'. *Agari* refers to the clean barren plateau of large hills. In some plateau only the grass species; particularly the thatching grass *Themda arundinanaca*, locally known as chhana are found. Such a plateau is found on the Hatisala hill near the village Kinadi and Gulamparga on one side and on the other side is the village Muskasoru. Dimbuli hill has a plateau which even lacks the grass species. The villages Sirki and Botipada are settled at the base of the hill. Thus the hills having plateau are believed to be important on religious grounds for peruni lives in such places. Thus the Kuianka learned to make its settlements on spaces having little of vegetation or a cleared patch of hills and forests.

Moving downwards from the Sorujaka or Gatijaka, towards the base of the hills (Panga) a slope path has to be followed. The slope in some hills is very stiff and from one side it seems as if the hill stands in a slanting manner. The slope that connects the hill base and its top and is immediately adjacent to the Gatijaka is known as *Keri*. If the slope is not too steep and the hill base and hill top is connected by a parabolic slope it is called *Danda*. *Danda* thus measures more than *Keri*. *Danda* mainly stands to explain the connecting link between the hill top and the mid hill (*Soru nede*). It is because the part from *Jaka* to *nede* of a hill is too wide. The *Danda* is covered with bushy forests with trees and creepers. Such a forested part is called *Bati* forest. The hill is differentiated into four parts. The topmost part is *Sour jaka*, the mid middle hill is *Soru tude*, the mid lower hill is *Soru nede* and the base is *Soru panga*.

The Soru jaka, *Soru nede* and *Soru panga* are associated with Dharni penu. *Soru tude* is associated with *Gangi penu*. The Soru nede is the part where Kuianka practise shifting cultivation and to the fields under cultivation they call *nella*. As stated earlier the *Soru nede* part is covered with *Bati* forests which is cleared for shifting cultivation by Kuianka.

The plain land continuous with Soru Panga is known as *Wanga*. *Wanga* is the plain land where Kuianka make village settlements. *Panga* is for hills and *wanga*

is for village settlements. Both *Panga* and *wanga* are associated with Dhami penu. But Kuianka feels that Dhami penu is associated with *wanga*.

THE VILLAGE SETTLEMENT

Wanga is the available living space where Kuianka make village settlements. But everywhere *wanga* is not a plain land. Since *wanga* is continuous with *Soru panga* it makes a sense that the village settlement is also a place continuous with *Soru panga*. *Soru panga* is obviously at a higher level than the village *wanga*. So the settlements are made on a slope continuous with the hill base. For the Kuianka likes to make settlements at the foot hills. The settlement thus stands on a slope. One end of the settlement is made at a higher level than the other end which is at the lower level of the slope. This slope like *wanga* on which settlements stands is known as '*Baru*'. *Baru* thus refers to the slope continues with the hill base on which village settlements are made.

The outermost part of a settlement is known as *Sandhi*. *Sandhi* is the boundary of the village. But *Sandhi* has no proper demarcation. It is determined by the priests. Kuianka establish clan gods and benevolent deity at certain places around the village. Deities are mostly established under large trees or sometimes small huts are made for them. The placement of deities around the village marks the territory of the deities as they are omnipresent. But Kuianka feels that the deities established by them would look for the welfare of people living inside the boundary circumscribed by the deities. Thus the placement of deities around the village makes the demarcation of *Sandhi* i.e. the boundary. *Sandhi* is associated with Keri penu. Though Kuianka make settlements at the foot hills, yet it do not consider the hill base to be included in the village boundary. Thus a large space is left in between the village boundary and the hill base. The hill base termed as *Soru panga* is not often described by Kuianka to give an idea of the village settlement in relation to the hills. They refer the term *Nella* that is derived from *Soru nede* to describe the location of the village in relation to the nearby hills. *Nella* is the name of swidden fields which is also called *Nellang*. Thus the Kuianka description, immediately adjacent to Sandhi is Nellang. This part is associated with Keri and Soru Penu. The space left in between the Nellang and Sandhi is used by Knianka to make Kitchen garden and non-shifting cultivation plots.

Low lands are termed as *Morang*. Upper level of *Baru* leads to *Nelang*. Lower level of *Baru* descends to *Morang*. Being the low land, water gathers there. Springs, rivulets are found in the *Morang*. *Nelang* and *Morang* are connected by a path called *Giri*. The path usually runs through the *Baru*. *Morang* is associated with *Eju penu* and *Gangi penu*. In between the *Morang* and the end of the village immediately approachable from the *Morang* there is a large space left. This large space is used to prepare rice cultivating fields. The *Baru* is the connecting link

between *Nelang* and *Morang*. *Baru* is thus the living space in between the hills and water ghats. In terms of cultivation practices. *Baru* is the mid space on one side of which swidden plots and non-swidden plots are found and on the otherside the rice cultivating fields are found.

Beyond the *Morang*, continuous with it is *Batang* and *Badang* successively. *Batang* is the outermost part of the village settlement. The village settlement is called *naju*. *Batang* is associated with *Soru penu* and *wanga penu*. *Wanga penu* is otherwise known as Dharni penu. *Batang* with *Naju* is associated with *Soru penu* and Dharni penu because *Soru penu* lives on hills who looks over the betterment of Kuianka as it is a part of hills. Dharani penu is the earth goddess who is the authority of the land on which the settlement stands. *Badang* is the area immediately adjacent to the back of house. *Badang* is associated with *Elu penu* and *wanga penu*. *Elu penu* is the home deity under whose territory comes the *Badang*. Therefore every house has its own *badang* which is looked upon by *Elu penu* and *Wanga penu*. The village itself is constituted by two straight rows of houses (*Elu*) facing each other. Towards the courtyard of the houses i.e. *badang* there is a path known as *badagiri*. This *badagiri* links up the house and sheds of domestic animals. Pig sheds and Goats fold are found immediately at the back of houses. Cattle sheds remain a little far at the back of houses. *Badagiri* thus links up the cattle sheds and goats fold. The path separating the two rows of houses is known as *Rachangiri*. *Rachangiri* is wide enough and is termed as *Danduta*. If Rachangiri is narrow it communicates to a wide road at the end of the village. The thin the latter one is called *Danduta*. The term *giri* is thus used for very narrow path or passages, *Rachangiri* for wide road separating two rows of villages and *Danduta* for the road outside the village. The menstrual hut - *Jaka kada* is situated away from either paths in the outermost part of *badang*.

TERMINOLOGES OF VARIOUS PARTS OF A HILL

Danduta is sometimes called as *Danda*. Both Danduta and Danda mean the same describing a wide road. But *Danda* and *giri* refer to two different kinds of path ways. Danda refers to the path that links two living spaces, such as two village settlements or a village settlement and the forested hills or two areas of forested hills or a village settlement and the market. *Giri* is a path inside the village settlement, inside a forest, walkable narrow path on the hills. As is mentioned earlier a hill is divided into four parts; Soru jaka, Soru tude, Soru nede and Soru panga. The topmost part of a hill is linked to the mid hill that continues to the hill base. The upper hill and the base of the hill are linked to the mid hill by *Danda*.

The term *jaka* refers to the peak of a hill which is differentiated into *Gati jaka* and *Soru jaka*. *Gati jaka* refers to peak of large hills. A large hill top may also be separated between the *Gati jaka* and *Soru jaka*. Thus *Soru* is the term that refers

to the lower mid hill. This is differentiated into *Soru jaka*, *Soru tude* and *Soru nede*. The part of a hill designated as *Soru jaka* terminologically refers to transitional space. The transitional space is a part of the upper hill and the mid hill at one end and at the same time *Keri* is placed alongside *danda*. From its placement it indicates the beginning of the transition zone - the threshold.

Kuianka points out that *Keri* is the region immediately adjacent to the boundary of an area or of a space. It normally lies alongside the path that leads out of this area or space. In other words, where there is Keri, alongside there is a boundary and a path. The boundary is known as *Sandhi* and the path is known as *danda*.

Accordingly, upper hill *jaka* mid-hill *Soru* and base hill *panga* or *wanga* are three different areas. The *Gati jaka* as pointed out earlier is known as the abode of godly beings penu, where either *Kamboni* forests grow or it looks like a open barren space (*agari*). Thus the *Gati jaka* may be a plateau or a good forest. This is the region where Kuianka cannot undertake cultivation. The term *gati* thus describes a specific feature of the upper hill. The upper hill is described as a *jaka*. The term *jaka* is also used to describe menstruation. This describes the upper hill from where water falls or flows down. The menstrual flow is called *jaka - wate*. Thus a relation can be established between two *jakas* which refer to flow of fluids. It is so because menstruation is understood as a *jaka* - (is the flow of fluids) one of which is water. Gati and Soru as two parts of *jaka* describes the space continuous with the upper hill. The Kuianka use *gati* along with *ana*. The usage is the conjunction of *ana* and *gati* so becomes *ana-gati* where animals move from one hill to another. This is described in detail in *Kui Gaani*. In contrast to the term *Soru* describes a hill. The part that *Soru* links the upper hill to its base is in contrast to *ana* which links two hills. The former is used for shifting cultivation in contrast to the latter which is traversed during hunting.

Jaka, *Jakagada* and *Sorujaka* also stand for names of three hills in three corners of the Kuttia world. But this is not commonly known to all the Kuttia Kondhs. But these names often come in association with the settlement patterns. When the Kuianka emerged out of Sapangada, it started making settlements in the south corner of the world. *Jaka* - a hill was standing in the east. The authority of the jaka hill is called Mamali penu, who is an unmarried male deity. But all people are not allowed to go up or to roam about the jaka hill. Only married women are authorised by the god to go to the hills or hill sides. If others go there they are hunted by the wrath of the god. Jaka gaga hill is standing in the west. Jaka gada hill is covered by dense forests. The authorities of the hills are *Soru penu* and *Wanga penu*. *Wanga penu* is regarded as the wife of *Soru penu*. Here also the restriction is imposed on Kuianka that only married women are allowed to go to the hill. To the Northen corner stands Sorujaka hill. It is a very high mountain. The hill is not

densely covered by vegetation though it is not completely lacking. Kamatali penu is in charge of the hill. Kamatali penu is an unmarried female deity as held by the Kuianka priests. The Sorujaka hill is only permitted to women irrespective of their marital status. But in any case vegetation in the hill should not be violated, lest the Kamatali penu causes great harms. The Southern corner had no hill when Kuianka emerged out. Therefore they made village settlements in the southern corner. The idea is working village settlements was restricted for the time being particularly the village arose with the emerging out of Kuianka from the Sapangada hole. In the present scenario this belief is not obeyed as a hard and fast manner as is evident from the Kuianka village settlements in all directions.

PRE-REQUISITE CONDITIONS FOR A SETTLEMENT

The conditions that are often taken into consideration for a village settlement mainly fall in the ecological, social and religious understanding of the space. The physical landscape is first of all considered from ecological grounds. From the practical ecological point of view Kuianka first thought that the area is suitable so far as basic needs of people are concerned. The area must not be a hill or should not be a part of the hill or dense forest. For if it is a part of the hill, the location of Morang i.e. the lowland waterghats will be far apart from the settlement. Further, if the proposed settlement is a part of a dense forest then life in the settlement can never be safe. For, there are chances of prowling of carnivorous beasts inside the settlement. So the Kuianka selects a site, preferably a *baru* at the foot hills. The *baru* must be a plain land with little or no vegetation. Because, dense vegetation would need more labour input in clearing the patch to make a village settlement. The location of Soru nede and morang should be almost equidistant from the village settlement. There must be a good space available for the Rachangiri and batangiri. Thus during selection of a site for village settlement, the location of the hills, forests and waterghats in relation to the village settlement are judged carefully. Preference is given to a *Baru* to quite levelled land or on upland or a lowland.

Thus a settlement site is chosen based upon the suitability of above conditions. Further, while selecting a site, importance is given on the provision of *Sandhi*, *nellang*, *danda*, *nerang*, *batang* and *badang*. If the above noted facilities are not adequate the land is not felt suitable for settlement.

As mentioned earlier, physical aspect of Sandhi is a transition zone. Further, Sandhi is coterminus with Nelang. Nelang and Naju are separated by Sandhi. Nelang is the area available for shifting cultivation. It is the area leading from the Soru nede to the Soru panga i.e. from mid hill to hill base. The symbolic religious aspects of Sandhi describe it as the abode of Keri penu. The Nelang is the abode of Keri penu and Soru penu. The practical ecological aspect of Sandhi makes

it a plain area for kitchen garden and non swidden plots. Sandhi and Nelang are linked to each other by the Keri penu. Sandhi is attributed to be the domain of Sandhi penu and Keri penu. Thus Soru penu remains exterior to the Sandhi and Sandhi penu remains interior to Sandhi.

Next aspect that is given importance during the site selection is the provision of *Rachangiri*, otherwise known as *danda*. *Danda* divides the settlement into two halves. In each half space is left for making houses, courtyards, cattle sheds and kitchen gardens. It is the path that communicates the two sides of the *baru*. Sometimes *Danda* leads for Sandhi to Merang. Danda is the domain of Keri penu. Keri penu is thus the partial authority of the Nelang and Sandhi and at the same time the authority of danda or Rachangiri.

Merang is the lowland where water ghat is the main characteristic feature. Perennial springs, water resources are found in the Merang which is the last part of the settlement. Thus the Sandhi contains the village - Naju, the path - Danda and Water ghats - Merang. Merang has another characteristic that the torut Bati is grown there. The vegetation in the Bati is usually bushy and looks evergreen due to availability of water throughout the year. The *merang* comes under the territory of Eju penu meaning water god, and gangi penu may be understood as a synonym of Eju penu. In between the Merang and Naju the space is used for rice cultivation, for it is easy to irrigate the paddy crops grown near Merang.

Batang is the outermost part of the space covered by the village settlement called Naju. In its physical aspect it is sometimes understood as the same to Baru. But Batang is the space continuous with the hill base where the settlement is made. Settlement is made on *wanga* thus *batang* is associated with *wanga* penu. Further, the wanga on which village settlement is made must be at the base of a hill. So Soru penu is also associated with the wanga penu and thus describes the symbolic religious aspect of the *batan*, which does not have a well mentioned practical ecological aspect like that of Sandhi, Nelang and Merang.

Badang is the area immediately adjacent to the back of the house. Thus *badang* is the area where cattle sheds, goat fold, pig sty are made. In its symbolic religious aspects badang is associated with elu penu i.e. the home deity. Since *badang* comes under the reign of Elu penu, badang is a part of the house for, home deity is associated with it. Elu penu governs over two spaces; Elu meaning house and badang meaning the backyard of house. In any case Elu and badang in their ecological aspects make it a space for human beings and domestic animals.

The village settlement - Naju and the other associated parts are parts of a larger whole called *Wanga*, which refers to the total space that spreads Wanga within the Nellang, Sandhi, Danda, Merang, Batang and Badang. Thus the Wanga is a larger set structure of all these smaller set structures. The Wanga is associated

with Wanga penu who is also similar to the Dhami penu in its functional aspects.

Based upon the suitability of the geographical conditions a settlement is made. The parts of the total geography of the settlement are associated with certain godly beings. This makes a feeling in the kuianka that geographical conditions are associated with the religious phenomena. Thus, the physical aspect (geographical), symbolic religious aspects and practical ecological aspects of a settlement site must closely co-ordinate with each other turningthe the Kuiankas settlement into a balanced one.

SIZE OF SETTLEMENT

The size of settlement depends upon the available space. Considering the various useful aspects of the space, settlements are made. It varies from one or two households to about eighty/ninety households. After selection of a site for settlement, one or two families reside there. If more space is available, and found suitable people from other villages migrate to the new settlement. In course of time the expansion of the first inhabitants adds more households to the settlement. Thus the village settlement expands.

In the present scenario, in Belghar area where the study was taken up, villages are found to consist of eight to ten households to seventy - eighty households. Rangaparu is the largest settlement in the area in regard to the number of households. The Rangaparu village is now being known by two names, one refers to the original village and the other to its hamlet - a place not too far from the main village Rangaparu. The hamlet is known as new Rangaparu and the main village is known as old Rangaparu. The increase in population in the old Rangaparu made people to migrate and choose a settlement nearer to the old one.

As smaller settlements the village Guchka and village Gulampanga may be taken into consideration. The villages have only about eight to ten households in total. Such settlements are not too old. The justification may be given here in favour of the settlements that, if it would have been too old, population explosion must have added new households to the village. However the process is going on with addition of new households there is increase in population. Also in certain cases family fictionand feuds add new households in the village.

Thus the size of a settlement is determined in accordance with the number of households. The total population of a village depends on the size of settlements. Again the size of settlement is conditioned by the availability of crop lands, swidden plots and other social resources. Size of settlement also takes into account the advantages and disadvantages that are confronted in day-to-day life.

CHANGE OF SETTLEMENT

Change of a settlement is subjected to many factors. With increase in population in the village, the need for more space to make house is deeply felt by the Kuianka. Increase in population is directly proportional to the decrease in living space. This makes people to look for a new settlement. If the inter-family relation in the village is very good the whole village desires to leave the old settlement for a new one. If the entire population of the old village do not like to shift, only some families or households look for a new settlement, preferably near the old settlement and migrate to that place. Hence, the population pressure and the available space for their living determine the full or partial change of a settlement.

Change of a settlement also sometimes depends upon the availability of area to be converted to swidden plots. With increase in population, land to man ratio decreases considerably. This stands on their socio-economic conditions and stands as a major factor for the change of a settlement. The provision of drinking water is taken into consideration also.

Apart from the above factors, the third and most important factor that is responsible for a change in settlement is the feeling of inauspicious events the place. If an epidemic spreads in a village and a number of people die out of it then people think to change the settlement. For, diseases and epidemic are attributed to the wrath of gods and goddesses. When such inauspicious events take place in the village, the inhabitants feel that the wrath or anger or evil eyes of the deities would pose much of a problem later on. In case of epidemic of pox disease they feel that the Kamati or Kamatali penu is not satisfied with them. Similarly other epidemic diseases are attributed to many malevolent deities. Hence, epidemics matter a lot for change in the settlement site. These are some of the causes that stand for abandoning an old settlement and setting a new settlement.

SETTING OF A NEW SETTLEMENT

Before settling anywhere the Kuttia Kondhs seek the permission of gods and goddesses; collectively called as Penuni. In this case the Soru penu, Wanga penu, Dharni penu, Keri penu, Gangi penu, Satari penu, Denkuda penu are propitiated to before taking up a new settlement. They believe that if permission of Penuni is not taken during setting up of a new settlement,they may be put to problems.

To set a new settlement first the village people decide a place. A Kutaka (witchman/astrologer) goes to the foot hill nearby the proposed new settlement. He carries with him Kueri - a cereal (little millet - *Panicum miliare*) Pranga - rice grain in a *Sechi* (winnow). He prays to the Penuni and invokes them to the site of worship. The grains on the *Sechi* determines the arrival of the gods. As soon as the

grains on the Sechi shake, it is believed that the Penu/Penuni has arrived. The penu enters the body of the Kutaka who then gets possessed and speaks on behalf of gods. A good deal of conversation takes place among the people and the gods. In the conversation through the Kutaka, the people put their want and desire for the space which they want to convert to a settlement. On behalf of the people the Kutaka asks the gods if they would like to allow the people to settle there. If the Penu/Penuni is agreeable he would allow them to settle in that place. The penu is also a well wisher of the people. Therefore if the Penu feels that the proposed settlement site has disadvantages, he would tell them about and thus restrict the people to make a settlement there. The disadvantages are mainly like scarcity of water, prevalence of illness in the place, easy accessibility of carnivorous beasts to the place etc. Thus the penu checks the idea of the peoples' settling down in that place. The judgement of the penu is intimated to the people through the Kutaka.

The Penu's decision is taken to be the final in this event. Before setting a new settlement at a new place, the Penu requires sacrifice of animals. On this occasion the Penu requires one sacrifice or two sacrifices successively. The penu demands either a pig or a buffalo and sometimes both. If the penu demands both, then the pig is sacrificed first followed by the sacrifice of the buffalo.

After the approval of gods are transmitted by the Kutaka, the people arrange for Dharni Penu puja. The responsibility of worshipping to Dharni Penu is left to the *Jani* the priest. The Jani orders people to find if a Dharni is there in the place. Dharni penu is represented in the form of three stones placed in a linear fashion. If the Dharni stone is available on the site or nearby the site then the stones are brought to the proposed site and established there. If however Dharni stones are not found nearby then they set out in search of Dharni stones in villages which are abandoned. By any means they bring the Dharni stones to the proposed site of settlement and instal the stones in the middle of the *baru* or the slope. Then they search out if the Sapangada vali is there in the site or nearby it. If it is not found there, people go to Sapangada to get Sapangada vali, which is a stone placed in memory of their origin from him. Vali refers to stone. The establishment of Dharni stone in the village is a must for organizing Meriah festival - one of the great traditions of the Kondhs. Meriah puja is organised at such places where the Dharni stones (Dharni vali) are found. If Dharni vali is not in the village, to perform the Meriah Festival they return back to their old settlement. Dharni stones are not put alone. A large stone is kept along with the Dharni stones which is put in a fashion as a hood over the Dharni stones. The large stone is called *Jakel arenja vali* which means the thunder and lightning. Thus the Jakel arenja stone saves the Dharni stone from thunders and lightning.

After the Dharni stones are established, people go in search of a Sal pole to be placed adjacent to the Dharni vali. The Sal pole is called *Karu munda. Karu*

refers to buffalo and *munda* means pole. Thus Karumunda means Buffalo pole. The pole is named so, because in Meriah festival buffalo (Karu) is sacrificed at that Sal pole. The pole to be used as Karumunda is selected in a specified manner. Reference about selection of a Karumunda is given in the chapter "Social and Cultural aspects of plants and trees" in communities with the descriptions of Sal. The Karumunda is engroved and designed in a particular way before it is placed adjacent to the Dharni vali. With this the primary preparation for setting a settlement is finished.

STRUCTURE OF SETTLEMENT

In a village settlement called Naju, houses are arranged in two rows facing each other. Village settlements are made on a slope at the foot hills. The houses in each row are attached to each other. In none of the cases houses are made separately. The houses which remain on either sides of Rachangiri are constructed in such a manner that the floor (of houses) remain about one foot below the level of the street. This is the traditional house pattern. At the middle of the Rachangiri is established the Dharni stone and karu munda. Thus the village road is divided into two halves. The Dharni stone and Karumunda are placed almost at the middle of the village. Once established, the karumunda can not be displaced. Hence, with further extension of houses in the village the Dharni stones with Karumunda may not remain at the middle of the village. The backside of the houses are made into kitchen gardens and sheds for domestic animals. In most of the villages a jack fruit tree is planted in the beginning or end of the village. This is believed to be an auspicious sign. In many villages the salap trees (*Coryota urens*) are given importance and so are planted at the beginning or end of the village settlements. In some villages another 'Munda' is erected which signifies the presence of Kamatali penu.

In every village usually a non-tribal family resides. The non-tribal family is mainly from the local Domb or Pano community. The family members work as cow herds. They take the cattle of Kuttia Kondhs for grazing and in turn get raw food stuffs or cooked food from the Kuttia families. The family of the cow herd live in a house which remains at the posterior end of the village. Besides the community recreation house and youth dormitories, if present, are located towards the exterior end of the village.

At the extreme end of the village, is the place for depositing dumps and garbages. The villagers dig up compost pits called *Kabda* at such places to dump the solid waste materials and organic wastes of the livestocks. Besides, wells, tubewells are found at the beginning of the village settlements.

Each Kuttia Kondh village mainly consists of households belonging to the same clan. But the tradition is not strictly maintained in the present circumstances.

Today different clan households can be found in a village. According to the Kuttia Kondhs the reason for this is the availability of land in the wife's village. It was then a tradition that after marriage, the husband leaves his own village and lives in his wife's village. Thus after marriage the husband comes and stays in the wife's village and becomes a member of that village. The village community is close knitted.and lives with mutual cooperation among different clans.

The traditional structure of the village is itself a symbol of unity. The houses arranged in two rows divide the whole villagers into two sections : *Majhi* and *Jani*. The people with surname Jani lives in one row and people with surname Majhi live on the other row. This is the traditional idea of division of space in the village settlements. At present both Majhi and Jani are also living in the same row. The reason why Majhi and Jani sections live in two different rows will be dealt later. In each row houses are built to a common height and it seems as if the entire row has one roof.

Houses in a row are attached to each other. The attached houses are free to each other in all villages based on a belief that the Weda (Sun) should not be disturbed during its travel of the world. The clarification goes that the Sun light is evenly divided between the two rows. Sun light in the morning falls on one row and sun light in the after noon falls on the other row. The midday sun light is shared by both the rows. With the division of the village in two rows occupied by Majhi and Jani sections, the sunlight is also divided. They believe in equal distributions of the Weda's favour to all members of the village. Hence, the houses in the rows face to the east and west. In some villages deviations are marked in this principle of settlement pattern. Another reason associated with the sharing of the Sun's favour is that all houses come consistently under his protection, correcting and sustaining gaze. It also provides a warm front to every house during their harvesting seasons to dry the grains or sit down in the sun and work.

Here arises one more question that between the two sections of the Kuttia Kondhs : Majhi and Jani. It is suggested that the person who came there first to make the settlement, constructs his house facing the east. Thus the east facing row goes to his section i.e. to the surname the person carries. If he is a Jani by surname then other people bearing the Jani surname who may be relatives, even if are not relatives of the person, live in the same row. Thus the row facing the east is the first preferrence and it is occupied by the people carrying the same surname as the person who first inhabitted there. Another idea is that, If two families came together at one is and Majhi by surname and the other of Jani by surname as per the social right Majhi lives in the east-facing row. For, Majhi is the political headman in Kuttia society. If Majhi allows Jani to live on the east facing row, there is interpersonal understanding between them. The overall understanding is that the east facing row is open for any of the two sections on the basis of first come-first line principle.

Some times the village settlement takes a different shape. The settlement looks like a cluster of houses. It happens due to certain social relations. For example, if the son gets married and wants to build a house for himself, he builds it on the space available between the row preferably or between the two rows or behind their parents house. In the general traditional pattern cattle sheds, goat fold, pig sty are made in the backside of the houses. When a family house is built in the space at the backyard of houses it gives an appearance as if houses are not made in a particular arrangement, so the settlement looks like a cluster of houses. Since this breaks the normal principle of the traditional settlement pattern, people do not take much interest in this regard. The son makes a house behind his parent's house mainly to facilitate exchange of goods and materials with minimum support e.g. if something good is cooked in either houses, it could be immediately given to the other household without anyone coming to know of it.

Besides the houses in the village, there is also the dormitory called *Karmbara* while is made separately for young boys and young girls. Young boys are known as *Ladska* and *Kagara* and young girls are known as *Laduan* or *Kagali*. The dormitory for the young boys is called *Ladska kuda* and for young girls is *Ladvanga kuda*. These houses are usually situated at one end of the village.

The cattle and pigs find place at the back of the house in sheds while the goats and poultry find place in the back room of houses. There is no religious institution in a Kuttia Kondhs house. But specific places are meant for gods and goddesses.

Location of forest, croplands, swidden plots, non-swidden plots kitchen gardens in relation to the village are mentioned earlier. Settlements are made at the foot hills. But a number of hills are usually found surrounding the settlements. Each hill bears a name. Kuttias practise shifting cultivation in such hills found around their settlement. Swidden plots nearby the settlement helps the Kuttias in saving time and better utilization of labour in the practice of shifting cultivation. The Kuttias also change swidden plots in one or two years interval. When they change, they clear new patches of forests and forested hills and convert them into swidden plots. They also search for new swidden plots near to their settlement. If the swidden plots close to their settlement are exhausted in terms of fertility of soil and productivity of crops, they go for swiddening in far of hills and forests from their settlement. During cultivation practice in far off places they make temporary settlements for harvesting and after that they return to their permanent settlements. Paddy lands are found near the perennial streams of water. These are also found at foot hills, low lands & areas near perennial water sources, Kuttias convert them into paddy lands. Paddy lands may also be found at far off places. Kuttia Kondhs purchase paddy lands wherever available and they give attention to their convenience in cultivating at such places. Thus paddy lands never have a specific location

in relation to the settlements. Kitchen gardens are developed in available area in the backyard of the settlements. Kuttia Kondhs prefer to raise kitchen gardens at places where water facility is available. Crops grown in Kitchen gardens are not of large varieties. Only certain very usable species are cropped in the kitchen gardens. So kitchen gardens are very small plots and so the space available in the backyard of the houses are enough for the purpose.

Graveyards also do not have specific location in relation to the settlements. Graveyards called *Tulenl* must be on hills or parts of forests. Cremation grounds are kept at a far distance from the settlement. A distant patch of land is earmarked for graveyard known in their dialect as Tuleri. The Kuttia Kondh's belief is that the Tuleni should be restricted from human interference That in Tuleni the spirits of the dead are roaming is the Kuttia Kondhs' belief. The spirits may be malevolent or benevolent but Kuttia kondhs feel scared. Hence there is no interference of human beings in the Tuleni. Colection of fire wood ar even medicinal plants are restricted in the Tuleni. This develops a fear complex in the Kuttia Kondhs resulting in the preservation of vegetation in the Tuleni. Therefore the location of Tuleni is always at a reasonable distance from the village settlement. None of the dead is burnt or buried anywhere except in the Tuleni. Forests regarded as Tuleni are never violated by the Kuttia Kondhs.

HOUSE PATTERN

The houses of Kuttia Kondhs in a village are in a row. The row if viewed from a distance gives a false impression of a single long house. Even from a close view it seems as if a long hall has been compartmentalized to many sequents. This is because all the houses in a row have their *Dayani* (roof) of the same height and are attached to each other. The houses are partitioned, mainly by earthen walls. In most cases mud wall is put in between adjacent houses to separate one joint family from another. Joint family here means the nuclear family units of the sons of the same mother. Some houses are partitioned with Tati i.e. bamboo nets. Separating the houses by bamboo mats are seen in cases when two brothers of the same father separates the main house or construct another house adjacent to the main house. In most cases it is observed that as the family grows, the fathers' generations separate while his sons live under the same roof.

The house called *Ilu* is a two roomed structure with a high verandah which is usually converted into a sitting place. In recent addition the verandah is divided into two sides, one side of which is used as a sitting place and the other is converted to a small room. This is used as a compartment for guests or as a guest room. But the family members of the house owner live inside the house. The small compartment in the outer verandah is used by the youth when they do not have enough spaces in their dormitories. In the small room on the verandah youths sleep

in the night. In some places it is also found to be used as a place to keep pigs and goats.

The houses are usually divided into three portions. The middle portion is further partitioned to give an appearance of another room. The entrance of the room is marked with a high verandah called *Sui kuda*. The verandah continues into the main rooms inside. The middle and the main room's floor remains at a lower level than the verandah. This low lying floor is called *Kutti*. The middle room is called *Ada eja*. Ada literally means goat. The middle room *Ada eja* is further divided into *Eja kuda* and *Saka kuda*.

In fact, *Elu* is the term for house. But for home, Eja is the term used. That's why the Eja carries Elu in it. The Sui Kuda is the room on the high verandah which is used as a guest room but it is not common to every home. It is the *Ada Eja* that is the middle and the main room which forms central part of living. All household activities usually take place there. Eja Kuda is the interior part of the middle room. In the Eja kuda, the kitchen *Vaja naja* finds its place. The hearth is seen in the Eja kuda and is made just adjacent to the inner wall. Over the *Vaja naja* is the *Sicheni* i.e. a loft. It is not made too high over the hearth. On the loft Kuttia Kondhs place grains, pulses etc. to dry. Surplus meat of animals after consumption are also kept on the loft to dry. Varieties of food materials, households artifacts, utensils and pots are also kept on the loft. The *Sicheni* leads to *Papi* which is a bigger loft on which all the agricultural produce of the house is stored. Burlanga i.e. large bamboo containers are also placed on the Papi in which grains are stored for future use.

In the *Saka kuda* all the members of the household usually sleep. They sleep on cots or on the floor. Male members of the household usually sleep on the cots and the females sleep on the floor. If the middle room has enough space, more cots may be added for other members of the family to sleep.

The main door into the house is the entrance to the middle room. The backdoor and the main door with the door of Sui Kuda lies in one line. Therefore person at the backdoor can also know the entry of a person into the Sui kuda. Immediately after the main door leading towards the backdoor, the rice pounding hole, called *Seni* is placed almost at the middle of the Saka kuda i.e. the space for sleeping. Seni is a hole made on a wood and set on the floor. The Kuttia kondhs husk rice and other grains in the Seni.

The Eja Kuda and Saka kuda are in complete darkness even during the day time. Whatever light enters into the house is through the front door and through an opening at the roof. Usually when mud walls are raised to construct a house, one end of it is not made to touch the roof. There is a space left in between the roof and the wall for light to enter into the house. During the day time darkness is partially

cut by light. The opening on the wall is hooded over by the roof so that rain water never enters into the house.

The *jaka kuda* is the room where the women folk usually retire during their menstrual cycle - *Jaka*. Sometimes, Jaka kuda is not found in every house. In the village there can also be four-five Jaka kuda for common use. Many women also enjoy the facility of common Jaka kuda even though such women have Jaka kuda provision in their own houses. In such cases the Jaka kuda is divided into two; one to be used as goat sheds and the other for pig sty, or the whole room may cater to only goats or pigs whichever are domesticated by the household.

In some villages people have constructed modern houses. But mostly the Kuttia kondhs make their houses in traditional pattern. The traditional pattern of house is always the same throughout. In all the houses the same design, the same management of space, the same architecture are followed.

CONSTRUCTION OF A HOUSE

An Elu is constructed by levelling the surface. Then holes and pits are dug and poles are placed into the holes. The vertical poles that are erected to frame a house is known as *Dedhi* or collectively known as *Dedhinga*. After the vertical poles are placed into the holes, horizontal beams are placed on the vertical poles. The horizontal beams are called *Aru*. With *Dedhi* and *Aru* the general framework of the house is made. After that the Arus are joined by beams called *Danda*. The *Aru* and *Kanda* make the base for the roof. The roof may be thatched with straw or may be roofed with tiles.

To make the base frame of a house, eight numbers of *Dedhi* are placed into the holes. Out of the eight *dedhis* two are called *Nechuri dedhi*, two as *Aritachandi dedhi*, two as *Saka dedhi* and two are for *Sui dedhi*. The dedhis are named after the names of *Aru* i.e. the horizontal beams that are placed on the vertical poles- *dedhi*. The vertical poles that carry the topmost horizontal beam that demarcates the roof is called *Nechuri dedhi*. For the horizontal beam at the roof level are called *Nechuri Aru*. The vertical poles on the forks on which the first beam of the front of house rests is called *Sui dedhi* and the horizontal beams are called *Sui Aru*. The vertical poles that carry the Saka aru i.e. the first horizontal beam on the back side of the house is known all *Saka dedhi*. The *dedhi* in the middle of the house that shoulders the Aritachandi aru i.e. the horizontal beam just below the topmost beam - Nechuri aru, is Aritachandi dedhi. Thus there remains light vertical poles on which sixteen *Aru* take support. Since the house has four lateral sides and on each side four sets of horizontal beams are given, it makes total sixteen horizontal beams. Among the four arus named differently, one side of a house, the sun aru remains at the second step, *Aritachandi aru* represents the third step and the *Nechuri aru* remains at the last step of the ladder fashioned roof. This arrangement is common

for all four corners of the house. The vertical poles used to make the house door is known as Dara and the poles used to make window is called *jharaka dara*. But *Tharaka dara* is not commonly seen in Kuttia Kondh houses for, they do not keep windows in their houses. The general plan for making a house is made as per the above description. On the four sets of horizontal beams, many a number of thin pole to the thickness of bamboo are entered from the first beam to the last one which are called *Kanda*. On the *Kanda* thatching is done.

After *Musana* and *Dasana* which mean placing the poles into holes and placing the beams on the poles respectively, in between them different materials are used to make a wall of the house. Basically they are of three types as follows.

1. The hole side is filled with wooden poles known as *Munda*. The space is then filled with mud, then properly levelled followed by polishing. The poles used to fill in the space are usually the branches of Sal (*Shorea robusta*) locally called *Sargi mara*, of Chara *Buchanania lanzan* called Sreka mara, of Tangan *Xylia xylocarpa* locally called Dengen mara and of many other tree species available in the area. But *Dedhi* and *Aru* are usually made of Sal wood.

2. The second method is to make *Tati* i.e. bamboo mats and place them, in front of the dedhis. *Tati* encloses the whole space outlined by dedhis. After that mud is smeared on the Tati. However, this method of making walls is not a good one. For, the bamboo mat walls do not last long. After the Tati is placed, mud is smeared on the *Tati*. This makes the dwelling last for about three years after which the mats get broken or are damaged by rain and seasonal changes.

3. The third method is to make houses of mud. The mud is mixed with water and kneaded. It is then kept as small blocks on top of one another. After that it is plastered with mud again and is hand levelled. A further plastering is done when the mud wall cracks after drying up. The last phase of plastering is done with mud mixed cow-dung to fill in the cracks. The cow dung is used to make the mud more sticky, with this no further cracking of walls in observed.

The roof of all houses are usually thatched with grass called *vika* - in local Oriya known as sabai ghasa (*Eulaliopsis binata*). This grass is found in jungle. The *Vika* thatched roofs were seen many years ago. But now due to the scarcity of grass alternate materials are being used. Sabai is replaced with Chhana - a grass available in jungle, botanically known as *Themda arundinacea*. But now-a-days Kuttia kondhs prefer to make roofs with tiles, *Khapari*. *Khapari* roofed house indicates an economically sound household. It is used for long lasting of roofs. For, *chhana* thatching lasts for one year only after which the house needs further thatching.

Khapari is made from burnt mud. In the beginning Kuttia Kondhs were purchasing Khapari from Doms. But now they have learnt to make tiles and use of it. To make Khapari, Kuttias take a solid cylinderical wood. They polish the wood with dry ash. Then they put a thin layer of kneaded mud over it, do not let the mud to stick to the solid cylinder. Then a hollow cylinder of mud is designed. The hollow cylinder is cut longitudinally into two almost equal halves. After these are burnt these become Khaparis. The Kuttia kondhs have taken up settled life i.e. they do not change settlements as they used to do in olden days. For this they use Khapari frequently or else if they shift they take these along with them to the new settlement area.

The houses are kept clean by the female folk by regularly smearing mud on the floor. They also use cow dung for smearing the floors and walls. The houses are decorated with designs called *piching* by fingers on the wet mud itself. *Surma* means a black mud, (the main composition of which is graphite) it is used extensively to give black colour to the walls. Usually to about one foot height from the floor, the walls are polished with this black mud. The rest part of the walls are polished with red colored mud and the red earth is known as Kambit vira.

Now-a-days the doors and windows are engraved by the Kuttia Kondhs. They make lines, curved lines, triangles, rhombus shapes, flowers designs on the doors and windows, Besides the doors, windows and their frames are painted with dazzling colours.

DEATH RITES OF A HOUSE

An Ilu of the Kuttia Kondhs is given the some respect as a member of the society. Before settling in a place various rites and rituals are performed to seek the permission of gods and goddesses (Penuni) present in that particular place. After obtaining permission from the gods they settle there. This has already been discussed in the settlement pattern.

Previously before making a house no Dakina (worship) was needed. But now-a-days a well organized worship is done to seek permission from the godly beings for settling in their place. The reason is that in the past a settlement was made with one or two families. Such families migrated from one place in search of more lands and areas for cultivation. Later on new families were added to it. But now-a-days when a new settlement is established, most of the families of one settlement migrate.

The organisation of worship with pomp and grandeur is mostly due to acculturisation. The villages that are in close proximity to the mainstream follow the non-tribal religious culture. The adaptation of non-tribal religious practices particularly the use of coconut, plantain, agarbatti and other new things is more

perceptible in such places where the Kuttia Kondhs have more contact with Oriya people. Thus the olden tradition is assimilating with the modern Hinduised tradition. The integration of two traditions, however, has not diminished the status of Kutaka and Jani in Kuttia society. Sometimes non-tribal people are invited to perform certain rites but the death rites of a house is always performed by the religious headmen of the Kuttia Kundha.

Sometimes due to fire the house is gutted. Then the death rites of the house are performed as with a dead man. This is common in all Kuttia villages.

The death rites of the house is called *Dadi*. The same term is also applicable to explain the death rites of a Man. The only difference is that the death rites of a man are performed after three days while the death rite of a house is performed after six days. The seventh day is called the *Sata dinata dadi*. The *Sata dinata dadi* is the most important occasion of the death rites of the house. On this day the village people gather at the premises of the dead house. If not all the villagers, at least headman of all families or representatives from each family of the village gather in front of the dead house. Everybody express their sympathetic feeling to the owner of the house. A discussion takes place in a very formal manner. In the discussion, headed by the Majhi, people ask the house owner about the cause of fire. Everybody knows the cause. But it is a formality to ask such questions on the *Sata dinata dadi*.

The death rites of a house are done by all the families in the village. They clean all their clothes and smear their houses with cow dung and mud. Then burning charcoal and dust resin are put and the smoke is spread into all corners of their houses to drive out the evil spirits. Then all the villagers help the persons whose house had burnt to make a new house on the same place, or at a new place.

The relatives of the persons whose house had burnt help them with food materials. The daughters in-law father gives a new arthen pot (*Bandi*), a Sechi (winnow) full of grains a little millet, finger millet, paddy.. etc.. Kalu i.e. crop beverage, clothes (Khadi) Dhoti (Limta), a bamboo basket and take along with them cooked food to their house on the seventh day. The quantity of grains to be given depends upon the father's capacity.

HABITAT AND PLACEMENT OF DEITIES IN THE VILLAGE

Kuttia Kondhs have a great sense of spiritual life. They believe in the malevolent and benevolent deities. Living amidst forests they have fear for many things: material or immaterial. They feel protected and safeguarded from all sorts of troubles, dangers, diseases having the feeling of the presence of deities around them. They feel gods and goddesses are always benevolent but if they are not treated properly they cause problems and harms to the community. The feeling of the presence of deities in their houses, in the village and around the village gives

them ample normal and physical courage to live in the settlement. Their faith in gods and goddesses shapes their life to go in a particular order of life style by abiding to the principles formulated by the religious beliefs. Their belief in their religion, belief in the wrath and anger of the deities, faith in the benevolence and friendliness of deities have kept them in the track of the traditional life style.

Home is the place that gives peace after the day long labour. Home is the best place where a man gets ample opportunity to deal with his family. The home develops an emotional feeling in every man and woman. Therefore it is believed that the home itself is god or goddess and also they reside in their houses with them. Based on this thought and feeling Kuianka brought home deity called Elu penu. Elu penu is therefore regarded as the family deity. The family members are protected from diseases and dangers the grace of the deity. The home deity also fights against evil deities or evil spirits. The Elu penu is represented by a wooden post, sometimes three wooden posts are established to represent the Elu penu. The wooden post(s) are made out of Sal wood, the terminal part of which are encarved into three ring like appearance. the post(s) are placed inside the house towards one corner or in front of the house.

In the middle of the village, on the Rachangiri is established a wooden post called *karu munda* and three stones loaded over by a large stone, under the *Karu munda* representing the presence of Dharni penu who is the sole authority of the earth and of the settlement site. She is regarded with great esteem as far as her good will remains auspicious always. She is very much benevolent if she is treated properly by the Kuttia Kondhs. If she is not propitiated properly she causes great harm to the villagers forcing them ultimately to change the settlement. The Dharni penu is powerful to mitigate the action of evil spirits in the village. She counter-balance many bad effects caused by the evil spirits. She is therefore the deity carrying the Kuianka and their settlement on her cradle. Dharni penu is offered with sacrifice and worshipped every year if Kuianka is economically sound or at an interval of three / four years when Kuianka feels financially sound. But all the rituals in the village are organized on the seat of Dharni penu. The Karu munda stands as a proof of the Kondhs' most horrendous and heinous practice of human sacrifice at the Dharni penu which is now substituted by animal sacrifice. Particularly the buffalo (*Karu*) is sacrificed on the occasion of Meriah festival.

In the beginning of the village settlement Deu Kuda and Satari Penu are established. Dev kuda and Satari penu are regarded as village welfare deities. They restrict the entry of evil spirits, the spirits that cause epidemics and look for the overall settlement of the village and villagers. Satari penu and Deu kuda penu may be placed together or placed apart from each other. They are established under large trees; mostly under any of the trees like *Baena Terminalia belerica*, Pipada *Ficus scandens*, Sal *Shorea robusta*, Jambu *Syzigium cuminii*, Maska *Mangifere*

indica etc.. Small huts are made for them. The deities are represented in form of two wooden posts, made out of sal tree and the posts are placed one aside the other. Out of the two posts, one is larger measuring about three feet from the ground and the other is smaller measuring about two feet from the ground. The posts are designed in the same way as Elu penu. The post made for deity/deities are thatched with chhana and all the poles on which the hut is made are also designed in the same way.

The village border deity is known as Sandhi penu who is established under a large tree, preferably under a Jambu mara Syzigium cuminii or a Maska mara Mangifera indica etc. In Burlubaru village, Sandhi penu is placed under a Made mara Lannea corromondalica for they had not large tree of the species referred earlier on the village border. In none of the cases they establish the Sandhi penu under the Neliggi mara Tamarindus indica for, it is felt inauspicious to establish the deity under the tree. Sandhi penu is mostly represented in form of a stone.

Kamati or Kamatali penu. Manali penu and Mardi penu are three female malevolent deities who are feared by the Kuttia Kondhs. They are regarded as three sisters. They cause pox, stomach disease and blood vomiting respectively. Their abode is on Banyan trees - Bade mara Ficus benghalensis. Therefore, if there is any large or small banyan tree near the village settlement, the deities are worshipped there. But the deities are not represented in any material form, nor are they established at any place in the village.

The Kuttia Kondhs worship a number of deities in different names. But all do not find permanent places in the village. Such deities do not have specific abodes. They are regarded as omnipresent. They are invoked on various occasions and are bade farewell after the propitiation. They are many in number spread to different hill gods, water gods, forest gods.

The hill at the base of which Kuianka make their settlements is esteemed high. Kuianka offers worship to such hill or hills regularly. They feel the hill or hills around them protects them from environmental hazards and carnivorous beasts. Again such hill gods protect their swidden plots under a cultivation from herbivorous beasts. Hill gods also take care of people who watch their crops grown in swidden plots by staying in the watch huts made there. Therefore the Kuianka establish the hill(s) god at the foot hill, represented in form of a stone or stones.

Besides, certain iron implements and artifacts are also worshipped in the priest's house. Such implements and artifacts were used once upon a time when human sacrifice was practised by the Kuttia Kondhs. Such materials are also being worshipped in Meriah festivals. Kuianka fears that if such materials are not worshipped regularly people will be harmed severely by the Dharni Penu (as such materials are associated with her

MATERIAL CULTURE AND HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

The wants of Kuttia kondh families are very limited as compared to non-tribals. It is not true that they do not know the use of the things. A person who understands the life style of Kuttia Kondhs can identify all the necessary articles needed for day to day living in their house.

The life of the Kuttia kondhs revolves around three spheres i.e. work, rest and leisure. House is the place of work and rest. Swidden fields are places for work and rest. Thus there are two homes of the Kuttia Kondhs, one in the village and the other is watch huts at swiddening plots. Again home and watch hut are placed where leisure time is spent. The village is the place for aesthetic activities and entertainment. Thus major work sites are the swidden plots and the other crop lands. Work at home here means household works and in swidden plots means agricultural work. However, the work pattern will be mentioned in detail in another section.

Here the main point is to describe the household articles and material culture of the Kuttia Kondhs that are in their daily use. The household articles are classified and categorized as follows.

KITCHEN EQUIPMENTS

Kuttia kondhs cook their food in earthen pots. They like dishes cooked in earthen pots (*Bandi*). Earthen pots are purchased from Kumbhar (potters) which are often marketed by the *local* Dom people. They have learnt to use the aluminium pots and kitchen utensils. But for cooking purpose they prefer earthen pots and aluminium pots are used to carry food to their work sites. Thus aluminium pots are rarely used. Earthen pots are very carefully handled to avoid breakage. Earthen pots have proved to be expensive in terms of its durability still the Kuttia Kondhs use it and feel it better than aluminium pots for cooking purpose. Aluminium pots and frying pans are being used by many still earthen pots are preferred. The earthen pots are known as '*verga bandi*' and its lid is called '*Situ*'. The aluminium pot is called '*Javi*' and the Kadei (frying pan) is called '*Kara*'. The *danki* (frying spoon) is referred to as '*Kreti*'. (along handle and a cup like end). The cup like end is cut for an opening, the inner content of the lain is searched out and after perfect drying is used as danki. The hat spoon is called '*Sata*' made from wood of Gambar mara *Gmelina arborea*. Other species like Dengen mara *Xylia xylocarp*, Sal *Shorea robusta* to *Grewia tiliaefolia* may be used for the purpose. Besides these cooking items, cans or containers called, '*Ketali*' are used to carry food to long distances. *Ketali* is mostly made out of lain gourd that gives a bowl like appearance the opening end being slightly tapering. Another working instrument is Kalu i.e. the pestle used to pound paddy and other grains. Kalu is a wooden club with iron or brass ring at the base. It is made out of Sal wood, Piasal (called Bengeri mara

Pterocarpus marsupium) and Sissoo tree (Muje mara *Dalbergria sissoo*). Wood of piasal is extensively used for Kalu but wood of Sissoo is preferred for its long durability and rigidity. Kalu is also encarved and designed. The *Seni* i.e. the rice pounding hole is mostly made out of wood of Sal, Piasal or Sissoo. For grinding spices, chilly etc., two smooth stones called 'Manda vali' are generally used.

WATER STORING ARTICLES

Water is usually brought to the house from streams, wells or tube wells. Every household has buckets called *Tinc* to lift water from wells or water pools. Aluminium or brass pots (called Gara) are used to fetch water. Water is stored in Javi or Gara. They use Kreti i.e. the long handled gourd to take out waters from the pots.

EATING VESSELS

The main eating vessel of the Kuttia Kondhs is *Batki* which is a bowl with a flat base, rounded body and made of brass. Batki made of steel and aluminium are also being used but brass batki is always preferred. Besides this, they have *gina* made of aluminium or brass and *thali* i.e. the plates called *Jadai*. They do not usually use glass. They drink water directly from Kreti.

ARTICLES TO KEEP CLOTHES

In olden days the clothes were kept in box made of bamboo (called *Suka* or *Kappa*). Now-a-days boxes of tin and zinc are being used to keep costly clothes ant ornaments. The tin or zinc boxes are known as *Pida* or *Pedae* in their language. In pida the extra clothes and ornaments of ladies are kept. The male folk have little clothes compared to the women. Rest of the clothes that come in their daily use are kept on the rope tied in the house. The rope is woven out of siali *(Bauhinia vahlii)* bark. Often the rope is replaced by bamboo (called *Mani).* When the Kuttia kondhs are in forest, they collect good looking forked tree branches bent bamboo roots, pieces of bamboo with short branches (*mani gadi*) and fix them on the walls of their homes which are used as hangers. For decorative use, of lamps the Kuttia Kondhs fix horns of Kateri (Barking deer) on the walls.

SLEEPING ARTICLES

Kuttia Kondhs usually sleep on cots *known as Kadeli*. It is usually made of wooden planks and ropes. The ropes are made out of *Bobe randa* i.e. Sabai grass *(Eulaliopsis binata)* or out of Siali barks . In a few cases instead of ropes they use some blades to make bed of cots. Cots are of four types in regard to the designs and materials used. viz; *Barpo kadeli*, *Bana kadeli*, *Kandra ikadeli* and *Tati kadeli*.

For Bana kadeli *nana* (rope) of Kahnria i.e. jute fibre (bark of *corchorus*

capsularis or *Corchorus aestuans-bya : C. acutangulus*), nana of Babe i.e. Sabai grass (*Eulaliopsis binata*), nana of Kapeli (of family malvaceae), nana of Paeri (*Bauhinia vahlii*) ... etc are used. The legs *(Khuranga)* and frames *(Sandanga)* of this type of cot is made out of *Daman mara* (*Grewia tiliacfolia*) and no other wood species is used for the frames and legs for *Grewia tiliaefolia* is a light wood and strong enough. The cots are woven (Sachina) by the Kuttia Kondhs.

For Barpo Kadeli the same type of ropes as is used for bana kadeli is used. But the weaving design is different. The wood used for frames and legs are of *Grewia tiliaefolia.*

For Kandra kadeli rope of Kahanria and blades of cane called Veta (*Calamus tenuis / C. guruba / C. latifolius*) are generally used. Weaving pattern is different from others.

Tati kadeli is the simple type and is commonly used. It is made out of Siali rope and Damoa wood. It is easy to weave.

Out of all the cot types, Kandra Kadeli is a mark of status of Kuttia Kondhs, Barpo and Bana kadeli are the standard types and the Tati kadeli is the most common type. Some of the cots are also made with wood of other species like *Gambar mara* (*G. arborea*). Muje mara (*Dalbergia sissoo*), Bengeri mara (*Pterocarpus marsupium*) etc.

From the ideas on cots, one can learn the ecology of the grass species. Siali is commonly available in the forest. *Babe* is sometimes cultivated and also found in forests. *Babe* grows on waling base i.e. stoney places and dry places. It grows well during the rains and in winter. The grass is cut twice in a year (i.e. at the onset of rainy season and at the onset of winter season). By cutting the grass in these seasons the grass regenerates with new young shoots (*Kanang sapine*). The regeneration f grass species is called *Kadgali sapine* and the tuff of the Babe grass is called *Brejene*. Kahanria is cultivated, wild species are also available. But Kuttia Kondhs do not cultivate the species. *Kapeli* plant is widely available in the forest.

Cots are usually made to a lesser length of the normal height of a man. Therefore various sizes of cots are made i.e. for children and for adults. There is a reason for why cots are made smaller than the size of a man for whom it is made. There is a belief prevailing that if cots are made bigger than a man sleeping on it, then the life span of the man decreases. This decreasing of life span is called *Ainsi katelane* in the Kuttia Kondhs language.

Kuttia Kondhs also sleep on the grounds. They put a bamboo mat (called tati) and put some clothes on it. Lastly women and children sleep on the tati on the floor.

STORING ARTICLES

The Kuttia kondhs generally do not buy articles to store their food grains. They have their own made bamboo containers (buralauga) for staring grams. Sometimes they purchase bamboo containers from the Doms and from market. Various types of bamboo containers are used.. The biggest container is called the *Gaddi, the medium type as burla or burlanga* and the smaller type to store grains for immediate use as *kacha.*

For measuring grains Kuttias have measures called *Mana* and *Ada*. Mana is a bamboo container. also a container made out of Veta i.e. cane *(Calamus species)* which measures about three kilogram. *Ada* is also a similar container but it measures only half of a kilogram. Besides Mana and Ada other bamboo containers like *kacha* are used for borrowing, and returning. The barter system (of exchange of goods) is in practice.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND HAND WEAPONS

Amongst the agricultural implements, plough, yoke, harrow, dibbling rods, web, tiny mattock, hoe, sickle are the important which every Kuttia kondh family keeps. Ploughs (Nangeli) are of two types viz: *Suchipala nangeli* and *Kassna pala nangeli*. *Suchipala nangeli* is dragged by bullocks to plough up hard stoney lands. The *kasana pala nangeli* has a wide iron knife at the end as compared to the *Suchipala nangeli*,and is dragged by buffaloes to plough up soft earth surface.

Yokes are of two types viz; *Kila juadi* and *Palka juadi*, *Kila juadi* is used for ploughs dragged by bullocks and *palka juadi* is used for ploughs dragged by the buffaloes.

Harrow (called Data) is used for levelling (*Marata*) of the furrows after a field is ploughed up. This is also used for weeding.

The wooden parts of Nangeli are made out of wood of *Sargi mara* (*Shorea robusta*) and *Dengen mara* (*Xylia xylocarpa*). Wooden parts of yoke are made of *Kendu mara* (*Diospyros melanoxylon*) and *Muje mara* (*Dalbergia sissoo)*, Maje mara is always preferred but its population in the forest is very few. For harrow, wood of Sargi mara, Japi mara (*Michelia champaka*), Daman mara (*Grewia tiliaefolia*) are preferred.

Iron implements like sickle, hoe, tiny mattock, dibbling rod are purchased from the market. Amongst the hand weapons axe, bow (*Bilu*) and arrow (*ambu*) are common . Axe of two types are used-one for cutting wood and the other for slashing animal flesh ... etc. The animal slashing axe has a more flattened iron plate compared to the wood cutting axe. Arrows, axes etc. are purchased from market or from blacksmiths. Besides, for bird trapping and animal trapping, traps are made

out of bamboo and sheath fibre of *mada mara* (*Caryotc urens*). Knife (Kare) of very small size is also used as an ornament of women which they keep on their hair knots. Other than these for cutting vegetables, for cutting animal flesh, for cutting inflorescence of salap (*Caryota urens*) trees, knives of various sizes are used.

Kuttia Kondhs also have expertise in carpentry works. For this they keep hammer, file, mallet, chisel, screw driver, awl, bradawl, plane etc. All those carpentry tools and implements are purchased from the market.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND MISCELLANEOUS ARTIFACTS

Kuttia kondhs have a good deal of aesthetic sense. In community ceremonies they sing songs in accompaniment with music. The music makes the events colorful and exciting. But Musical instruments are made by them in traditional technology with raw materials collected from plants and trees, animals and some times from the market. Given below are descriptions of some of their musical instruments.

TAPAKA : It is a drum like instrument. The disc of the drum is made out of root base of *mada mara* (*Caryota urens*). The root base of young made mara is collected, the rough outer surface is scrached out and polished perfectly. It looks like a big bowl. The inner hollow space is scrached out so that the bowl like disc remains about one to two inch thick. The open end of the disc is covered with a leather (*Panda*). The leather is tied tightly on the face of the disc and often pasted (made out of Jrikeni dakinga (?) a plant) Usually the goat leather or a cow leather is prefered. The leather is first perfectly dried and then tied to the rim of the drum. The leather on the rim is further tightened by winding a cane or bamboo stick. This is called '*Sira*'. The root is of mada mara called *Daki*. The base of the drum and the rims are held together tightly by ropes made out of siali barks. Tapka is a must in ceremonial events, group dances and Meriah festivals. A club used to hammer the leather gives the drum beat.

DAPKARI : It is another type of musical instrument played by hands. It is made on a flat wooden ring. One surface of the flat wooden ring (called *Lada*) is left open and on the other surface a leather is fixed. The leather used is usually of goat skin. On the other surface , small pores are made. Through the pores Siali ropes are inserted. The ropes from the edge of the ring joins a centrally placed ring of rope. Thus the ropes extend from the wooden ring to the rope ring in a radial manner and the wooden ring is held tight with the rope ring. The radial ropes are called *Satpinere* and the central rope ring is *Sambari*. This gives a different sound than the Tapka. The wooden ring is made out of *Daman* (*Grewia tiliaefolia*) wood. The instrument looks like a tambourine.

KAMA AND SINGA : Kama and Singa are the wind blown horn pipes. *Kama* literally

means the horn. On a marriage occasion. Meriah festival. Punikalu festival. Kama is mostly used. Kama is the horn of wild Bison (Sama). Singa is also made of the horn of Bison. The horn pipes are blown to indicate the beginning of an event. After that it is blown with tunes from other musical instruments.

BANSI OR BAINSI : It is a bamboo pipe - the flute. The flute is also made by the Kuttia Kondhs. It adds tune to the Kuttia kondh songs.

LAUDI : Laudi consist of two sticks. When the Kuttia Kondhs dance in groups they use Laudi. One longer stick is held on the left hand, the other end of which shelters on the shoulder. The smaller stick is held on the right hand. In operation the smaller stick is beaten with the longer one in a rhythmatic manner as the song proceeds. The long stick is sometimes replaced by an iron rod, at one end of which two/three iron balls are tied by fine wire. While beating the long rod with the small rod, it gives a jingling sound. The two sticks are called *Gani Pakanga* (Smaller one) and *Muans laudi* (longer one).

Musical instruments are limited mostly to these varieties. The brass made instruments are purchased from the market.

Some of the miscellaneous articles deserves mention here. They are :-

KUMANG KATNA MRAKA : This is used to squeeze the testes of young male calves. It is an instrument with two cylindrical woods tied to each other at one end by a rope. The wood material is usually made of *Daman mara* (*Grewia tiliaefolia*). Two pieces of bamboo can also serve for the purpose. The testes of the calf is kept in between the two rods. A man squeezes the two sticks of the open end till the hard material in the testes in between the rods becomes' powdered. Before the process oil is massaged in testes of the calf and after the process turmeric paste is applied.

SIRENI : *Sireni* literally means comb. Comb in the Kuttia kondhs' customs is held high. The Kuttia women, also the men withlong hair and make knots with hairs, keep a comb fixed to such knots. The Sireni is usually made out of stem of *Satranga* i.e. broom grass (*T. maxima*). Fine pieces of the plants' stem are tied together with sheath fibre of salap tree (*Caryota urens*) to make a comb. Kuttia kondhs also use wood of Gambar mara (*Gmelina arborea*) to make combs. They make a piece of wood into the shape of a comb and make it denticulated. Very small combs are made out of *Satranga* and slightly bigger combs are made out of wood of *Gambar mara*.

DUA DUNA : It is a container to keep tobacco powders. *Dua duna* is of two types; one like a pipe and another like a tiny box. The pipe like Duna is made out of hollow bamboo branches or from a grass species like bamboo (?). The outer surface of the *duna* is engraved by sharp knife. The cylinder is cut from the plants, in such a

manner that one end of the pipe is sealed by the node of the plant. the other end is cut to open. This type of duna is mostly used by Women. Women keep it fixed to their waist. a waist band or under the cloth lining on the waist. The box like duna is purchased from the market. Many other materials used by the Kuttia kondhs are meant for ornamental purposes.

Now-a-days the impact of modernization has become a greater factor in the influx of non-tribal material cultures into the Kuttia kondh's life. The use of radio, electronic devices, geared and non-geared vehicles have become a part of the Kuttia kondh's material cultures. Things have changed to a great extent in the social life of the Kuttia Kondh. Structures of houses and architecture are changing. Economically unhealthy families are sticking to old traditions but wealthy families are bringing modernized items into their material culture. In most of the Kuttia kondh families guns (*Banang*) are being kept. Some have licence some do not have. Thus the use of bows and arrows and their skill with such weapons are loosing ground. Thus an erosion is marked in the traditional material culture of Kuttia kondhs.

Kuttia kondhs wants are limited so far as their material need is concerned. Almost all of the families have a common set of materials. Still the materials possessed by people vary with their status in the village, some items are specifically being used by male folks and some items are specific to women. For example materials possessed by a religious head man varies from that possessed by a political headman in the village.

INEQUALITY AND STRATIFICATION

In the settlement pattern of a village as has already been discussed there are two rows of houses. One row of houses occupied by Majhis and the other row by Jani. Thus the village is separated into two sections of the community viz; Jani and Majhi. In fact Kuttia society is divided into two sections; Majhi and Jani. In the Majhi group there are people of various clans and similarly in Jani group also there are different clans. With Majhi and Jani there is another surname called Pujari or Pujara.

Out of the three sets of people (viz; Jani, Majhi and Pujara), the last one is regarded superior to the other two. It is because the Pujara surname is associated with the worship of Sapangada. In the evolutionary myth it is mentioned that the Kuttia kondhs emerged out of the underground through a hole in Sapangada. Therefore it can be said that the Kuttia kondhs came into being from Sapangada which is the first known place. Therefore Sapangada has a good name in the Kuttia kondhs religious belief. Since they took birth from Sapangada, a special worship is organised in honour of Sapangada in the *chaita lanju* (March - April) every year. But to organise the worship of Sapangada, a special priest called Pujara or Pujari

officiates. Thus the priest who organise worship at Sapangada is called Sapangada Pujara. Other priests may assist the Pujara but without him the worship and sacrifice cannot be organised. Therefore the Pujara is felt superior to Jani and Majhi sections.

In the Kuttia villages around Belghar area, only one Pujara family is found residing in the village kranja near Sapangada. Since generations the men from the some families are worshipping the Sapangada penu. That's why the worship of Sapangada penu is always done by male members of that family. Thus it becomes a hereditary right of that family to act as Sapangada Pujari. No other remarkable status is given to the Pujara family.

It is still not clear which section is superior - Jani or Majhi. Majhi is a surname referring the village headman. So it would be better to regard the Majhi as the political headman of the village. On the other hand Jani refers to the village priest and so is the religious headman. In a village more than one priest may be found but more than one political headman can't be there. Again, some villages may not have a priest or priests but a political headman is a must.

The Majhi - the political headman is chosen by the villagers. The person chosen to work as political headman is regarded as a wise and resourceful person. He in most cases possesses more landed property and a better social status. The Majhi of the village must be a judicious man who can give right justice to the villagers in adjudication of cases. Further the Majhi is the person who maintains the social organization better and takes care of the traditional social patterns. In the village disputes the Majhi's decision is final and so is carried out by all.

On the other hand the Jani is the religion headman. He is the man referred to by the villagers for religious activities and performances. He is not chosen by the village folks for his post. Jani is a gifted and blessed person by the deities. A person is directed in dream by the deities to act as the priest. Thus he is belived to have been given some unseen powers by the deities. He is regarded powerful in the society for his direct bilateral conversation. He is possessed by deities when he comes to a trance. He can also recite oracles. He is the man who looks after the village welfare and the persons who suffer from the wrath and anger of deities. Accordingly he prescribes a worship, organizes the worship and gives sacrifice to satisfy the god or goddess whoever is to be worshipped. Because of the power he has got from the deities he is regarded as an important and powerful man in the society. Further, none of the rituals can be organized without his guidance and presence. Some villages have more than one gifted and blessed persons and in some villages no such persons are found. In such cases where more than one religious authority is found, the chief priest post is given to the senior most Jani. Others assist him during the performance. Further, the Jani is sometimes regarded as the medicine man of the Kuttia kondh society.

Another person of a higher status in the village is *Kutaka*. He plays various roles. He is regarded as the watchman of wizard, as astrologer and as medicine man. Kutaka is also called *Ganja*. He can exactly know a deity who has caused a disease to a person or caused on epidemic in the whole village. He is the man who first chooses a site for settlement and judges the auspicious performance and actions. As an astrologer he has the ability to forecast future events and can act as a prophet. When he feels or observes that some mishap is going to happen in the village, he suggests to the Jani and Majhi the necessary actions. In most cases the Jani and Majhi take his suggestions for the well being of the people and welfare of the village. He is believed to have miraculous power of turning a man toa tiger or any animal. There is a prevailing fear in the Kuttia kondhs that a powerful Kutaka can metamorphose into a tiger. The action is called *palata bagha* in Oriya and in Kuttia kondh language it is *Mniba kdani*. The Kutaka can perform witch craft and spirit call to cure patients. Much remains still to be narrated about his skills and performances. A kutaka is therefore regarded as a blessed person. He is chosen by the deities to work for the community's welfare. The god's blessings and his practice make him a powerful man in the Kuttia kondh society. A kutaka may be chosen by the deities from any of the two sections. Jani and Majhi. There is also no clan specification for a Kutaka.

With regards to personal status and status given by the community, four different types of headmen are found in the Kuttia kondhs society. They are Pujara, Majhi, Jani and Kutaka. Pujara is the only man who is at a higher status than the other three for his association with Sapangada penu. He holds the principles, suggests amendments, additions, alterations in the puja performances offered to Sapangada penu. He is therefore the man holding a supreme status in the whole Kuttia land. The Majhi holds the political rights of the village. He is the man to make liaison with the local government, he is the man to decide shifting of a settlement in consultation with the Jani and Kutaka. He is the chief justice in village judiciary systems, he is the man who chooses new hills and forests for swiddening by the villagers. Sometimes the Majhi is directly elected as a member to village panchayat. The Jani being the religious headman, is given the charge of organizing rituals, festivals, worships, sacrifice etc. and to act for the welfare of the village in general and well-being of persons in particular. The kutaka is equivalent to the Jani in regard to his skill in religious performances but is regarded more powerful than the Jani for his act of miraculous performances as a wizard. This is in general the status stratification of different heads men in the Kuttia society.

Sex inequality is well marked in the Kuttia Kondha society. Women are always looked down upon by men. There is no headwomenship in the Kuttia society. A woman is never allowed to act as a political head or religious head or a Pujara or a Kutaka. But the woman are given some sort of status considering the

status of their husbands. The wife of the Pujara is called *Pujaradu*, the wife of the Majhi is called *Majhiadau*, the wife of the Jani is *Janiadu* and the wife of the Kutaka is *Kutakadu*. Such women are given a good status by other women in the society. These women are recognized with their husband's recognition. Thus the sex inequality in the Kuttia kondhs society keeps the women at a low profile. Women are not also allowed to take part in a community meeting or a community decision. Thus the society of Kuttia kondhs is male dominated.

In group interactions the status hierarchy of people in the village does not pose a problem. On a village festivel occasion all are regarded as equal. In group dances irrespective of age groups, irrespective of personal status, everybody participates. In such events sex inequality is not well marked. But male and female constitute different groups in the group dance. Singing songs are sometimes begun from male groups which is followed by the female groups and also the reverse. During a Salap toddy drink all participants are taken as common folks. Status is given to only old people. Women are not usually allowed in the Madangbasa i.e. the toddy drinking place, but if at all women go there they sit separately. They are given some toddy and they themselves enjoy it separately. During the ongoing of festive occasion men and women sit separately in groups. Men are served liquor and food by men and women are served with liquor and food by women. In cases of marriage also sex inequality is mostly observed.

There is no well marked division of labour in the Kuttia Kondhs societies. They are shifting cultivators in their occupation. Besides the political headmanship, religious headmanship, wizard performances there is no other division of labour marked amongst people in the society. However the division of labour is well marked in the family organization. Sometimes the Majhi makes a division of labour in the society. For the village sanitation system, he calls a meeting, the meeting is attended by the male members from different families. In the meeting the Majhi discusses about the unhygienic environment around the village (*Tedi lunjare*). He also points out the uncleaned places around individual houses (Elu gunjare). He then formulates a plan for village cleaning with the people attending the meeting. Usually the work is given to the young girls in different households. The male members intimate the Majhi's decision to the young girls in their families. Then small groups of young girls collect village dumps and garbages from the house premises and dump them in the *Kabda kada* i.e. compost pits at the end of the village. Depending upon the number of groups months are divided into different phases and one group works for one phase of time.

In a group hunting in the forest, the distribution of labour is marked in encircling the forest. The participants divide themselves into smaller groups to encircle the forest. In the middle remain the gun bearing men. The animals that are killed by this group hunting are taken to a place where they are sliced and is

distributed among the participants. Here the gun man and a Majhi are given the lion shares. In case of hunting of certain animals like a Sambar, the animal is offered a worship. The worship is performed by the Jani or Kutaka, they get a major share of meat even more than the Majhi and the shooting person.

It is a feeling that in Kuttia kondh societies there is no division of labour as it regards to the stratification in the village. However, temporary division of labour is marked in community events only. This limits the Kuttia Kondhs skills in many ways. They have various skills possessed by themselves which they learn from outsiders and senior Kuttia people. But they are not specialized in any of the aspects. Thus the Kuttia Kondhs in many respects, are jacks, not masters. Only they are masters in their traditional pattern of livelihood and shifting cultivation, which form the ways of their lives.

CO-OPERATIVER LABOUR SYSTEM

Kuttia kondhs societies have moved ahead from a hunter gatherer to a settled livelihood. They practise both settled cultivation and shifting cultivation. In all these works man power is the chief input of labour and yield. Their poverty and unhealthy economic conditions do not permit them to utilize wage labours in their production process. They depend upon the man power in the family and to some extent on the man power of the whole village. Every year or in every alternate year the Kuttia kondhs clear new patches of forests for swiddening. A hill or a forest is chosen for swiddening by all the families in the village. But cleaning the patches of forests and shaping them to swidden plots is a hardsome job. For, a number of trees are to be cut, burnt and the forest floor has to be cleared before cropping. The entire patch is distributed among different households. Then it becomes the family job to clear the patch allotted to them. But because it is a hard job and the job depends upon the number of adult people in a family sometimes some families feel incapable to do their work and finish it in time. Therefore they seek help from other villagers. It happens in a manner that all the villagers co-operate with each other and start cutting down big trees from one end of the patch to the other. It appears as if the whole village is one family and the entire patch of land is owned by them. Due to co-operative labour, the work is made easy and ends in the right time.

Use of co-operative labour is also marked during the harvesting of paddy and other cultivated crops in the plain lands. But for harvesting from swidden fields co-operative labour is rarely used. Co-operative labour is also used for other aspects of the tribal livelihood like construction of houses, digging a well or a water pool, in performance of different rites and rituals .. etc. In co-operative labour use if a man seeks the help of five people from five different families for one day, he is bonded to serve such persons for one day each. Thus the co-operative labour stands as a symbol of unity in the society of Kuttia kondhs. Sometimes in a co-

operative labour system. women also participate if male members in their families are engaged outside or if there is no adult male member.

Kuttia kondhs do not provide co-operative labour facilities to local Dom people as the latter is regarded inferior to the former. In certain cases the Kuttia kondhs use Dom labour. The co-headman in the village can be used as a labour by all people in the society. Kuttia kondhs are very much egocentric and prestige conscious. He never likes to work as a daily wage labourer. He never works in Dom fields. Kuttias also deny to work on wage with the road contractors, forest department or in other governmental concerns. Local saying goes that the Kuttia is the king while his minister is the Dom or Pano. This speaks about the Kuttia kondhs feeling and reluctancy to work for Doms. Kuttia kondhs only serve people of the same community and like to be served by other communities.

Never problems arise in regared to interpersonal understanding among people. The system goes in favour of a good productivity from agricultural fields, settlement of a village, mutual understanding and unity in diversity and above all, it helps in successful management of the yearly calender of work schedules. The co-operative labour system makes them united to stand. If a person having utilized the help of others, denies to pay back the labour, he is penalized by the Majhi in a village meeting. Or else he suffers from a social isolation and gets no further help from the community.

FAMILY ORGANISATION

Family is the smallest unit in the Kuttia kondh social organisation. The family system is of a nuclear type where only parents and unmarried children live under the same roof. Father is the authority of the family. Every decision requires the approval of the father. He is the decision maker but does not decide alone. He consults his wife, discusses all the matters with her and finally both decide the matter for a solution. Father's authority ceases to function for the married boy or married girl of his household. But affairs relating to family which include the mother, sister and brothers are taken by father in consultation with the mother and sometimes with the married son and daughter. In most cases the father consults his wife and married sons. The father does not give much importance to his married daughter in a decision making. for, the daughter is no more a permanent member of his family . She also does not stay long with her father after her marriage.

As soon as the son gets married, he brings his wife to his father's village. Thus it is a patrilocal residence. There are diversions from this rule where the son-in-law stays with his father-in-law or they leave the father's village to settle down in father's-in-law village as a '*Ghar jawain*' because his father-in-law has only one daughter and s sons or there may be more agricultural land in his village. A new couple may leave the village where the son's father used to stay due to less

availability of land or abandoning of the village by all. In cases when they leave the father's house, either they construct a house of their own in the village or migrate to the in-laws village. In cases of unavailability of adequate cultivable lands they abandon the village and make a new house in a new settlement or old settlement. But this does not break the relationship existing between the parents and their son and do not hamper the kinship relations. A married woman is given least independence in decision-making and so she has to abide by her husband and her in-laws.

Kuttia kondhs believe in monogamous family system. It is very rare for a man to marry a second wife when the first one is alive and not divorced or issueless. In any case more than one wives normally is restricted in the society. A case study may be given here to indicate the conditions that lead to multiple marriage. The headman of Rangaparu had two wives. The man was Mandili Majhi. He married twice for the reason that he had married one for love and the second was through proper negotiation. The first wife was not barren or was not disliked by her husband. Again the women whom he married for love had no hesitation to stay with the women whom the man married through proper negotiation. Thus there arose no disputes, no misunderstanding in between the co-wives and the family was running smoothly. The second wife was considered an additional advantage for the man got a permanent labour in the family. Marriage by negotiation usually takes many years to complete. If the second wife does not object to the first wife and both bear children and lives peacefully without any fights, there is no problem. In fact, such cases are very rare.

Sometimes two wives develop continuous feud among the mselves. This happens due to interpersonal misunderstandings and envious nature. This creates a social tension in the family. Sometimes there takes place an isolation between the husband and the wife. After marriage the bride goes to her in-law's house. After eight days she returns to her parents village. She stays there for a long time. She takes no interest to meet her husband, lest she will be taken to her in-law's house by the husband. The girl never likes to lose her independence. This makes the husband bothered and he keeps sexual relation with other women which may lead to a marriage.

The family is basically a nuclear family with mother, father and unmarried children living under one roof. As soon as the son gets married he builds a house for himself but does not start cooking there until he becomes the father of a child i.e. despite his storing and sleeping tin the house. He eats with his father, mother and unmarried brothers and sisters in the main house. After the birth of a child father and mother move to their new house and begin their life as an independent unit. It has been also observed that sons of the same father tend to live under one long roof without partitioning the long verandah except when their own children are married

and have their children.

The children who have attained the age of 10 to 12 years or more sleep in the dormitory where they mix with the youth and learn songs and dances. Their basic socialization starts here. They may sleep in their home and it is not compulsory among the Kuttia kondh youth to sleep in the dormitory. In the present scenario common dormitory system and a house for dormitory is seen in few villages. Interest of the youth to the dormitory life is dwinding due to several modern forces living.

If the children get married, they move to their own houses and are in many cases provided with necessary things by their parents. Not all useful materials are donated by the parents. Some are shared between the parents and children and some articles the children have to purchase for their own use. Articles such as dresses, ornaments, more of kitchen equipments and utensils and other artifacts are purchased by the married for themselves. When the youngest son gets married he gets the things of his parents which are not needed by all othermarried sons who have already settled. Thus the youngest boy enjoys most of the household artifacts of his parents. The mothers things go equally to all daughters. Everyone in the family contribute to the well being of the family irrespective of age and sex. They contribute economically, socially and culturally together for the upkeeping of the family. The Kuttia kondh society is an agricultural society but mostly the agriculture is on the hills. So the workload is different for everyone. The females of the society are more laborious than the male members.

In a family divorce cases are not decided by the family members. When such a case arises, it is decided in the village meeting by the Majhi and the villagers.

DIFFERENT SOCIAL GROUPS AND SOCIAL INTERCOURSE

As in every society, Kuttia Kondhs have a good sense of understanding of public relations and inter-relations among themselves. Public relations and inter-personal relations are made easy with formation of smaller groups. Naturally different groups are constituted in the society. But groups are not made by anybody, it is self-made and the group interest takes care of itself. Of course, persons in a group have similar interest and it is their collective interest that makes up good groups. Groups in the society are constituted in various considerations of, age, sex, personal interest, mass interest, aesthetic sense, emotional sense ... etc. Thus various groups arise in a society. The entire village community becomes divided in smaller groups with a number of individuals. It is not a must that groups are to be made in the society. But groups are made by themselves. Thus community interest becomes a function of personal interests in the group and personal interest is a small set of function of the community interest. The different social groups may thus be classified under formal and informal groups. It will be better to discuss the

social groups categorically.

INFORMAL GROUPING

The community itself is a group but is divided into two groups : Primary group and secondary group. The primary groups are made by consangiuneal individuals and affinal individuals. Consangiuneal refers to the blood relatives to about three to four generations (after which it becomes affinal). The affinal on the other hand, refers to individuals who are not blood relatives but are an affinal kins. For example, the relationship of wife to her husband is affinal. Thus in the primary groups consangiuneal affinal relations are included. Therefore the family itself is an union of consangiuneal and affinal individuals (if the mother and father of a woman live in her husbands house).

Kuttia kondhs also have ritual kinship systems. Sometimes they adopt sons and daughters who are affinal by nature. Besides, they also make ritual friendship between two persons of about same age. When two girls of different parents make ritual kinship relation between the two then each parent regards both the girls as their daughters. This may also be given the name of ceremonial friendship. The ceremonial friendship is called '*Seda*' This may be between two persons and of the same age group of the same tribe or with members of other community also. For establishing this friendship both sides appear before a Jani and village elders. They are then allowed to exchange gifts which they have brought for each other. Then every one present are offered Mahuli liquor (*Adkinga*). Since that day of the ceremony both call each other as *Seda* or *Seda* michu.

FORMAL GROUPS

The secondary grouping type is associational and institutional. This may also otherwise be called formal grouping. The formal grouping varies a lot from the informal grouping. But formal groupings are made on the occasion of certain social events and social relations.

Formal groupings is neither consangiuneal nor affinal by nature. Mostly the formal groupings are made by a set of people organised for the pursuit of a common interest. Under this category comes the professional groups, play mates, labour organisation, youth associations in villages and dormitories, neighborhood relations, village political system, academic complex and dance groups.

The professional groups are not commonly seen in the Kuttia kondh villages. But during the rituals or ceremonial events the priests, astrologer, and their assistants make a professional group. The professional grouping is sometimes a modification of the occupational groups which are united for a common interest, common goals and values. They have a feeling of identity with the occupation.

Play mates and peer groups also make formal association. They share their ideas and feelings among each other. The peer groups are made among the individuals of about the same age. Thus the old people, youth mass, children make different groups. Similarly also the women form groups.

Youth dormitory system facilitates the exchange of ideas, reciprocal feelings among the youth. In Kuttia kondh villages youth dormitories called 'Karambara' are built separately for boys and girls. These are usually at the end of the village. When youths of another village visit, the young girls become their hostesses. They cook for them, sing and dance with them. When young women arrive the young boys become their hosts, they provide them food, sing and dance with them. This is quite customary in Kuttia kondh culture that, when an unmarried or married young person of one village becomes a guest of another village, the people of the host village, of opposite gender acts as the hosts or hostesses of the guest. In kuttia societies, a guest means a person of another village who visits and halts there for the night. After the guest is provided with food and drinks in the night, youth of the opposite sexes of the guests sing songs. Singing songs, encircling the person is an indication that the youth mass wants the guest to dance and sing with them. The guest then is bound to accept their invitation. The Song and dance is accompanied by instruments called *Laudi*. *Laudi* is the only instrument used by them in all songs leaving aside the religious groups. In the dormitory dancing does not take place for inadequacy of space. The youth mass just sit down and sing there. Kuttia songs in dormitories usually recollect their myths and legends or have religious themes.

Gifts are exchanged by the visiting youth and the youth of the host village. The gifts that are exchanged are usually Mahuli liquor or cock or hen. Usually the youth of host village gift the guest with liquor and cock or one of the two as a token of friendship and also as a token of gratitude, for the guest spent the night dancing and singing with youths of the host village. The same is repeated when the youths of the host village visit the guests village. The guest in turn gives return of the gifts in kind of money or liquor bottles. Sometimes other gifts such as ornaments, are exchanged.

There is also a strong sense of comradeship among the youth group. For example, if anyone host or guest, has an attack of fever or any sickness, all music stops as it might increase the sadness of the guest or host. There is a period of total mourning if some one young in the village dies. The mourning continues for a month.

Neighbourhood relations of Kuttia kondhs come under both formal and informal grouping. In most cases it is an informal grouping, for, neighbors have kinship relations. As stated earlier, a son after marriage, lives independently and

separates from his parents. He makes his house in the space available adjacent to the parent's house. In this case the relation between two neighbors and members of such families is regarded informal. But when the neighboring families are neither consangineual or affinal by nature, in such cases the relation is taken to be formal. In the informal sphere items like food materials and other things are exchanged. Casually such materials are exchanged in formal neighborhood relations. But in any case, whether the relation be formal or informal there is a sense of understanding for natural help to each other.

In cases of attending or organizing rituals and festivals of the community or in personal ceremonial events there are different sets of formal and informal grouping. For example, in a death ritual when relatives of the dead come to the dead's village they form informal groups. The other villagers accompanying the dead's relatives are taken as formal groups. When an animal is sent by the dead's relatives for the death ritual the animal is cut into two bilaterally symmetrical halves, one half being kept by the dead's villagers, the other half is sent back to the village of the dead's relatives with which a community feast is organized in the relatives village. Pigs are usually given on such occasions.

Similarly men and women at their work sites make formal groups for mutual discussions, on various aspects. Formal grouping of women are not commonly seen though the grouping is restricted to young unmarried girls or married women.

KUIANKA SOCIAL LIFE

Kuttia kondhs have adopted to settled life styles with settled cultivation and shifting cultivation as the main source of their economy and livelihood. The practise of shifting cultivation is called as *nella kama* in Kuttia language. However, other synonymous terms are there like *Dongar chasa*, *Bagada chasa*, *Gudia chasa* which refer to wet cultivation. Details about shifting cultivation are dealt in a separate chapter. Besides the settled cultivation and shifting cultivation, they also go for hunting, collecting forest produce and very rarely work as daily wage labours. They also keep livestocks such as pigs, cattle, poultry, goat, buffalo and sell them when money is required. In the normal social scene Kuianka is a cultivator. Then Kuianka society is still in a transitions, it has taken up various modes of subsistence and maintains its livelihood from agriculture, pasture, hunting and gathering. Hence, the society is slightly elevated from the primitive form of livelihood and has slightly touched the livelihood pattern of the developed societies. The work schedule of a Kuianka along the whole year is very compact and most of the time is spent on agricultural works and food gathering. Women and men hold different sets of responsibilities in their daily life.

DAILY ROUTINE OF WORK

Everyone irrespective of age and sex work as a single entity in a household according to one's capacity. Everyone contributes economically and physically to the family.

The day breaks up with '*Kajugnepata*' i.e. with the cock's crowing. The female members rise early even before the cock signals the break of the day. Male members rise later than the female members. The male members after rising gather under salap trees to drink toddy. But toddy is not available for the whole year. Toddy is available in winter and early summer. When they do not go for Madangbasa i.e. toddy drinking place, they either leave the house to tend their vegetable plots or other agricultural works. In early summer periods the male members go to slash and burn trees in forests hills for preparing swidden plots. In rainy season usually they sit on their verandah, lit country cigar called '*Tapari*' made of tobacco leaves (*Nicotiana tobaccum)* and relax. In normal cases when they do not have works outside, they get themselves engaged in household works, such as constructing houses, in making agricultural implements ... etc. During the leisure days, they start planning for the whole days work immediately after arising.

As the Sun rises, the male folk have their food and leave for the Nella Kama. Sometimes if the food is not ready they leave without taking food. The male folk work in the fields till noon after which they take little bit of food, usually gruel and take rest for sometime. After rest they again start working till it is about 4o'clock in the afternoon. In between the work time, sometimes they take toddy if it is available nearby. The males sometimes collect fire-wood and carry it to their house after their work is over. They have their bath then. On the way back they proceed to Madangbasa for an evening drink or if somebody has rice fields or vegetable plots they go and work there for a few hours before taking the drink. After returning to their house they relax and gossip amongst themselves. Old men are found busy in making ropes out of grasses like babe i.e. Sabai grass while discussing the various happenings. Round about 6 to 7 o'clock they have their food and then again sit together gossiping for few hours. During the winters small fire is built, around which everyone sits warming themselves. After that they all go to sleep.

During community social events, the work of the male folk pattern becomes different. They get engaged in the village as it is everybody's job. In leisure times or at times when female folk in the families are busy with other works, male members take the charge of giving guard to children.

In Kuttia kondhs understanding the day is divided into eight phases. They are '*Kajugnepata*' - when cock crows, followed by morning '*Laesi*'. The midday in called '*Ganai*' or '*Madem*' the afternoon is known *Mileniweda*. The dusk is

called 'Andhar jum jum' Evening is called Mileni, the night being La-angi. The midnight is called *Tudekena*. The day time is measured by the Sun's movement and the night time is hard to measure. But to know about time during the day people indicate 'Icheke weda', i.e. what is the time (day) which literally means, 'how much sun'. For time in night it is asked 'Icheke La-angi' that literally refers to 'how much darkness'. Light and darkness are described in one term *La-angi*. In Kuianka daily life the morning begins with Kajugnepata and the night begins immediately after Mileni when darkness reigns over. The period from La-angi to Ujali (light) is the time for rest. For the Kuttia kondh women, the morning starts with the cock crowing 'kaju gnepata' and sometimes earlier if there are more works or there are guests at home. They pound paddy, millet, jower.. etc. for the early breakfast lunch and dinner. After poundng rice or the grains they start cooking it. By the time food is being cooked, women sweep the house, bring water, clean the frontyard and the courtyard as well as the cattle sheds. After the food is cooked they serve it to all and keep aside some food to carry to the fields. Then they proceed to the fields to work there with their male counterparts. Women do a lot of work in the field side by side with men, have their food by Madeni i.e. midday and after some rest again start working till the dusk hours. They return to their house with head loads of fuel wood. Then they again carryon their household work till evening. They get water and store them for use in the night and next morning. Women also pound rice and millet if they get extra time in the evening. After that they cook and clean the house. While women return from the fields they take bath and also bathe their children. Sometimes women also go to collect fruits and edible leaves for their households. They spread their grains needed for the next day on the loft above the fire place to dry. Then they prepare bed for all. If she is not too tired, she gossips with her husband and children for some time and then drop off to sleep.

The youths follow the above pattern except they include singing and dancing to their routine. Dancing usually takes place during different ceremonies and rituals. Singing is, of course, everyday routine in their dormitories.

The old men and old women also work till they are capable of moving up and down the fields. It is very rare to see anyone sitting idle. The old person who is unable to do heavy work helps in light works like watching the rice fields or shelling seeds, breaking caster pods etc.

Children help according to their capacity. Usually they take the goats to grass fields or into forests for grazing. Every young girl helps her mother in household works. Boys help in the field. Everyone helps in the fields as soon as they are capable because they depend upon it for food.

It is true for Kuttia societies that women are the real working backbone of the family. There is no hour for rest for a woman. Like a machine she is always found

engaged at work. She works in two spheres; for household purposes and in fields. She not only shares with male folks, but also does more than the male people. Women are also equivalent in strength to males in doing hard jobs. Only thing the women can't do is hunting as men do. Women also do the marketing jobs, they produce, harvest, sell and keep the buffer production for household consumption. She is the real managerial head so far as house management is concerned. She takes the charge of rearing child, catering it and to manage the child with her daily works. During pregnancy, during her post-natal period she also takes up household works. She is neglected by all but she neglects none. She remains silent to the husband's tortures. She produces, she is the real producer at agricultural fields on which others subsist. She is thus the real working person in the family. But she remains in oblivion, she gets little appreciation by her husband and other male members. The husband thinks that he has brought to house a permanent labour by marrying a woman. A woman gets no time to think for herself, no time even to weep, for if she does so then the whole family will have to starve.

ECONOMY AND LIVELIHOOD

The Kuttia kondhs maintain their livelihood with produces from agriculture and shifting cultivation. The agricultural produces are their subsistence economy. They cultivate a number of crops in swidden plots. But they keep little and sell away a lot for cash. Thus the produce from agriculture whether it be plain land agriculture or hill land agriculture, makes their backbone of economy and livelihood. They yield less from paddy fields. The yield from paddy fields is not enough to provide for the household consumption for the whole year. They do not have much of irrigated paddy lands and so depend upon dry land rain fed paddy cultivation. The produce is thus minimized. Again, they cultivate indigenous variety of paddy, since they do not know about high yielding paddy. Therefore, the paddy cultivation contributes negligibly to their subsistence economy.

They produce more from dry land hill cultivation. They crop about twenty or more different types of crops in swidden plots in a mixed cropping system. Many varieties out of the crops grown are not meant for household consumption. They are sold in market for money with which they purchase their dire necessities. The crops grown in winter such as mustard and til are sold in market that provide them a good amount. But the amount is not enough for their need. They do never sell the little millets, finger millets, jower like crops in the market. For these are the major crops that shape their food habit. The vegetable cultivation, if done by anybody gives a reasonable return of labor in terms of money. But in any case the production prices depend upon the labour utilized for it. Therefore, the families with more number of laborious persons get a better yield. It is not uncommon for kuttia families to suffer a lot during the lean period which usually falls between late summer season and the rainy season. During that period their livelihood goes in a

precarious manner. At that time they survive on millet gruel, spinach, mango endocasp, sago, corn (moici) powder. This makes them suffer from malnutrition and other associated diseases. From the onset of winter to the early summer they get good food as it is the time when crops are harvested. Therefore winter season is a boon for the Kuttia kondhs. Details about their cultivation practice in swidden plots and other plain lands are described in a different chapter.

During the summer season, side by side with field preparation for swiddening, they also collect minor forest produces which they sell in the market and get little amount. But the economy generated from the collection and sale of minor forest produces is very negligible and is even insufficient for pocket money.

They also depend upon their livestocks for income generation. When they fall in crisis they sell the livestocks to meet the crisis. But the crisis always remains with them. In this regard the overall economic scene of Kuttia kondhs appears that the quantity they produce, harvest and collect is enough to make a man self sustained. But the exploitation by local Dom and Pano people leads the Kuttia Kondhs economy towards a devastation. They become loanee by the exploitation of non-tribal people. Other factors that are often associated with their poor economy are the village marketing systems, barter systems, exploitation by advance loan system etc.

RELATIONSHIP OF KUTTIA KONDHS WITH PANOS

Earlier it has been mentioned that in the Kuttia kondh land, Panos happen to be the minister when Kuttia is the king. This is so because Panos form the major population of non-tribal communities who are living with Kuttia kondhs since their origin of myth. Panos are felt inferior to kuttia kondhs. But Kuttia kondhs are being exploited. Kuttia kondhs feel themselves being exploited by Panos but they probably like being exploited. The exploitation of Kuttia by Panos is continuing since there settlement in the area. The whole thing can not be understood properly unless the details of social relationship between Pano and Kuttia are described.

Kuttia kondh population is more than that of Panos in the study area. On an average the ratio of Pano village to Kuttia village is one is to ten. Despite Kuttia kondhs being self sufficient in their livelihood, the crisis often persists. They still have to depend for a few things on other people. The people on whom Kuttias mostly depend are Doms or Panos - the immediate non-tribal forest dwelling community. Doms or Panos are lower caste Hindus.

There is ne legend to say that Kuttia kondhs and Panos are brothers. This is as per their m h of origin described in *Kui Gaani*. According to the myth both of them come it of Sapangada as Kuttia kondhs but as one of them ate pig intestine, he bec me the Dom or Pano. There is another story that tells about the

simultaneous and common origin of the Kondhs and Doms. The story tells that in the mountains Darmadadi found near Dasingbadi in the southern part of the Kuttia kondh region, in the thickest jungle stood a bamboo bush having only two tall shoots. Amidst torrential rains, by the action of wind and with the first of the Bura penu, these two bamboo shoots automatically broke one after the other and from inside the shoots came first Kondh followed by the Dom. The former became the King and later the, minister, giving rise to the saying 'Kondh raja (King) and Pano mantri (Minister)' since time immemorial. The first two creatures born were males and had to wait till two females, through the similar act of Bara penu, were born in the some mountain. In the following year they were married to give birth to the human race. Another legend is there that states that Doms and Kondhs came out of two eggs laid by a serpent in the same mountain.

Out of the above legends, the first one relates that Doms came with the Panos from the underground with the former being followed by the latter. But the persons who ate pig's intestine (Paji knahanga) became the Doms has not been mentioned in the myth. The other legends do not suit the Kuttia Kondhs feeling about Doms. The historicity or authenticity of these legends could not be proved for, they do not have any other folklore referring to it.

Another story that relates Kuttia kondh's relationship with Raj Gonds - another community staying around Kuttia kondhs,It refers to the Kuttia myth of origin which is a missing link in *Kui Gaani*. The Raj Gonds are Oriya speaking non-tribals in the area. The story tells that both Kuttia kondhs and Raj Gonds as two brothers were born from Sapangada hole in the form of two bamboo shoots. As Kuttia kondhs came out of the larger side of the bamboo shoot he became the elder brother while the Raj Gond became the younger brother. But in another story Raj Gond became the Raja (King) and Kuttia kondhs became his samanta. The story follows

The two brothers Kuttia kondh and Raj Gond came on a horse. Both were thinking what to do with the horse. Their mother suggested that a ladder should be made to reach its high back. The elder brother went in search of a rope to make a ladder and the younger brother jumped over the horses' back and rode away in the absence of the elder brother. The clever younger brother was made the King as he rode the horse first. The Kuttias thus went in shame to stay inside the jungle eating whatever they got. A similar legend is placed in the chapter 'Denomination of forests and its parts' in a different manner. But there is no mention about the relationship of Kuttia kondhs with Raj Gonds.

The legends make a sense of understanding that the Kuttia kondhs and Panos are associated with each other since the day both the communities came into being. Their brotherly relationship as is evident from legends makes them stand for

one other. This made the basis for Kuttia kondhs dealing with the Panos. Thus interdependence between Kuttia kondhs and Panos can be seen in every sphere of life. Dom Panos are in real sense the go-between the Kuttia kondhs and the outside world.

In the olden days the Kuttia kondhs depended upon them for salt, dry fish, earthen pots and clothes as these were only the things which they needed from outside. In exchange for these articles it was necessary to give them their produce as they did not have money for exchange. In the past this exchange in kind was in use everywhere. According to a Pano man who was regularly visiting village Burlubaru, in olden days the Panos used to get thirty kilograms of Kueri (little millet) inexchange of twenty five tobacco leaves.It is supressing that thirty Kilograms of little millet is quite enough pay for twenty five tobacco leaves. The Pano maintained that then the Kuttia Kondhs were more hard working, soil was fertile on the hills, so the production was to a great quantity. Thirty kilograms of millet were not a great cost felt by Kuttia Kondhs, to pay for the tobacco leaves. The Pano also pointed out that in the present days the weather has changed, labour input is not properly utilized fertility of soil has decreased which result in very scanty production from swidden plots. In the past the price for materials was very minimum. The Panos used to go to Kuttia settlements to sell handloom clothes. A 'limta' i.e. loin cloth used to cost only fifty paise while an 'Urmali' i.e. wrap of women was costing fifty paise and the 'Capta' i.e. the upper cloth of women cost one rupee only. Now a days prices of such articles have gone up and mill-made clothes are available in the market Kuttia kondhs prefers to purchase from the market.

It is a bare truth admitted by many Panos that Kuttia kondhs used to be the one on whose grains these Panos survived. It is also a fact that, if the Kuttias have less yield, the Panos also will have to starve.

Now-a-days the Panos have a totally different position in the society. As the influx of outsiders increased, the mediating role of Panos increased. The Panos became more educated in formal eduction and became forward. To-day they act as the middle men between Kuttia kondhs and other traders on a large scale. The kuttias believe them more than any one else. Their more education leads to their opportunities in government spheres where development works undertaken. Being well versed in Kui and Oriya languages the Panos get ample benefits. Despite the broad-based changes the traditional professions of the Panos is the spate. They still supply the Kuttia kondhs, liquor, trade with them salt and fish, look after their cattle etc. Very few people of other castes have the courage to venture into remote areas. The path is through the jungles and sometimes hilly paths have to be covered for trading with Kuttia kondhs.

Kuttia kondhs besides their relationship with Panos in trade, have also social relations. Kuttias regard the Panos as '*Mama*' i.e. maternal uncle. It is based on the ego of Kuttia kondhs. Kuttia feels that Pano is his maternal uncle as his father has married to Pano's sister. But Kuttias becomes angry if a Pano calls him Mama. By this, the Kuttia feels that the Pano's father has married to the Kuttia's sister. This goes against the ego, ethos and sentiment of Kuttia kondhs. That's why Panos are always regarded as sub-ordinates and inferior to the Kuttia kondhs. Yet formers are not disliked by the latter. The Kuttia feels that Pano takes a lot of pain to make the daily useful articles, readymade food stuff, liquors etc. reach the Kuttia doors. Again Pano community acts guards to provide social security to Kuttia kondhs by checking large scale exploitations by foreign traders.

TRADING INSIDE VILLAGE AND BARTER SYSTEMS

Panos and outsiders trade with Kuttia kondhs round the year. Panos happen to be the first tradesmen who came to Kuttia kondhs with salt, dry fish, readymade food items, match box, country cigar, biscuits etc. Panos business with Kuttia kondhs broadened with selling of clothes, ornaments and other things. Traditionally Panos are the liquor suppler to Kuttia kondhs.

Even today, as in the past, barter system is still continuing in Kuttia kondh villages though they are aware of the metric system of measurement. The barter system is mostly seen during their harvesting period. The Panos either sell on weights and measures made of small parts of the items which they want to sell. Mostly the barter system prevails. For a bottle of Mahuli liquor, a Pano demands five rupees. But in barter system, it is paid in exchange of a Mana (3 kg.s) of paddy or little millet or an 'ada' (5 gms.) of Kandulo (*Cajanus cajan*), or two 'ada' of mustard grains ... etc. Panos have good idea on market rates of such crops, but actually take much more from the Kuttias. Accordingly in summer season, Panos sell a bottle of Mahuli liquor in exchange of about three - four kilograms of dried Mahula flowers. Cash to crop barter basis of goods exchange is rarely seen in trading between Panos and Kuttias. Further, for different items being sold by Panos, different measures for different crops are fixed by the Panos. Through the barter system Panos exploit Kuttia kondhs.

Paying in advance is a very crude mode of exploitation of Kuttia. During their lean period, Panos or outside businessmen who have go-downs in Kuttia kondh area pay them advance in terms of the crops from them. The advance money stands with interests calculated till the Kuttia kondhs pay the trader their crops. The trader purchases the crops at a throw away rate. Even gets goods at rate higher than the market rate for such goods, for, the trader helped the Kuttia kondhs at the time of their need paying them an advance for those goods. Kuttia kondhs always have an obligation to the trader who paid them an advance. They realize

that they are not getting the proper price for their goods, yet they depend upon the trader as none else would be able to help them in their lean period. Further, when Kuttia kondhs harvest, they first give their produce to get themselves free from loan. Then the Pano sells on market cost, either to the trader or to anybody else. Sometimes Panos act as the middlemen traders. They procure crops from Kuttias on cash on crop basis and sell to big traders.

The Kuttia kondhs need loan during the elaborate ceremonies of birth, marriage or death. Sometimes they also need loan due to bad yield or illness. All these loans are usually fulfilled by their own Kin members. We find that amongst the Kuttia kondhs the first preference for a loan is given to his own tribal people. The interest rate for the return of money is simply double the amount in one year but if he is unable to return in one year he can subsequently return it in the following years without additional interest.

But this system is slowly and steadily changing because the tribals who produce more sell it to the market and have no extra to give to anyone. The tribal in need goes to the 'Pano or Sahukars' to ask for loan who charges high rate of interest. The return of loans may be in kind like produces of that season which they have to give at a very low price. Thus, once a Kuttia kondh has taken loan, he never finds himself free from the clutches of the 'Pano or Sahukar'.

CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL SCENE AND DEVELOPMENTAL PROFILE

Changes have taken place rapidly in Kuttia kondh's societies. At present the society is in transition. The recent developmental programmes launched by the State Government, central Government and the foreign funding organisations in the tribals areas render significant contribution to raise the socio-economic standard of Kuttia kondhs.

There has been marked changes in the Kuttia kondhs tradition and culture. Adaptation to market goods and non-tribal material culture and religious culture, health, environment ... etc, are changing their outlook. As stated earlier cultivation is their prevalent occupation and they mostly cultivate the hill lands. They are still continuing that but to a limited extent. Several factors are responsible in checking them to cultivate hill lands. Productivity has of course decreased. This happens due to the decrease in the timing of fallow period between two successive cultivations on a particular patch of land. They are now restricted to particular patches of lands, and it seems as if such patches are owned by them for long. Because they are restricted to slash and burn the forests far and wide, they are used to cultivate in particular patches of lands for years together which result in less productivity. The Kuttia kondhs have not gone out of swiddening as it is their traditional mode of subsistence, it facilitates multiple cropping, yields more, no maintenance required,

safe from grazing of cattle, produces of different crops in different materials of time around the year, shifting cultivation is a way of their life. The recent programs launched by the Government, for example, the podu prevention scheme launched by the Government in 1986, made the Kuttia kondhs aware about the deforestation. crisis in the environment, soil erosion and other environmental hazards that are caused by quantitative deforestation and decrease of forests. Again the Forest Department, Orissa declared a large part of the hills and forests as prohibited and protected forests, leaving behind some concession for tribal people in terms of their dependance on forests for household needs, fuel wood etc., which made most parts of the forests inaccessible to tribal people. The awareness that has been created in the minds of Kuttia kondhs is dealt in the chapter - Social meaning of Resource ... The changes in the shifting cultivation practices, the change in the productivity in the swidden plots is dealt in the chapter on shifting cultivation.

The change however in the practice of shifting cultivation has brought in new occupational status to Kuttia societies. The restrictions imposed upon the shifting cultivation and the decreasing productivity in swideen plots have made the Kuttias to go for other modes of income generation. They worked as wage labourers which they did not like traditionally. It facilitated migration of the youth to seek their fortune outside. Mostly the youths migrate outside in search of a livelihood. They work as motor mechanic, motor drivers, asfactory workers etc. But migration of Kuttia kondhs to the cities is very limited. The migrants are seen to return from the cities after some years with some working capital with which they carry on business. They start tradmanship in villages, procure the crops from their community people and sell them to the big traders. They also open small business like betel, grocery shop etc. Migration on the other hand has helped the Kuttia kondh youth to know about the outer world, the livelihood in cities. They learnt the use of high technological materials and modern equipments from the cities. This developed their ideas on the city life and the use of the market goods which were unknown in the community. The youth give ideas of city life to the elders and youngers which is developing a motivation in the younger generation to proceed to towns for job opportiunities.

In the study area - Belghar, there are several Govt. agencies. There is a public health centre, Police out post, Office of the Agricultural Extension Officer, Veterinary hospital, Post office, a weekly market complex which directly or indirectly interact with the Kuttia kondhs. In Belghar there is also a Bank - Kalahandi Anchalika Gramya Bank sponsored by the State Bank of India which provides loans to the Kuttia kondhs. There is LAMPS i.e. large size Agriculture Multipurpose Society which also provides them with short term agricultural loans. But the dealing of Kuttia kondhs with the bank is interesting. Whenever they want loans they draw the loan amount from State Bank of India branch located at

Tumudibandh - the Block headquarters. The loans are given is the names of Kuttia women. In this regard a discussion with the local Bank Manager Mr. Susil Kumar Burh gave an interesting idea to know why loans are given in the names of Kuttia women. The Bankers have a conviction that Kuttia kondhs never like to take loan from anybody. But Kuttia women are very regular in returning the term loans with regular installments. It is also pointed out by Mr. Bush that the household economy of Kuttia kondhs is mostly managed by women. They keep money and use them for particular purposes. But the Kuttia men, spend money whimisically. Therefore loan is sanctioned to the Kuttia women. Mr. Bush also pointed out that the Kuttias also do not spend the loan amount wisely.

Agricultural extension office and branch office of Oil Orissa provide the Kuttia kondhs with seeds for different crops round the year. In the Agricultural extension programme paddy, mustard, vegetable seedlings and seeds, ... etc. are supplied. The field supervisors of Oil Orissa supply the mustard seeds, til seeds, sunflower and safflower seeds and in turn procure the oil seeds after harvest. But the agricultural extension programme creates problem with them. The Kuttias hold, that agricultural department supplies them seeds. Oil Orissa supplies Oil seeds but they are supplied with no land. Then where should they grow crops. Thus development in one side hampers development on the other side. This puts the Kuttia kondhs in a transition point.

Government Primary Health centre located at Belghar provides medical facility. Kuttia kondhs are slowly coming out of their traditional pattern of curing diseases and availing modern medical facility. This has also considerably decreased the Kuttia kondhs use of herbal medicines. The Primary Health centre renders a good service to the Kuttia kondhs of Belghar Gram Panchayat. However, the Kuttia kondhs in Jhiripani Gram Panchayat rarely consult the health centre for common ailments unless the disease goes beyond their control. The ANM (Auxiliary nursing mother) centers are functioning properly in village level which motivates the people for better sanitation, personal hygiene and attends female patients in gynauecological problems and child delivery. In this aspect also the Kuttia kondhs do not respond to a great extent. Besides, health workers and malaria workers attempt to provide their best service to the Kuttia kondhs and Kuttia kondhs.

Education in the area is not up to the mark. There is a residential High School in Belghar run by the State Government under the ministry of Tribal and Harijan Welfare. The students of the school are mostly from the Pano community. However, in the Primary education, some Kuttia children are found to be admitted. But Kuttia girls rarely take admission in the formal school education. Usually the Kuttia kondhs do not respond well to schools and other methods of eduction. However, to boost up the literacy level, the micro project Kuttia Kondh Develop-

ment Agency has set up non-formal education centers in villages such as Gyana Mandir. Attendance is also poor in such non-formal centers.

The micro-project Kuttia Kondh Development Agency has developed the awareness of Kuttia people for a sustainable development. The project aims at the overall development of the livelihood of Kuttias and their quality of life. The agency spends a lot in providing emergency medicines through the Primary Health Centers. It gives emphasis on educating the youth in various vocational educations like horticulture, forestry, apiculture, agriculture .. etc. It gives emphasis on the Kuttia kondhs economic development by upgrading their income from short term agriculture, by adopting to high yielding crops, by extension of horticulture etc. The agency also provides seeds, seedlings, for apiculture etc. In many areas the agency has made facilities for irrigating crop lands, it has provided hand pumps and modern agricultural equipments. The agency covers a vast stretch of Kutia land and looks for their development of health, hygiene, education, occupation, agriculture and economy. But the agency has not succeeded satisfactorily in educating the Kuttia kondhs in new vocations.

There is a fair price shop opened by the Government under TDCC from where kuttia kondhs purchase clothes, soaps, cosmetics, rice, oil, and many other necessary goods. There is a centre of AMCS (Agency Marketing Co-operative Society) which purchases minor forest products from Kuttia kondhs. But they do not sell much of minor forest produces to AMCS, rather they prefer the local traders, for, the AMCS do not have ready cash to purchase large quantity of minor forest produces.

Some Non Government Organisations are also in function in the Kuttia kondh area. The NGO named AWARE has done some significant development in their health by providing deep dug wells and by conducting health awareness programmes. Besides, Utkal Navajeevan Mandal, with its headquarters at Angul look after women and children. The centers also provide Kuttia children with supplementary diet. It also attempts to educate young girls of the villages.

Marked change is not perciptible in the Kuttia kondh's religious life. They do not pose themselves as Hindus, nor easily accept any other religious ideas. Though they show a little interest in the Hindu religion they do not like to accept it. Christian missonaries are already in their attempt to convert Kuttias into christians but the Christian missions have not been successful in their missions so far. Rather Hindu ideals have crept in to their culture on account of their proximity to the Hindus. In connection with adaptation of Hindu religious traits the Raj Gond people residing in the area have been playing significant role. A case study of Mahadev Patro - a man from Raj Gond community is worth mentioning here in give an idea of how Kuttia kondhs take interest to Hindu religious culture.

Mahadev Patro is a priest of a Shiva temple in Belghar. He has a good name as a herbalist. Most of the times he goes to Kuttia villages being invited as a herbalist. He is respected by Kuttia kondhs for his dual profession - priest and herbalist. He collects funds from Kuttia kondhs for the temple development. The ceremonies organised in the Shiva temple attract Kuttia kondhs. Mahadev Patro in his leisure times tells the Kuttia kondhs about the power and importance of Siva in the religious areana of the Hindus. Some how or other Siva finds a place in the pantheon of the Kuttia Kondha religion. He is regarded by them as Siva Penu.

This is in short the changing scene in Kuttia's culture. The social change or account of governmental development programmes, role of the Raj-Gouds and Philanthropic organizations, banks, etc, is marked during the recent years in the Kuttia Society. Despite this and the broad-based change the life-style of this community. Which is intrinsically attened to nature shows no significant change. But we can not deny the fact that the process of change is going on.

3

SOCIETY AND CULTURE OF KUTTIA KONDHS II

INTRODUCTION

All biotic organisms take birth and die one day. After the living beings came into being they were distinguished from each other in form, colour, character and in many respects. Plants, animals and human beings were differentiated from each other in the above respects. Ultimately they became grouped on account of specific characteristics. Different groupings are made according to the biological classification of beings. The human beings in later period were grouped to the different geographical regions and climate etc. This grouping in course of time is divided into several races living in different geographical regions.

The race or races of mankind belonging to different ethnic groups developed their own myths of origin, which gave an understanding of the feeling their evolution and consequent development over the ages. In course of time the different ethnic groups grew in number through the biological means of reproduction. They developed their oral traditions for oral literature, myth and legends which shaped life to a particular standard. Myths and legends became a parameter in day today life of the ethnic groups and setting up principles for the pattern of livelihood of the races. Such principles are followed in the practical life. In course of time the principles through reformations of old ones in the patterns of living made the history. So history became a narration of the period from the origin of myth of the ethnic groups till they were identified as a particular race. Thus the practical life of the ethnic groups recorded their history referring basically to the myth of their origin. This whole set of functional aspect of the ethnic groups mixed with ethos and mores became ultimately the culture of that particular ethnic group. Such conventions hold good in all the races of mankind.

Different ethnic groups thus could be differentiated in respect of their cultural patterns and their mode of living. Different ethnic groups or the communities made different sets of principles identifying them a sense of oneness and uniqueness distinguishing them from other communities. Finally, the ethnic groups reached a point when they became known with one name and one culture. Their characteristics of the culture, code of values of a community or the ethnic group bring forth the science of the race known as ethnology. An ethnographical study of a race brought into view different aspects of its culture. Thus a study of the culture of the ethnic group brings to light its code of conduct, morals, beliefs and such other capabilities acquired through the ages differentiating it from other ethnic groups living in the same regions or elsewhere.

Here we are concerned with one such ethnic group known as Kuttia Kondhs residing amidst hills, mountains and forests around Belghar of Phulbani district, Orissa. Kuttia kondhs are known as one of the primitive ethnic groups. An attempt is made to study the society and culture of that group in a microcosmic way.

ETHNICITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL IDENTITY OF KUTTIA KONDHS

Much has been noted in the chapter on Kuttia myths and legends about the evolution of the community. To repeat a line it can be delineated that the Kuttia Kondhs emerged out from a hole in Sapangada. Thus Sapangada is the place from where began the cultural identity of the tribe. The terms 'Kutti' and 'Kuttia Kondhs' give their aspects of cultural identity. That they were living in Kutti (i.e. in the holes of forests), or in the hole of Sapangada is understood from their description of Kutti.

History of the primitive and aboriginal races in Orissa relates that Kondh is one of the most primitive communities. It is the most numerous tribe in Orissa. Kuttias form a large section of the Kondhs. According to the Kuttias they originated in the vast territory of the Kondhs in the southern part of Orissa. The land of Kondhs was known as Kondhisthan in the British reports. They have been depicted as the most dangerous race for their heinous and horrified practice of human sacrifice. Kuttia Kondhs' area is one of the pockets of the Kondhisthan which now in the Orissa Government records is known as Phulbani districts recently divided into Boudh and Kondhamal district in which Kondhs have the major population. The district of Phulbani has again been named as Kondhamal, partly as recognition and partly as an appasement.

It has been recorded in other chapter on Kuttia myth that the Kuttia Kondhs are collectively known as Kuianka. However, in respect of sex the Kuianka is divided into twosets *Kuenja* means the Kuttia male folk and *Kuiladu* means the Kuttia female folk. The name Kuianka that the Kuttia Kondhs hold, is with

reference to the language they speak. The Kuttias speak the language known as 'Kui' which is also the language of the Kondhs of the main branch. So from the name of the language the Kuttias speak, the term 'Kuianka' emerged. Thus Kuianka with its two sections '*Kuenja* and *Kuiladu*' is one more identifying feature in the ethnological aspect of Kuttia Kondhs.

It is thus clear that Kuttia Kondhs do not pose themselves as completely different from the main section of Kondhs, nor they possess a completely new community. For two main reasons Kuttia Kondhs claim themselves as a sub-section of Kondhs that : (i) they adopted the Kondh culture of the heinous and horrified practice of human sacrifice and (ii) they speak Kui language spoken both by Kondhs and Kuttias. But in actual practice both do not have complete linguistic and cultural similarities. As such Kuttia Kondhs are different from the main Kondhs.

Thus the development of cultural identity of the Kuttia Kondhs grew with time along three main respects : myth of origin, origin in the territory of Kondhs and the language which they speak. Despite the racial affinity of Kuianka with Kondhs, it feels itself as an independent entity, inhabiting a different terrain; it has a different set of religious principles, theology and eschatology in particular and overall pattern of living and a different mode of maintenance of livelihood in general. Without an exhaustive idea on the Kondhs it will not be right to say that the Kondhs and Kuttia Kondhs share a common idea or notion or legendary attributes about the formation of society with people of different clans and lineages and in other aspects of their cultural background. But Kuttia Kondhs have legendary tales describing the origin of clans, nomenclature of clans which whether match with that of Kondhs are yet to be known.

In the culture of Kuttia Kondhs, it therefore becomes important to know the formation and configuration of their society with people of various clans. Description of the constitution of society of the Kuianka will follow the descriptions of the origin, evolution, identification and nomenclature of the clans.

CLAN ORIGIN

The Kuttia society is divided into sub societies like other societies, primitive or advanced. The division of the Kuttia society to sub-societies is mentioned in their evolutionary myth. That when they were under the earth, many types of people made up the total population. The groups of different types of people may be regarded as the sub-sections of the main society of Kuttia Kondhs. The division of the total population into many groups and the representing individuals to each group are described metaphorically in the myth. It goes like "*Atpa bicha lega atpa jaralega*" literaliy means "eight seeds like eight seeds" *Bicha* and *jara* have synonymous meaning that refer to seeds. The term '*Atpa*' though literally means light, here it refers to 'variety' or 'types' or 'mixture'. Thus the '*atpa bicha lega*'

has a different implication in their practical social life in which the Kuttia understands that like different varieties of seeds or like a mixture of many types of seeds the people were taking birth. Here, the seed refers to a particular sub group of Kuttia Kondhs and so different varieties of seeds refer to different sub-groups of the Kuttias. Kuttias explain that, like the standing crops of different types in a mixed cropping system in shifting cultivation, the different sub-groups of people were there in the underground who emerged out at Sapangada. This '*atpa bicha*' or in our usage the sub-groups of the societies are nothing but the clan itself. Thus the clans made the Kuttia Kondhs divided into many sub-groups, each group having a name for its clan, having a set of characteristics, a common origin, common belief, thoughts ...etc. Functionally all the people in different clans have taken up the same type of livelihood which is the common characteristic feature of the tribe itself. However, clans mainly differ at the points where their origin is in question. The clans claim their origin to different animate and inanimate things that are now found around them.

But in any case, the origin of clans dates back to the time when their myth originated simultaneously with birth, their division into clans. In all, there arose thirty three main clans and from them other different clans came up. But, none of the Kuttia Kondhs is sure of the total number of clans that were in the beginning of the society and the number existing today. Normally it is the priest or the *Kutaka* who should have known about the different types of clans and their clan characteristics and other details. But such priests and *Kutaka*s are of opinion that they only know and they are bound to know about the existing types of clans in their village. For, the priests and Kutakas come across the people of their village and also the people of other villages. This helps them to say that they are not bothered to know the clan types in other villages. Rather they know about some different clans found in their village, as well as in other villages. Similarly also the general folk in the village know about some other clans in different villages where they have friends and relatives. However, after long and continuous efforts in sample survey of different villages only names of twenty clans could be found out. These are stated below.

1. Nondruka.
2. Timaka.
3. Saraka.
4. Gunjika.
5. Sukubichaka.
6. Andanga.
7. Mindanga.
8. Urlaka.
9. Bandalaka / Bandanaka.
10. Damanaka.
11. Rodomika.
12. Sukunga / Sukuka
13. Prepanga.
14. Sunamudanga.
15. Pangranga.
16. Shidanja.
17. Kamralinga.
18. Dulaka.

19. Bidraka. 20. Sakadaka
21. Garanka.

It has been mentioned earlier that there were all total thirty three clans from which many sub-clans were originated. But in the area around Belghar, the Kuttia Kondhs belong to the above noted clans. These clans are inhabiting entire Kuttia territory demarcated by the denomination of hills around them as is mentioned in the chapter "Denomination of forests ...". The clans are not arranged in chronological order. Because there is no chronological order of their origin. Their evolutionary myth is the only reference, which if followed, simultaneous origin of all the clans can be ascertained. For, the myth starts with descriptions of the different types and groups of people in the under ground. Therefore, the clans canot be arranged in a chronological order.

There is no clan speciality in terms of characteristics besides their identification with the names of different stocks from which the clans were originated. But the clans thus known to Kuttia Kondhs have a mythical ancestor, totem and to temic rites. With certain clans taboos are associated but it is not commonly observed always. So clan is a social unit, carrying many families descended from a common stock. Whether it be animate or inanimate, all the clans are not descended from animate stocks.

It is believed that Nondruka and Timaka clans were the first to have been born from Sapangada hole. Different sets of legends relate that the Timaka followed the first born Nondruka.

NONDRUKA

According to one legend mentioned earlier in the chapter - "Denomination of forest....(with the description on Sapangada)" Nondrukas took birth directly from earth under Sapangada. The members of the clan had giant and massive body size, long ears and large eyes. Nerandali became surprised to see such people whom she did not want to create. Nerandali wanted to bring them into being to work as priests. But she was upset to see them and angrily cursed them to survive on their own body. She drove them away from Sapangada.

The other legend associated with the origin of Nondruka clan states that they were born from earth under Sapangada. Three pairs of male and female folk formed this clan i.e. they were born first. The three males are known as Rake Majhi, Gurpa Majhi and Rayara Majhi. The three female beings are known as Raniadu, Bendiadu and kumari. The three males and three females reciprocally got coupled with one another forming three couples viz : Raniadu - Rake, Bendiadu-Gurpa and Kumari-Rayara. They all went and settled in Sussabata after they were driven out from Sapangada for eating buffalo intestine.

In both the legends it is clear that Nondruka was born from Sapangada. But the clan was driven out from Sapangada for its undesired body vigour in one legend and for having eaten buffalo intestine in the other legend. But in either of the legends there is no mention about the meaning of Nondruka or about the nomenclature of the clan.

TIMAKA

There are also two different sets of information regarding the origin of Timaka clan. One has a reference in the chapter "Denomination of forests ...(descriptions on Sapangada)". As per the legend, Nerandali desired to give birth to Timakas who were in the under ground. Nerandali decided not to bring Timakas out in the same way as she did for Nondrukas. In the dark underground Nerandali searched for a place through which Timakas would come out. The Timakas also covered a long path to reach Knehelpanga and Damanpanga where they took birth from Terka i.e. bamboo shoots. Nerandali wanted to accept offerings from Timakas. Thus Timakas became the priest clan and were also first given with crop seeds by Nerandali. The legend was told by Badu Pujari son of late Priti Pujari of the village Kranja.

But Lake Majhi of village Rangaparu holds a different legend about the origin of Timakas. According to him, along with the Kuttia Kondhs, trees, plants and animals emerged out from the Sapangada hole. It is said that one of the buffaloes would eat up everyone and everything -(Refer-Descriptions of Sapangada in chapter "Denomination of forests ..." for a part of the song telling about the buffalo).

People who had emerged out killed the buffalo. The buffalo fell down covering half of the Sapangada hole. From the part of the hole that was covered up by the buffalo there came up the bamboo shoots called *Terka*. One of the women present there broke these shoots and kept them in a bamboo basket (*Mani kapa*). Next day the witchman called Kutaka who pointed out that the bamboo shoots were actually their fellow beings. The women then covered the basket for seven days. After seven days, from the bamboo shoots kept in the basket, were born members of the 'Timaka' clan.

So in either of the tales it is clear that *Timaka* clan took birth from *Terka* i.e. bamboo shoots. But in one legend it is narrated that the Timakas were born directly from bamboo shoots found at Knehelpanga and Damanpanga. But the second legend holds that the bamboo sprouted out from a part of the Sapangada hole covered by the dead body of buffalo and such bamboo shoots were their fellow beings who were concealed in bamboo baskets for seven days after which they grew into Timaka clan people.

SARAKA

Like Nondruka and Timaka clans Saraka also was born from Sapangada hole. Once there was a meeting of all the people living under Sapangada. Bamboo mats were spread on the underground for the people. All people sat down on the bamboo mats before people of the Saraka clan came there. Members of Saraka clan were large in number. Bamboo mats could not be offered to them. They were left out and had to sit on the plain ground. There are two opinions in regard to the nomenclature of Saraka. One holds that because they were left out they were named so. The other holds that because the number was so large they were named as Saraka.

GUNJIKA

There is a legend about the origin of Gunjika clan. The legend runs that the Gunjika clan members were born from gold ring as is described by Lake Majhi of Rangaparu village. The story goes that on the north of Tumudibandh there lived a man Kango by name. His sister was given in marriage to a man of a far off village. When her husband died, Kango's sister returned with her son to live with the brother. There were a few people in Kango's village. Kango wanted that more people should settle up in his village. He planted a Loki plant in his swidden field. *Loki* is a creeper, in local Oriya known as Lau (*Lageneria vulgaris)*. But he did not get many fruits from the plant. At last he got only one fruit. He took care of the plant and the fruit properly and did not allow anybody to touch it. It is thus believed that it is the Lau from which people were born. His young nephew (i.e. his sister's son Bhanja) was curious to know why he was prohibited by his *mama* (maternal uncle) to go near the plant and the fruit. One night he got the chance and quietly went near the fruit and heard sound coming out of it. He took out a *lohakila* (iron pin) from his hair and pricked the fruit. There were many people inside the fruit who were killed when the iron pin was pricked deep in to the fruit.

In the usual manner Kango went to his field in the next morning. He went near the fruit. Surprisingly he heard no sound coming out of the fruit. He gave a closer look to the fruit and found that an iron pin was pierced into the fruit which led to mass death of people. He became terribly angry and took an oath to take vengeance on the culprit for his nasty deed in killing people inside the fruit.

Kango returned to his village with heavy heart. He announced before everybody that he was going to blacksmith (*Lohrasal*) to get some iron implements made for his work in podu field. He maintained that he had got something of iron which may be molten to make many items out of it at Lohrasal. He asked if any body was willing to accompany him to Lohrasal. He had a strong conviction that the culprit who had killed the people by piercing the iron pin would take interest to

know what was the thing from which many things could be made out. To his good luck, his young Bhanja agreed to go with him. He became sure that it was his Bhanja's deed that killed people in the Lau. He also became happy to find out the culprit. Simultaneously he felt sad to find his Bhanja as the culprit. But as he had taken the vow already to kill the person who had killed his people, he had to accompany Bhanja with him.

Kango picked up his *Luha bilu* (bow) and *luha ambu* (arrow) and his sister packed up some food materials for her son and brother. After walking a long distance his nephew felt hungry. Both the uncle and nephew sat down to eat and then they wanted to drink water. Kango asked his nephew to climb up to a tree and see if water was available anywhere. The nephew climbed up to the tree to spot water. When he was half way through the tree top Kango shot him with his arrow and he fell down dead. Kango left him for the wild beasts and proceeded to his work. Finishing his work, he returned his home. Then his sister asked him about her son. Kango told her that he had killed him. Kango's sister cried loudly and went out in search of her son's dead body. But she could only find a gold ring from the spot where her son was shot dead. She kept it as a memory of her son and went about her work. She kept the ring in her waist but it slipped down. Then she tied a knot on her upper cloth with the ring. It also fell down from there. She then placed it in her hair (Kapoli) but it did not also stay there. Finally she kept it in her mouth from where it slipped in to her stomach. She became pregnant. She gave birth to a son who formed the clan Gunjika.

There is another belief about the origin of the Gunjika clan that its members were born from Tumba ring (i.e. from the ring of a gourd). The Tumba ring was made out of gourd of *anka* (wild variety of *Lagenaria vulgaris* that is shaped like a cylindrical shaft tapering towards the pedicil and the other end was bulbous). The gourd was perfectly dried and a mouth cut side ways to be used as a spoon. This is also called as Tumba. Thus the people who came out from the mouth of Anka fruit are called Gunjika.

Sukhbichaka : Members of this clan were born out of squirrel for which they are known as Sukhubichaka.

Sukuka : Members of this clan came out from the nest of mouse.

Mindanga : Members of this clan were born from fish. A legend associated with this clan goes that once a man went to catch fish (*Minu*) at water ghat. He caught a big fish. When he was about to cut it heard some sound coming from its stomach. He cut the fish stomach with great care and surprisingly a man came out of it. Because he took birth from a fish (Minu) he got the name of Mindanga.

Andanga : The origin of the clan is associated with the pig (*Paji*). The members of the clan were also originated from Sapangada. But the mother from whom other members of the clam came out, was drinking milk (tudu) from pigs directly. From this the members of the clan became known as Andanga.

Urlaka : Members of this clan claim their origin from the plant called 'Urla', known in Oriya as Daskerenta (*Barleria cristata*). According to the evolutionary myth of Kuttias Urla plant was born from the lungs of the mythical Sambar (*cervus unicolor*). This has been discussed in the chapter "Social and Cultural aspects of plants and trees". However for their origin from Urla plant, they became known as Urlaka.

Sunamudanga claims its origin from gold ring, Bandanaka clan claims its origin from Bandhan tree, otherwise called Dengeu tree (*xylia xylocarpa*). Kamralinga from Lohrasal i.e. from blacksmiths workshop, Garanka from Gara i.e. brass pot used for water storage etc.

The Damanaka clan owes its origin from *Daman mara* (*Grewia tiliaefolia*). It is believed that once the forests and trees were owned by members of this clan. Other clans also believe that the first being of Damanaka clan has to be invoked, consulted before cutting trees to prepare a new plot for shifting cultivation.

During the investigation the origin of Shidanja, Dulaka, Sakadaka, Rodomika, prepanga, Pangranga, Bidraka could not be traced out.

There are still a number of clans about which the Kuttia Kondhs around Belghar area do not have a sound idea. What Lochan Jani of Burlubaru village pointed out is that people also change the names of their clans in course of time. He gave an idea of some other clans which he knew from their myth. But the authenticity of his information could not be proved in the absence of descriptions. Some of the clans are noted below for reference.

1. Pangalienja : Who came out from hill base (panga)
2. Sanderlienja : (?)
3. Diatrelu : Members of the this clan came out from *Diatrelu* i.e. gourd of a fruit called Anka (*Lagenaria vulgaris*). It is held that pounde rice was kept in a *Dia* i.e. the gourd of Anka. The gourd burst giving birth to members of the Diatrelu clan.
4. Talajetinga : Members of this clan were born from hair knots (*Talajeting*).
5. Pajibandi : Members of this clan were born from an earthen pot with which pigs were fed. The earthen pot bursted giving birth to Argadi Majhi who was the first member of Pajibandi clan.

6. Wisangurada / Wisganga : The clan claims its origin from an old axe. The flat end of the axe became smaller after continuous use. Members of the clan were born from such an axe (*wisang*) and when they came out they also carried axe in their hands.
7. Makapuju / Atarnaka : The clan members took birth from Makapuju i.e. flower of Maize (*Zea mays*). It is held that like the corns in a maize, many people were born from maize
8. Suidedhinja : Clan members took birth from *Suidedhi* i.e. a vertical pole placed at a particular place to construct a house (Ref. Construction of house, society & culture - 1)
1). Then they became known as *Suidedhinja*.
9. Sarasambu : Members of this clan took birth from *sarasambu* i.e. seeding of colocacia.
10. Wikajudanja : The clan got its origin from *wikajuda* i.e. bundle of waka grass. Wika grass is used as thatching grass (*Themda arundinacea*). As the clan members took birth from Wikajuda, they were named as Wikajudanja.
11. Meragundanja : The members of this clan took birth from Meragunda i.e. turmeric powder when it was dusted at the place of a Meriah festival. From the turmeric powder the people of this clan were born. They are known as Meragundanja. The first member of this clan was Bandan Majhi.
12. Bangura : The Bangura clan has a little mention in the chapter "Denomination of forests" (Refer : Siramdeu hill). But nothing specific is known about the stock from which the clan was rooted.

Altogether we came across 33 clans all of which are believed to have been born from Sapangada hole. Since these were originated from different stocks and interacted differently with nature, their progeny got divided into different clan names.

In the evolution of clan system Timaka is regarded as the first born clan in the Kuttia society. Nondruka clan though developed before the Timaka was driven out from Sapangada. Thus Timakas are taken to be the first clan that came into being in Kuttia society.

Timaka being the first born clan it dominates the Kuttia society. In the social stratigraphy Timaka groups are taken to be the superior. They are given the responsibilities to perform the religious rites of the society. They belong to the priestly class as such, hold the higher status in the society. This feeling also continues till today. Pujara (the priests) come under the Timaka clan. It is known

from Badu Pujari of village Kranja, that Pujara is a status offered to a family of the Timaka group, for the said family first of all satisfied the Sapangada penu. Thus Pujara became a specialized section of Timakas and is given a higher status than any other priestly class.

It is stated earlier that priests are superior to political headmen of the society i.e. the Jani and Pujara and Majhi. The Nondruka clan came into being with three couples as stated earlier. It is probable that Majhi came into being from Nondruka clan which was a boycotted group in the Kuttia Kondh society. The kuianka's explanation is that the Majhis thus came from the Nondruka clan and were powerful for physical strength and dominated over other people. Thus the Majhi maintained his supremacy and exercised power over the society. Of course, people bearing the Majhi surname also came into being from other clans. Example can be cited in favour of Argadi Majhi of Pajibandi clan (paji - pig, Bandi - Earthen pot) and Bandan Majhi of Meragunda (Mera - turmeric, gunda - powder) clan. But Argudi Majhi and Bandan Majhi are not regarded as the Majhi who reign over their societies for, Pajibandi and Meragunda clans are not given that sort of a status like the Majhis of Timaka, Saraka ...etc.

It is given to understand that in the present society of Kuttia Kondhs, Saraka clan dominates. As the legend states about the origin of the clan, Saraka was a left out group, for, it was quite large in population for whom bamboo mat could not be offered at the meeting under Sapangada earth. Saraka group is thus a group with a large number of population. Members of other clan in comparison to members of Saraka were very negligible. This makes an understanding that Kuttia society is mainly constituted of people of Saraka clan, population of which is more numerous. Thus Saraka holds its importance as the main group in the Kuttia Kondh society. Damanaka clan demands its superiority as it was once the owner of the hills and forests which in fact is the main resource base of Kuttia Kondhs.

LINEAGE SYSTEM IN KUTTIA KONDH SOCIETY

Kuttia Kondhs lineage system is not very broad. The whole Kuttia Kondh society has been divided into two main groups viz : Jani and Majhi. The Jani and Majhi groups have been noted in the chapter "Society and Culture" which gives a sound idea on understanding the differences between the Jani group and the Majhi group. The status of the Majhi and the Jani described in the inequality is interwined with the lineage system.

In fact, Jani and Majhi are the only two lineages existing in the society of Kuttia Kondhs. Both the lineages have interactions so far as the family configuration is concerned. In the two rows of houses Jani and Majhi make two groups. Marriage among the members of the same lineage is prohibited. But a man from one row can choose a girl of the opposite row. Thus a Jani man can marry to

a Majhi girl and vice versa. Thus at the family level both the lineages are mixed up.

In the family level, there is the tradition that after a marriage the bride is brought to the groom's house. The married woman adopts the lineage of her husband. For example, when a Majhi woman marries a Jani man she goes to her husband's house and she lives in the Jani row. She is then called as a '*Janiadu*' i.e. a (married woman in Jani group). Since it is a partilineal society, in none of the cases a husband adopts the wife's lineage. In cases of adopted sons or daughters it becomes different. The adopted son bears the lineage of the person who has accepted the boy as his son. So also about adopted daughters. But after marriage, the daughter's lineage changes and she adopts the lineage of her husband.

Deviations are often marked in this principle that a man and a woman of the same lineage, living in the same row can not be married to each other. But it takes place. Marriage between a man and a woman of the same lineage of the same row in the village canot take place through proper negoiation. But in case of marriage by elopement or by capture from the same lineage the traditional norm is deviated. For, marriage within a lineage or the endogamous mode of life is regarded as a taboo and so is prohibited. In this case both the man and woman are of the same lineage (who marry each other) there is no change in the woman's lineage.

But marriage between two persons, even if they belong to the same lineage can take place if the two persons are from two different villages. With the difference in settlement the people can marry in the same group. But it is also subject to restrictions. If a man changes his settlement to a new site, his brother stays in the old settlement son of one brother cannot marry the daughter of the other brother. It is a taboo continuing for about three generations. After that period marriage may take place.

Marriage within or outside the lineage does not stick always to the traditional principles. Most of the marriage in Kuttia society are of marriage by elopement. Cases of elopement and capture are not uncommon within a lineage. Except his sister and very related cousin sister a man can elope any other girl of the same lineage. It is not at all accurate that marriage takes place within consanguingueal members of the family, whenever they stay inside the village or outside. The Sanskrit proverb in - "Birabhogya Basundhara" is found to be very much applicable to the marriage systems of the Kuttia Kondhs. A Kuttia man captures or elopes a woman irrespective of her lineage. Even if a man has one wife, may also bring another by elopement. Again a married woman may also be eloped or captured by a man, though he is penalized afterwards for his wrong deed.

Lineage of Kuttia Kondhs are of two types, but clans are many. One lineage may consist of many clans. Clans are admixured through marriages. Since marriage takes place between Jani and Majhi, Jani-Jani and Majhi-Majhi sections,

it is obvious that the members of different clans mix up through the passage of time. Thus it is almost an impossible task to find out the clan relationship among people of the two different lineages in a village. Clans are admixed so much so that people even forget their clans after one or two generations. It is also observed in cases where the father has forgotten his own clan. Such cases appear during the name giving ceremony of a child.

KINSHIP SYSTEM

The Kuttia Kondhs give due importance to their kins and the elaborate kinship system. The family is patriarchial with father as the head. The father is called 'Abba' and the mother 'Eea'. Relatives of both father and mother are kins. The kinship also extends to both the sides of a married couple. Kinship system also maintains an elaborate joking and avoidance relationship. Grand parents and grand children have a joking relationship as a younger brother or sister has with their elder brother's wife or elder sister's husband. Younger brother's wife and elder sister avoid elder brother-in-law and younger sister's husband respectively. They also do not sit on the same mat. The father-in-law and the daughter-in-law do not sit on the same mat. The mother and father do not sit on the same cot in front of the house. The mother usually sits on the ground while the father sits on the cot because the gods would get angry if they deviate from the norms.

The behaviour of Kuttia Kondhs to either affinal or consanguineal towards their community members and to all the visitors of their community other than kin members and other community members is respectful.

The above description is very generalized aspect of the kinship system that is traditionally maintained in Kuttia Kondh society. The kinship system is of course elaborated with a number of terminology that define the relationship among the kins. Since kinship in Kuttia society is both consanguineal and affinal, a number of terms are associated to identify the kins on either sides. The Kui terms of relationship with the kins is elaborate.

The family head is '*Abba*' i.e. the father. But 'my father' in Kuttia is 'ni Abba'. To call a person carrying the name of his son or daughter one would call 'Hey *Ram Tanji*'. Hence *Tanji* and *Abba* are the two terms used for the term father, but in two different contexts.

The mother is called 'Eea'. For 'my mother' it is 'ni Eea'. 'Tali' is used similarly as 'tanji' to father. Thus mother is known with two terms Eea and Tali.

For sisters of mother only one term is used - '*kaki*'. Kaki is also applicable for paternal uncle's wife whether the uncle is older than father or younger than father. But if the uncle is younger than the father he is called '*kaku*', but the uncle

older than the father is called '*Pemba*'. All paternal and maternal aunts are called *kaki*.

Grand father is known in term of *Dutanja* and the grand mother as *Dutali*. But an old person, at the stage of being a grand father of his grand children, he is called as '*Deranja*'. But '*Dutali*' is used for an old woman by other folks not affinally or consanguisneally related to the old woman.

The deceased or dead do not have any names. In their living stage they have terms, but to utter the name of a dead person's name is regarded as a taboo by Kutia Kondhs. They are either called '*Jendaenja - Kadenja*' or simply a '*Dukeli*'. Jendaenja - Kadenja refers to very elderly dead persons and Dukeli literally refers to ghost or spirits. Thus the deads are taken as ghosts or spirits. *Jendaenja* term is derived from '*Jendi*' that refers to the pith of sago palm tree-*Madamara or Salap tree*. The meaning of both the terms becomes the pith people. This attribute gives regard to the deads as important persons who maintain the society for the future generations. However for dead women there is no specific term. They are simply known as *Dukeli*.

In the family brother has two terms, used differently. The brother to his junior is '*Tada*' i.e. elder brother but to the older brother '*Appu*'. But Appu is used in many ways. Any senior can call a younger as Appu. Parents can call their son as Appu, and other seniors may use similarly.

There are two terms for the sister i.e. *Nana and Appi*. *Nana* is used to call the elder sister. Appi is used by all seniors to a girl or a woman irrespective of age.

Maternal grand-father is called *Aku* and grand mother as *Dutali*. Grandson is called *Nati* and grand daughter as *puti*.

A bride is called *Kudua* by her father-in-law and mother-in-law. Elder brother's wife is '*Awa*' and younger brothers wife *Appi*. There is no specific term for a wife to call her husband. In the Kuttia culture it is a taboo for a wife to take her husband's name. If she has a child she calls her husband as *Tanji* using the child's name as prefix to *Tanji*. Otherwise she calls him as '*Ebanja* i.e. But the husband and wife call each other as *Michu*. Often the husband, the inlaws call the married woman as '*adu*' bearing the name of the woman's village. Burlubaru and Germel are names of villages that are joined with 'Adu'. Such a name gives the identification of the woman in the village of her origin. A bride calls to her mother-in-law as '*Eea*' and to her father-in-law as *Abba*, so also for a groom to his in-laws.

Mother's brother is called as *Mama*. Mama is widely used. Anybody not related to a person who is middle aged or old is called either *kaku* or *pemba* or *Mama* referring to the person's association with the former's father or mother. The

person, belonging to the father's village or is known as a relative from father's side is either called *Pemba* or *Kaku*. If he is a realitive from mother's side or is held from mother's village he is called Mama. The term is Mama more common than *pemba* and *Kaku* in Kuttia Kondh society. A son's father calls the son's father-in-law as Samdhi and to the mother-in-law as Samdhi adu.

Michu is a special term widely used. It applies for a friend to another friend. Two girls of about the same age may call each other as Michu. Similarly is the case of two boys of the same age. Husband and wife call each other as *michu*. A brother-in-law is also a Michu. But sister-in-law is either called *Awa* if she is the brother's wife or *Nana* or api if she is Awa's sister. Awa's elder or younger sisters are sometimes called as Michu. Two ceremonially made friends address each other as *Michu*. Michu is also applicable to a girl or a boy of another village. In the village Tada and Apu are the terms used for boys and girls respectively. Thus the usage of kinship terms make the system too broad.

Families are made with both consanguineal and affinal members. To trace the consanguineal and affinal members in a family the kinship terms make a better distinction. The consanguineal and affinal members can be better understood by the use of kinship terms. A list of the kinship terms applicable to consanguineal and affinal members is thus appended below.

Consangiuneal kinship terms :	*Abba, Eea, tada, Apu, Api, Nati, Puti, Dutanja, Dutali, Kaku, Kaki, Tanji, Pemba.*
Affinal kinship terms	*Tanji, Tali, Apu, Nana, Api, Nati, Puti, Awa, -adu, -anja,* Samdhi, Eea, Abba, Nati, Puti, *Dutanja, Dutali, Kaku, kaki, Mama, Michu, Aku.*

The above grouping of terms under the consanguineal and affinal kinship makes it clear that the kinship terms in the former category is a sub set of the latter category as all the former category carries some terms out of the total included in the latter category.

GUEST TREATMENT / HOSPITALITY

Kuttia Kondhs have a good sense of regards and respects to the guests who are identified with the kinship terms, irrespective of the relations as formal or informal. The guests are commonly called as '*Pareni*'. Among the 'Pareni', Samdhi is the most important guest in all the generations. The Kuttia Kondhs guest treatment is quite interesting.

Whenever a guest arrives, he is welcomed by male members of a family. If the male members are absent, the female members welcome the guest or guests. As it is customary, younger brother's wife and elder sisters avoid elder brother-in-law and younger brother's husband. But besides these relationship the guest is welcomed by female members, heartily. The receptionist does not salute the guest even he is senior. The receptionist simply asks '*Vatina-*'?. If the guest is '*tada*' by relation to the receptionist then the receptionist asks '*Vatina Tada* ?' ('have you come brother ?') The guest in reply says 'vate'('I have come'). In this way fermality is maintained at the first sight.

After washing the guest's legs the receptionist gossips with the guest. Then the receptionist offers *Dua* i.e. tobacco powder mixed with lime to the guest. He accepts it. Then a formal chi-chat goes on till it is time for food. The food 'is served and afterwards the guest is asked "Echene Bayee" i.e. "When will you return". The answer comes (tomorrow) or '*Bara*' meaning just now.

Dua happens to be the first customary offering on the part of a host or hostess. The guest is sometimes invited by the host to '*Madangbasa*' (i.e. toddy drinking place). As it is customary, the guest is offered with a *Sira mara* i.e. one extra measure of toddy. In the madangbasa the host and guest talk to each other about various things and then return to the village when the toddy drinking is over. In the village the guest is offered food by the host. The type of the food sometimes depends upon the financial standard of the host and the status of the guest. If the host is economically sound and the guest is of a good status or rank, then meat, liquor and other delicious things are arranged. If the host is not financially sound he does not consider the rank of the guest in terms of kinship relations or formal relations. The guests are given place to take rest on the front verandah or are sent to the dormitory if the guest is young.

On the day of return the guest is offered with '*Bhetti*' (i.e. gift from the host). The gifts are usually in the form of agricultural produces or livestocks like poultry, goat, pig etc. However, the treatment of guests of different types vary from event to event. In different social events, festivals, rituals, ceremony, courtesy visits, marriage negotiations, guests are treated differently. How different types of guests are treated differently are narrated below.

Young guests who have come from other villages are first of all received by the guest's relatives where they takes food, drink ...... etc. But at night they are sent to the youth dermitory where songs, dances, jokes are made amongst youth of both the sex. This is described in detail in the chapter 'Society and Culture-I of Kuttia Kondhs'.

The Sandhi is the guest treated with honour. When their children marry

each other they become Samdhi. It is too customary that both the samdhis will eat together buffalo meat, in fact, after the marriage of their children. It is belived that eating together (both the samdhis) particularly with an item of buffalo meat cements the relation.

In Kuttia villages guests enjoy all privileges and amenities from the host. The host tries to satisfy the guest to his capacity. Saluting the guests is a recent addition to the Kuttia Kondh's tradition.

GIFT EXCHANGE IN FORMAL AND INFORMAL GROUPS

Gift exchange is quite customary in Kuttia Kondh society. This act and custom maintain a good social relationship, maintains better understanding, ..etc. among people of the society. The gift exchange may take place at various spheres, on various intervals, for various purposes. .For a gift exchange system, no specific time is prescribed. But type of gifts are specific on certain rituals and festivals: Otherwise there is no specification in give and take.

Gift exchange takes place in the village, among different families and different persons. It also takes place in a tribal to tribal sphere, tribal to non tribal sphere, youth to youth, old to old ..etc. The materials of gift in this connection need a little elucidation.

Youth guests attending a dormitory and enjoying friendship with song, dance, jokes with other youth mas of the same and opposite sex are offered gifts by the youths. The gift is usually given by youths of opposite sexes to the guests. Normally the gift is a cock, hen or a goat. Pigs are not usually given. This is mass presentation to the guest. But sometimes the guest presents a bottle of Mahuli liquor -*Adkinga* to a person of opposite sex whom the guest likes. The gifted liquor indicates that the giver wants to develop love. If the gift is accepted the purpose is served, otherwise the gift is returned back. If the person whom the gift is given does not accept but understands the purpose, she may talk to the giver through metaphoric words. The giver through metaphorical words assures the person for whom the gift is meant, to provide the necessary things at the right time or in the next visit. This is the hidden massage which may cause two young individuals of opposite sex to come closer or even lead them to co-habit and become a couple later on. Sometimes young girls are asked by young boys for what gift would satisfy her. The girl desires a bottle of liquor indicating her sexual affinity for the boy or begs cordialily some good articles, ornaments just to keep up friendship.

On the occasion of a marriage, crop beverage, food, liquor, clothes,buffalo, goat and household materials are exchanged between the bride and the groom parties. Some gifts are meant for specific persons and some for the villagers of the family of the groom or the bride. Special gifts are exchanged between the bride and

the groom, often by their relatives (of the bride and groom). Kuttias and their immediate community i.e. Panos also exchange gifts on marriage events. Panos give clothes to Kuttias ; they are invited to the common feast and after the marriage is over, they are given with agricultural produces and liquor. The Kuttias have formal relation with Panos. Kuttias relation with Pano is also held with kinship terms.

On the occasion of a death rite, relatives of the dead extend gifts in the form of rice and animals like goat, pig and buffalo. The dead's kins and the villagers receive the gifts and return back one equal half of the animal to the dead's kins and villagers. In this event, the animal is cut into two bilaterally symmetrical halves, one half is sent for. With that a common feast can be arranged in the dead's kins village.

On the occasion of a name giving ceremony, maternal uncle of the child, sends a buffalo or a goat to his nephew or neice's house. One half of the animal with some quantity of cooked rice is sent back.

On the occasion of a Meriah festival, (in terms of Kuttia Kondhs it is *Biakatina*) the *Bhanjas* (sister's son) are given importance. When the festival is organized gifts flow to the maternal uncles from Bhanja's village. In the whole village where the Biakatina is being organized, the Bhanja's of the villagers send gifts in form of rice, pulses, buffaloes etc. In all these cases also one half of the animal is sent back to the respective villages from where the gift was received.

On the occasion of the first return of a married girl to her parent's house a number of gifts are given from her husband's house. In this case gifts consist of clothes for the woman's mother, liquor, rice, cooked rice, goat or buffalo etc. The number of animals sent on gifts indicates the status of the husbands family. In this case animal meat is not sent back. The animals are killed for a common feast in the wife's village where a few or sometimes none from the husband's village may participate. When a married woman returns from her husband's house for the first time, many people from the women's village receive and escort her cordially. The youth who go from the woman's village are gifted with cock, hen etc. by the youth of the other village.

An outsider who has lived for long in a Kuttia village is given gifts in form of agricultural products, *basanga* (tubers), toddy etc. The outsider who lived there is bed a farewell by all in the village who also escort the guest to half of its way.

The customary exchange of gifts provides ample opportunity for social intercourse among people of various settlements. Further, in all the cases the receiver village sends gifts on similar events.

LIVELIHOOD

In consideration of their technology and methods of procuring food, the Kuttia Kondhs have been identified as one of the primitive tribal groups of Orissa. Their economic life hinges mostly on slash and burn type of cultivation which is a way of their life. They have also occasional hunting and food gathering.

The daily routine of work in Kuttia Kondh society varies with the seasons. This aspect of work has been mentioned in the chapter "Society and Culture-I Of Kuttia Kondhs". Apart from the daily routine of the work, the seasonal routine is very compact, hard and labour consuming. As observed in agricultural activities, there is a division of labour based on sex. Among them women who seem to be more hard-working and remain busy continuously throughout the whole day. Apart from vital task of child rearing, women have to do all household chores such as fetching water, cleaning the house and utensils, cooking and carrying food for the male members working in the field etc. In addition to these works collection of minor forest produces is the main job of women. In shifting cultivation women do several items of work like debushing, dibbling, hoeing, weeding, watching the crops, harvesting, winnowing and storing while men cut the big trees, fire the felled trees and watch the crop and occasionally assist women in other items of work. In wet cultivation women carry on the important task of transplanting, weeding, reaping, harvesting and storing the produce.

AGRICULTURAL CALENDER

The seasonal work schedules as well as the yearly work schedule of the Kuttia Kondhs are made in accordance with their practice of agriculture or other works round the year. Similar to other societies, the Kuttia Kondhas have a routine of agricultural works which they divides into twelve calender months. The name of the months in a year (*Bachra*) resemble to that of the names given to the months in Oriya. Month in their language is '*Lanju*' which also refers to moon. Thus for moon and month Kuttia Kondhs have one term. But it is not a fact they understand the months from the moon, rather they know about the months from changes in nature around them. They know about a month from the vegetation and climatic conditions. Accordingly three seasons are denominated as *Weda lanju*, *Piju lanju* and *Peni lanju* which refer to summer, rainy and winter seasons. *Weda* stands for sun. *Piju* for rain and *peni* stands for winter. Their agricultural calender is made in these three seasons. At the approach of the seasons, they practise different types of agricultural works which suit their cultivation practice.

The preparation of hill plots for swiddening starts during the month of February - March i.e. *Phagun lanju*. Men cut trees and remove rocks while women cut, clear bushes and collect them at one place. The children help their parents as

and when required. After that they leave it for one to two months (till end April) to dry. By the end of April or early May they burn the slashes. During the March-April month (*chaita lanju*) they clean the forest floor completely and the April-May (Baisaka lanju) is also spent with the cleaning works. After that the field is hoed. After the first shower of rain they sow the seeds. They look after them while going to the jungle for collecting the fruits, edible leaves ..etc. The April-May and May-June (*Juestha lanju*) are the periods when minor forest produces are available in plenty. Such produces like Mango, Mahua flower, thatching grass, Sabai grass, tamarind grass, Sabai grass, Tamarind, sal seeds ..etc. are collected by men and women which they sell for cash. During the month ofMay-June weeding starts and it continues till June-July (*Asad lanju*). By the end of July or of August (Sravan lanju) they start harvesting early millets. The cropping is done at a time and since it is a multiple cropping on hill land, the crops mature at different times in a year. Thus the harvesting of the crops from swiddening is carried out till the month of January.

The available paddy lands are cultivated in June-July and harvested by November-December (Margasira Lanju). After the rainy season Kuttia Kondhs crop winter vegetables, mustard, niger etc. by August-September (Bhadrab Lanju) or September-October (Aswin Lanju). The crops are harvested in December-January (Pusa lanju) or January-February (Magha lanju). October-November (Kartik lanju or Dassera lanju) is spent with harvesting from the swidden plots. By the end of January-February harvesting from all fields is finished and the Kuttia Kondhs become free from agricultural works for a certain period.

The hunting season starts in the summer months (from March to May or August to September), when the tribals can easily go to the jungle. They may also go out for hunting at any other time but the above months are usually favourable.

FOOD PATTERN

Cereals, pulses, some animals produces are the main sources of food items of Kuttia Kondhs. Among vegetables, tubers make the major addition. The principal food is gruel with some vegetables. The main food habit is thus connected with the agricultural produces.

Kuttia Kondhs are very much fond of gruel. Gruel is made of rice (*Oryza sativa*). Raw rice is called *Pranga*, paddy and the cooked rice as '*Bidi*'. Gruel is also prepared out of mande i.e. finger millets (*Eleusine coracana*), out of little millet (*Panicum miliare*), Jana (*Sorgham vulgare*) etc.But out of all the types of gruels, they like very much the Mande gruel, which is called peja. A reason as to why Kutttia Kondhs prefer rice gruel is that they avail from it the quick supply of energy.

Cooked rice is not common throughout the year. Rice is only cooked when paddy is harvested. In rare cases the Kuttia Kondhs purchase rice from the market as it is not given priority in their food habit in comparison with other cereals and millets. Whenever paddy is harvested, it is taken no more processing to make rice out of it. Everyday at the early morning when the cock crows the tribal women start pounding rice with the mortar (seni) founded in their houses and Kutani i.e. the pestle. They separate the husk from rice by a winnow after which the rice is cooked. Some quantity of rice thus pounded is kept for food at night otherwise they will have to pound rice again. This is specially the women's job.

When rice is cooked, it is added with seeds of cow pen, of kredanga i.e. *Cajanus cajan*, of Biri (Phascolus vulgaris) of mungo (Phaseolus mungo) etc. or any other types of pulses available. Among the other types of pulses, the seeds of Jata i.e. carpet legume (*Lablab purpurens*), and other types of peas are usually added to the rice. Sometimes salt is added to taste rice but it is very rarely used. Sometimes turmeric powder is added to the rice. With addition of these things cooked rice becomes a delicious dish.

But paddy is harvested in winter season. Sometimes the Kuttia Kondhs do not consume all the quantity of paddy after harvest, rather they keep a large part of it for the summer season (which is their lean period).

Kuttia Kondhs lean period starts from May-June. It last till August when little millets and maize are mature. In the lean period they survive on the paddy stocked earlier and finger millets with which they prepare gruel. But that is not adequate food for the people. In the lean period children are given the normal food. Senior people do not have the minimum quantity of required food. In the lean periods, they search for alternative food items like mango kernel, wild and cultivated tubers (*Basanga*) and spinach available in the forests, kitchen gardens and paddy fields. Besides dry maize, cow-pea, bamboo shoots substantially add to their food habit.

The rainy season in continuance with the lean period makes their life still most disgusting. It is the period when nothing is available. All the food must have been finished by then. Their dependance is only on bamboo shoots (*Terka*). The Kuttia women and men go a long distance to collect the *Terka*. They cut the shoots into fine chips. The chips are grinded first and squeezed to remove water out of it. Again it is grinded and is put in hot water. After some time rice is added to Terka and when perfectly cooked water is removed out. The preparation is called *Terka bidi*. Terka is also cooked without mixing the rice also. If water is not removed out from the pot the Terka preparation is called *Terka jada* i.e. Terka qruel. Terka is also used for another preparation called *kanji* or *Terka jau*. In such preparations, fine chips of bamboo shoots are taken and cooked with pulses or vegetables. This

is called *Terka jau*. Towards the end of the rainy season Maine matures in the shifting fields which saves the people from further starvation. Mango kernel, Tubers and roots, bamboo shoots are the boons for Kuttia Kondhs their lean seasons. Lean period makes them suffer from malnutritional diseases.

Late rainy season and the whole winter are the best periods when Kuttia Kondhs get stomach full food. In the podu fields crops mature at different intervals. Finger millet, little millet, cow-pea, paddy, vegetables like pumpkin, banana, cucumber, bottle gourd, beans make the Kuttia Kondhs food delicious. They cook *masa bidi* (Millet rice), *Kulibidi* (paddy rice) with various types of *Jau* (curry). Besides, the plentily availability of Sago palm toddy and date palm toddy keep the Kuttia Kondhs in good health. Kuttias do not feel insecuredin that period. Food is plenty at homes in the village and in the podu fields. During winter they rarely prepare gruel. Kuttias enjoy nice dishes with produces from shifting fields till it is sold away for cash. Tubers also make a very important part of their dishes in winter. Tubers like *Rani basanga* i.e. sweet potato and species of *Yam* i.e. Dioscorea named differently with Tapioca make their chit-chat food.

Weeds in shifting fields make an important part of their food. mention may be made of *Alternanthera sessilis* (modaranga Kucha) found at water places, different species of *Amaranthus* (Khada), *Bauhinia purpurea* (Barada Kucha), *Benincasa hispida* i.e Ash gourd (Pita Kucha), *Cassia tora* (Chakda Kucha), *Celosia argentea* i.e Quail grass (Nahga Kucha), Cleome gysnandra (Kamban Sarcha Kucha), *Coccinica indica* i.e. (Torda kucha), *Commelina benghalensis* (kena kucha), *Indigofera cassioides* (Girli Kucha), *Allmania nodiflora*(?) *Alocacia indica* (Saru Kucha), *Leucas aspera* (Gassa Kucha) ..etc. which are most commonly used weeds for spinach.

Among the cultivated varieties leaves of *Cucurbita moschata* (*Kumda kucha*), *Amaranthus oleraceous* (Kosila kucha), leaves of cow-pea (*Jhudunga kucha*), *Brassica campestris* (sarcha kucha i.e. mustard spinach)..etc. are important. Still there are a number of leafy vegetables eaten by the Kuttia Kondhs in different seasons.

Many varieties of kanda i.e. tubers called *basanga* are found in the forest which contribute a lot to their food habit. Some are also cultivated. Among all the types of tubers Dioscorea species (D.alate, *D.belophylla, D.bulbifera, D.glabra, D.oppositifolia, D.pentaphylla, D.wallichii)* make the major part which are named differently as Kuna basanga, Supka basanga, Kui basanga, Napanga, Pati basanga, Nangal kanda, Kandu basanga ...etc are important. Other tubers are like Rani basanga i.e. sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), Mara basanga i.e. tapioca or cassava (*Manihot esculenta)* sarubasanga *(Colocasia indica* and *Lasia spinosa*) etc. Besides, many a number of tubers are there which could not be identified

botanically. Such types are *Talanka basa, Loari basa , katka basanga, poandaka, Achabasa, Kana basa, Potinga basa, Kakaroka basanga* etc.

During the rainy season (beginning from May-June to August), many varieties of mushrooms are also used by Kuttia Kondhs. They are called Kutka in Kuttia language.

Some of them are listed below :

1. Vigur kutka.
2. Kambal kutka.
3. Madag kutka.
4. Gacha kutka.
5. Luga kutka.
6. Singmorna kutka.
7. Vada kutka.
8. Maska kutka.
9. Puchu kutka.
10 Jaranpatar kutka.
11. Krusu kutka.
12. Sakar kutka.
13. Patar kutka.
14. Para kutka.

Many other varieties which are occasional depending on the availability find place in Kuttia Kondhs food pattern. Some of them are like wild banana flowers, pith of Sago palm tree, pith of banana plant, young jack fruit, papaya, drum stick. etc.

NARCOTICS AND INTOXICANTS

In all tribal societies drinking liquor is a common habit. This habit is not socially prohibited irrespective of sex and age. Taking liquor is approved by the society on normal occasions, ceremonial and religious functions. The environmental conditions viz. the high terrain topography and climatic factor have made them somehow perpetual addicts. The Kuttia Kondh society is addicted to two types of drinking. One is daily drinking and the other is festive drinking or occasional drinking.

All Kuttia Kondh males and females drink *Mada* i.e. toddy which refers to Mada mara i.e. Salap tree or Sago palms tree. It is also known as Kittul palm tree. The toddy of the tree is called Mada. The Salap tree gives juice from early winter till even late summer. Toddy is not collected, not also the tree secretes toddy during rains. Toddy drinking is not common with women as they rarely go to

Madangbasa (i.e. the toddy drinking place). They take toddy if it is brought to them by male members or if they by chance go to Madangbasa where they are served separately. It is considered to be a type of food. The Sago palm tree is having a good deal of socio-cultural importance. This has been dealt in the chapter 'Social and cultural aspects of plants and trees'.

The Salap juice is gathered in an earthen pot and thus is mixed with many types of roots or barks to make it more intoxicant. The owner of the tree calls his peer group and others to drink. The earthen pot is kept on the floor and equally its contents are divided to each one present at the Madangbasa. It is believed that this type of community drinking is belived to have been learnt from the stars in the sky. The group of such stars is called "*Kukurpunganga*" which is in the shape of a tree with people sitting around it. As it is fresh juice of the tree it is considered good for health and is regarded as a drink that strengthens the body. Toddy is also served in ceremonial events and festivals if it is available in plenty.

The second type of drink which they drink is '*Irpi kalu*', *Adkinga* which is Mahuli liquor prepared from the flowers of Mahula (*Madhuka latifolia*). It is mostly prepared by the Panos round the year. Sometimes during the flowering season of Mahula tree (*puju mara*) Kuttia Kondhs also make their own liquor but this was rare in olden days. It was regarded as exclusively a trade of Panos. But now Kuttias are also interested in the trade and so also are trying to take up this as a trade. Kuttias prepare liquor out of Mahula flowers through their indigenous method (as is described in the chapter "Social and cultural aspects of plants and trees"). One bottle of pure Mahua liquor costs about twelve rupees whereas mixed with water it costs five rupees or six rupees. The Pano community purchases Mahua flower from Kuttias and sell them in the form of liquor. Mahua liquor is a must in ceremonies and rituals. It plays an important role with the witchman who is invited to appease the malevolent or benevolent deities. He is offered with Mahua liquor before he start a 'Dakina' (worship). The liquor also plays an important role during marriage ceremony as it forms a part of bride price.

Besides these Kuttias also prepare crop beverages used like liquor. They prepare liquor called katul or kalu which is prepared from the little millet called kueri (Panicum miliare). The process which is followed to prepare Katul is described below.

Kueri is pounded in small quantity, then it is made into a paste by adding water. It is then kept on Siali leaves near the fire place or hung from the loft over the hearth. The kueri paste on the siali leaves is kept for fifteen days to one month. When it is opened it looks red in colour. It is then made into a very fine powder called 'kena'.

The next step is to pound more Kueri. Then the grains are cooked with little

water so as to make it soft. Usually Kueri grains are put in hot water for four to five minutes when the grains imbibe water and become soft. It is then kneaded. The kneading is called *Richkinamu*. It is properly kneaded to make sure that it can be made into balls. These balls are then placed in earthen pots "*Guna*" and water is added to the balls. Then one handful of kena is added. The mouth of the pot is then closed with Siali leaves. This is kept in that condition for three days and after that it is further kneaded by hand to mix up the balls and kena properly. Water is added to make it a drink. The liquor develops a pinkish red colour. Then the liquor is ready for drink.

There are many restrictions in regards to preparation of *Kena*. Only after a *puja* is offered by the Jani, new *kueri* can be used to prepare *kena*. The worship is called '*Kena Dekina*'. This kena preparation is made only on Tuesdays and Fridays. Other days are not considered auspicious for this.

Katul is usually prepared during the festivals and ceremonies. This is easiest to prepare and is very cheap also as compared to Mahua liquor. Salap toddy is available in small quantities whereas large quantities are required during festivals and ceremonies. Mahua liquor is used as a token of offering only also used as a customary gift in many social events. If Salap toddy is available, only one glass per person in a ceremony is given to the important quests i.e. Kunia. Salap is offered to Kunia near Salap tree in the morning, midday or in the evening. But Mahua to the available quantity is served to all guests present. Katul can be used at any time of the day and the alcoholic content in Katul is very less compared to the distilled liquor of Mahua. In a Kätul drink, male and female folks sit in separately or line separately and katul is served through a *Kreti* i.e. a long handled gourd. It is drunk in an aluminium pot.

There is a special festival when katul is prepared in everybody's house. The festival is called *Puni Kalu* which is organized in January. *Puni* stands for new as well as for full moon. Whereas Kalu stands for liquor, legs and pestle. So on the Puni Kalu festival, new liquor of kueri is drunk. This is like a new eating festival. Preparation of Katul and drinking it before Punikalu festival are restricted on religious grounds.

Kuttias have divulged that in ancient days liquor was prepared from fruits of *Maska mara* i.e. Mango tree (*Mangifera indica*, Puju mara i.e. Mowra butter tree (*Madhuka longifolia*, pansi mara i.e. Jack fruit tree (*Artocarpus heterophyllus*), Tide mara i.e. banana plant (*Musa sapientum*) and molasses. But now-a-days they mostly depend upon toddy of Sago palm and date palm, distilled Mahua liquor and crop beverages. Liquor out of molasses are also being prepared by Panos and served to the Kuttia Kondhs. But toddy from Sago palm tree is considered the best among all other liquors.

Besides drinking of different types of liquor, Kuttia Kondhs also use narcotics as stimulant. Dhuan bada i.e. dry tobacco leaf is mainly used as narcotics. Dry tobacco leaves with lime is grinded to make a powder. It is known as Dua or Nasa. Dua or Nasa is one important material offered to people as a manner of formality and hospitality. Dry tobacco powder rolled into a Siali leaf or Sal leaf is used as a Kali (cigar). The other type of stimulant is 'Gudakhu' which they keep under the tongue or lips or brush the teeth, are usually purchased from panos or local shops.

Liquor, narcotics or stimulants are not prohibited in Kuttia Kondh society, but Salap toddy is basically taken by male folk only. All persons irrespective of sex and age use them. The Sago palm toddy is basically considered as intoxicant drink with food value.

WOMEN AND KUTTIA LIVELIHOOD

From all aspects of Kuttia Kondh society and culture women bear the main responsibility in earning a livelihood. In various spheres of work at home, at fields, at market, the involvement of Kuttia women is more. Male members do very negligible work in comparison to women. From the beginning of a day till late at night a woman would be found busy in various works. For, she is waited by all in the family for food, for work, for cash and so to say for every need of the family. Carrying children in a cloth and hanging them from her shoulders, she keeps her hands busy at work. Woman is the chief input of labour in the agricultural practices. She is the main input for economic generation from agriculture to collection of minor forest produces, collection of food, spinach, tubers, roots, mushrooms everything. She takes care of members in the family and the livestocks. So Kuttia livelihood mostly depends upon the working ability of women. Women really do a lot. Women are also seen to have done very hard jobs like cutting big trees by axe, cutting tree trunks for fire wood etc. She makes the walls of houses by kneading mud. She, even with empty stomach serves food for all. Yet the women are not given proper position in the society. They have become the victims of the anger of male members in her family. She is restricted to many things in the society. She is imposed with a number of taboos on cultural grounds. Though Kuttia woman has shown her skills on all aspects she is still looked down by male members of the society.

The role and responsibilities that a woman burdens in the society has also been mentioned in their evolutionary myth-Kui Gaani. Let's take the case of Nerandali who was the supreme lady, regarded as the mother of the Kuttia Kondha community. In the myth she is accorded the topmost position as to have given birth to Kuttia Kondhs. Yet she is duty bound. When Kuttias emerged out from Sapangada, Nerandali was the first person who took pain to cook for all, she served

for all and at the end took her food. Again it was Nerandali who bothered about the well beingness of the community which she brought to the lime light. Nerandali is of course followed by the Kuttia women. Nerandali was taking care of her house and the outside and planning always for betterment of people around her. In the same way Kuttia women are still working. So Kuttia women are the representations of Nerandali - the mythical heroin.

In the myth the women were first to take birth. In the process of creation they constituted the first creation. They were plenty in number. Nerandali thought that yet there were many works in the society which could not be done without male beings. Therefore she wished for male beings to be created and her desire was materialized. However, this myth that women took birth first is not seen in any other myth of the human civilization. In none of the myths of other communities women have taken birth first. If we regard the Kuttia myth and follow it, we can believe that Kuttia society was originally matriarchal. But Kuttia Kondha society is male dominated, patriarchial and patrilineal. Kuttia Kondhs do not follow this track. For, the myth shows a women dominated society, for example, Nerandali ordered Betamangera to get bamboo from Kandabada - Bakabada hills. Again she was the person who created Betamangera for certain jobs which were not to her capability. Then there was need of male beings.

But gradually things changed. The male folk became exposed more to the outside world than the females. Male folk took charge of receiving guests and female people took charge of providing hospitality to the guests. The males were / are regarded as the head of the household. Thus women remained in oblivion than males became parasites on women for works, food, drink, child rearing but kept their heads raised as the chief in the family. Hence, women are quite neglected in the society by males. The behaviour of the Kuttia society towards women and the status of women are no doubt pitiable. To make the points clear, the status of Kuttia women deserves mention here.

A boy child and a girl child both get equal attention from the parents. But a girl child was regarded better than a boy child in olden days. It is for the reason that for girl child the parents get bride price from the groom's house. Besides, the bride price the parents of the girl child were also given much importance by the groom's side. Again reasons for taking a girl child includes the labour she can devote to the family, for she stands as a chief input of labour at her adolescence. The sons get separated from parents, so also a girl. But in ancient days people loved to live in the wife's village if adequate land for house making and agricultural practice was availed in the wife's village. But now-a-days the tradition is out dated. Thus a girl child is never neglected especially for two reasons, bride price and labour that she can devote to the family. The young girls also enjoy the same kind of dealings from the parents and the village people.

A married woman draws a good deal of love and affection from her father-in-law. For, the father-in-law and mother-in-law feel as if they have brought a permanent labourer to their house by giving some amount of bride price, which is negligible compared to the labour that can be availed from a woman. But the in-laws give sufficient attention to the customary rights which they demand from their daughter-in-law towards them. Similarly the joking relations of the woman with her younger brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are very much marked and she is highly appreciated. But if the woman is found to be ego-centric, she is disliked by all. This is most cases, causes long running feud between the woman and her in-laws. Often the women's decision is not taken into consideration in a household affair which are generally decided by her father-in-law, mother-in-law and their sons. A married woman loves to abide by the customs and traditions of the society and if she in any way violates the social norms, she is given hard punishment by her husband and in-laws. After coming to the husband's house she carries out most of the house hold works although she is helped by her sisters-in-law and mother-in-law. She is restricted to wear flowers on head, she is bound to respect all elders in the husband's village. She is prohibited to take buffalo meat and sometimes pig meat also. She is not allowed to attend common feast in the village. She can not participate in a group dance in the husbands village. Many such restrictions are imposed upon her in the society.

Menstruating women, married or unmarried, are avoided by all. They are restricted to live in the house where her family members live. She at that time do not use or touch other's dresses. Nobody even accepts a glass of water from her. She lives in the *Jaka Kuda* or in the back side house for the menstruating period. She can not put her clothes at such places where there is chances of children touching it. Usually after four days, though traditionally it is seven days, the menstruating women take a good bath, wash all their dresses with detergent and return to their house. People do not feel auspicious to see the face of a menstruating woman while going for an important job. When they remain in *Jaka Kuda*, food is served to them by mother-in-law or sister-in-law. Separate eating vessels are used by them at that time. Menstruating women are not allowed to attend rituals and worships.

A barren woman is looked down by all in the family and village. A barren woman is not dealt properly by the parents-in-law or the husband. For, Kuttia Kondhs feel, mothership is the main characteristic of a woman. In such cases husband may look for some other woman and like to stay with her leaving behind his barren wife. People feel it inauspicious to see or to be confronted with a barren woman while going out for an important work. Thus a barren woman feels morally isolated and disliked by all. She is not allowed to attend or see ceremonies for it is believed that in a name giving ceremony for example she may put her evil eyes

on the baby. Similar feeling is also existing about a new born who is kept hidden from eyes of a barren woman, lest the baby is attacked by her evil eyes. She lives simply as a human being in a family after her husband gets a new wife to the house.

A widow is seen differently in a Kuttia Kondh village. If she becomes a widow soon after her marriage she is ill treated by her parents-in-law. Sometimes it is told that her husband was killed by some evil action or witch action of performed by a man other than her husband who loved the woman. For, love marriage and marriage by negotiation are two different things. In this case the woman is felt inauspicious. The widow is sometimes made isolated from the husband's house. She either goes back to her parents or gets married to somebody after. However a woman if becomes widow long after her marriage, she makes a separate household. She may go back to her parents village and earn her livelihood there with her children. But at that stage remarriage does not take place. A widow in this case gets no sound social status as a woman. Thus her life becomes precarious.

Divorce cases are not common in Kuttia Kondh society. If however at all it takes place is taken for granted that the woman is unchaste. That's why she is boycotted and divorced by her husband. But these cases takes place when a husband finds his wife barren or gets proof that she has sexual affair with other man. A divorced woman may get married to any body if she is young enough by the time she was divorced. Otherwise she maintains a lonely life. But after she is divorced it depends upon the decision of the village court if she will be given with a property share from the husband or not. But if the village court finds sufficient reason that the woman has committed no crime or sin then her husband is penalized or given a punishment. If the woman was characterless and surrenders at her husband and so at the village court with a commitment, that she will not commit such mistakes or sin thereafter. Then she is excused with a warning that and if she fails to keep her commitment she will be divorced. But after being divorced she is teased by all in the husband's village, everybody dislikes her and so she feels better to go back to her parents without waiting for a share of property or anything from her husband.

The status of old women in the village is pitiable. Kuttia Kondh society is a self help society with self centered economic thought. Throughout her life a woman works for the family. After her daughter is given in marriage, sons get separated after marriage, a woman has to earn her own livelihood. She is not dealt properly by her son, daughter-in-law. Husband, if is living is her only substratum on whom she may take support. Otherwise she does to her ability and struggles for existence.

This is in general the status of a woman in the Kuttia Kondh society from

the cradle to grave.

COSTUMES

CLOTHES

Kuttia Kondhs are easily identified from their clothes. Traditional dress for a Kuttia Kondh male is a loin cloth of one and half cubits long and less than a foot broad. The loin cloth is called 'Limta'. Which is worn only to hide the lower private part of the body while the upper part is kept naked. This was the pattern of young and old people in olden days. Now the older generations are still found with such clothes. But due to acculturisation the younger generation has learnt to wear pants, trousers, shirts, lungi, ... etc. During winter they simply wrap a cloth around the body.

The Kuttia Kondh women usually wear two pieces of cloth. The upper part of the body is covered on front side only by a piece of cloth like an appron extending to the lower thigh région. This is a handloom cloth called '*Urmali*'. This is now being replaced by a towel which is worn by tying one knot on one side of the shoulder. This hangs down right up to her knee keeping the back bare. The lower garment usually consists of two pieces. Sometimes more than two pieces are also used. The first is a loin cloth passed between the thighs to the back where it is tugged with a waist string. The loin cloth is known as '*Topodipa*'. A second piece over it like a plain skirt is worn. The embroidered piece over it is called '*capta*'. As the '*Urmali*' is losing its ground in the face of other types of clothes like towels, in the same way '*capta*' is also being replaced by pieces from saree. The two pieces are usually worn by married and old ladies. The young girl now-a-days usually prefers to wear saree called as '*Zira*' and blouse (i.e. 'Jacket'). The young girls prefer sarees and blouses of deep printed type.

The boys and girls usually go naked up to the age of three or four. After that they start wearing the inner most cloth i.e. '*Topodipa*'. Due to modernization, girls below ten years of age have learnt to wear the frocks, middies and skirts purchased from the market. Similar change is also marked among the boys who wear half pants and banyans purchased from the market.

ORNAMENTS

Kuttia Kondhs are very much distinguished for their ornaments which form a great part of their costumes. Both male and female use traditional ornaments that stand as a mark of their cultural identity. The ornament used by men and women are made of silver, gold, brass, aluminium and transparent plastics jessor.

A young girl at a tender age gets her ears and nose pierced. The nose and

ear piercing is done by senior women. They use thorn of Bael tree called *Bela mara* (*Aegle marmelos*) better to steel needles or any other sharp pointed pins with growing age, more and more numbers of pores are made on the ear pinas with the help of thorn of Bael tree.

In total a Kuttia Kondh girl wears five pieces of gold on the nose. They are called *mungeli mundi* or simply *mundi* or mudi where *Mungeli* stands for nose and *mundi* or *mudi* for ring. But *Mungeli mundi* in fact is the nose top. The nose ring is called '*Mungeli Dundi*' or simply '*Dundi*' which is worn at the junction of two nostrils. The nostril junction is pierced similarly to hold *Dundi*. In case, if the pores get wounded after fresh piercing, they apply leaf juice of a plant called *Pokasunga* (Pogostomon plectoranthoides) on the wound. The plant is available in the locality throughout the year. Otherwise they get gention violet from the local health centre to apply on the wound.

The ear is usually pierced in two places at the base. Rings worn at is called *Dadanga* made of gold. On the edge of the ear pinna about 20-30 pores are made to hold about 20-30 rings which are called '*Key kichadaka*' made of brass or ordinary metals or aluminium painted with gold color. The hands of the women are always loaded with a number of bangles even in many cases bangles cover the hand up to the elbow. The older ladies still wear bangles made of brass and aluminium while the young girls have adopted to jessor, transparent plastic and glass bangles. But plastic bangles are preferred by young girls. The bangles are called *Pajang*. There is no restriction for any woman about wearing bangles, irrespective of age, marital status, widow, divorced etc. Bangles are always purchased from the markets.

The neck of a woman is always adorned with necklace of various types. The necklaces are made out of aluminium and coloured beads. The necklace made of aluminium or silver is called '*Kagada*'. Which is usually a ring around the neck very hard and rigid. If the Kagada is more decorated with filigree works or handicrafts, it is called '*Kagdang*'. The necklaces made from beads is called '*Saska*'. The girls are very skilled in making many designs with different coloured beads.

Coins made into garlands are mostly worn by the children and also old women. Coins of one rupee, two rupees, fifty paise are mainly used in making such necklaces. Such necklaces are called '*Rupanga saska*'.

Usually brass and copper rings are worn on the fingers. They are of different types. Sometimes coins and old copper coins are also used to make rings for fingers. The finger ring is called '*kaju mudi*'.

The ankle is beautified with anklets of two varieties. One is flowery and thread like while the other is light and arch shaped, both are called '*Katariang*'

The toes are beautified with toe rings called *kalumudi*. The waist of Kuttia girls and women are decked with waist bands made of white metal, silver and beads. They usually love to wear many waist bands. Some varieties are called '*kadaraka*', '*Kodivanang*' and '*Japisaska*'. Seeds of a shrub called *Japi* (?) is usually used to make necklaces and waist bands which have religious value for driving away bad spirits.

The head-gear of the Kuttia Kondh woman is long hairs made into a side bar. In olden days male folks were also keeping long hairs made into a side or middle bun. The bun is called '*kopoli*' On the forehead a chain made from babe grass (*Eulaliopsis binata*) or white metal called '*Kapada bini*' is tied. The hair is kept in place with chips of metal '*Jipanga*' The main item of the head gear is the comb made of wood of *Gambar mara* (*Gmelina arborea*) in olden days. Comb made from twigs of broomgrass i.e. *satranga* (*Thysanolaena maxima*) is still in use. Now-a-days in most cases such traditional combs are replaced by plastic ones that cost less and look decent.

The traditional Kuttia Kondh males also have long hairs combed into a small knot at the back of the head. This has changed now and younger generations do not keep their hair like that. The older man used to wear ear-rings but also this has changed but some have their ears pierced as a part of the tradition.

TATIOOING

Besides these artificial things for decorating themselves, the Kuttia Kondh women also tattoo themselves. Tattooing is called '*Tikanga*' They tattoo their face, hands and legs and sometimes portion beneath the neck. They believe that by these tattoo marks go with them when they die and become ghost i.e. *Duma* or *Dukeli*.

The tattooing is done by the women themselves. Sometimes a young girl does it with the help of her elder sister or elder brother's wife (*Awa*). In olden days Pano women were doing the job. But now Kuttia women are experts in the skill.

The designs could be as simple as two or three lines on the forehead or a complicated structure of dots. But the *tikanga* art also requires some primary processes. Usually with Bael thorns, design is made on the pierced points, black is polished. The black is prepared with a special process. That over a lamp flame *Sipalu aku* i.e. leaves of *Euphorbia antiquorum* are kept in which the lamp black is stored. The black is used on a first priority basis than other types of black are also used.

CONCEPT OF BEAUTY

Kuttia Kondh woman have a good concept of beauty. A girl feels that

without the traditional costumes and ornaments she can not be known as a Kuttia girl. *Tikanga* is the best way of making herself look beautiful, a Kuttia girl feels. The present day Kuttia girls are going away of such a tradition with a feeling that *Tikanga*, two piece clothes, waist bands make a woman beautiful. The custume and ornaments have also been mentions in the myth. The traditional Kuttia women feel that waist band is not only an ornament to make a woman beautiful, but also it strengthens their waist. Further on a marriage occasion, a Kuttia bride does not look beautiful if she is not adorned with the traditional costumes. Likewise old women also sometimes feel that their '*Kudua*' i.e. the new daughter-in-law or the bride lacks her own beauty if she is not adorned with traditional costume. This is also attested by all people in the Kuttia Kondh society.

However a great many changes have taken place during the last few years in the costume of Kuttia Kondhs. Loin clothes are seen no more only except some very old people. The two pieces of cloth of women have been replaced by sarees and blouses. Traditional women who remain topless in clothing pattern do not feel that they are naked. For, they feel the breasts are something that is meant for her own children. That's why they were ignoring the breast region from being hidden under clothes. But the young generation feels ashamed to keep the breast uncovered so they war saree and blouse. Therefore changes in dress pattern are perceptibly marked now-a-days.

LIFE CYCLE RITUALS

Birth and death are the two main truths of life. Every living organism ultimately dies. This is the law of nature. Man being the most superior origanism of all is also mortal. But a birth is celebrated by thanking the gods and a death is celebrated by mass mourning. In between is the period that is called the life cycle of a being. The mass mourning at the death of a human being indicates that during his existence or living on the earth he had done something for others, had brought into being to many and helped a lot. So life is a go and the destiny is death. Kuttia Kondhs feel like this about a life. In between the birth and death of a being so many rituals and rites are organised. Given below is the Kuttia Kondh's way of performing the life cycle rituals from cradle to grave.

BIRTH

It is a happening that gives pleasure to many. Everyone rejoices with the birth of a child. In case of Kuttia Kondhs a boy and a girl both are given equal status at birth. They feel that a child is a rebirth of an ancestor through the blessings of god. So a new born is taken as a representation of a *Dukeli* which refers to ancestral spirit. It creates stronger bonds between the parents and all those who are related to them from both sides. For a Kuttia Kondh birth of a child is the time to rejoice

but whether it be a girl or a boy but more pleasure when the child is a girl, because she has a greater utility value. She is also of a greater utility in household works apart from her contribution to agricultural sector.

During pregnancy, a woman is not given that much importance as is given after she gives birth to a child. At the very moment when the pregnant woman suffers from labour pain, she is taken to the back side of the house or to the *Jaka Kuda* where women stays during their menstrual cycle. An experienced mother remains present with the pregnant woman to help her during delivery. As an experienced lady she helps the child to come out of the mother's womb. In case of any difficulties, she is not taken to a local health centre, though they go and request the doctor or pharmacist to check the case. After the child birth, the experienced woman who used to be there with the child's mother cuts the umbilical cord with a knife. The father then buries the placenta in a deep hole in the back yard. The baby and the mother are then left as such. However precaution is taken in keeping the mother and the child in the backyard house. Smoke of dust, resin is given to the mother and child which helps in driving out the mosquitoes. For, the backside house has a very unhygienic atmosphere due to insanitation as all the domestic animal sheds remain adjacent to it. The baby is given some warmth by keeping a burning charcoal pot nearby. The mother is also given warmth and is given with something hot to drink. Both the father and mother are considered impure and untouchable after the birth of the child. The father is impure till the umbilical cord with placenta fall down. The baby is then given a bath with warm water and turmeric pasteor with Neem leaves (*Azadirachta indica*) boiled with water.

The mother is considered impure for one month from the date of delivery. She does not cook or move around the house. She is also not allowed to move in front of the house. There is a belief associated with it. That before complete one month since the day of the child delivery if the mother comes out of the house to move around premises, the 'Dharni penu' feels disturb.

But that is not the ending. The mother and child are not accepted by the community unless a puja is performed. The Puja is offered to the ancestors- 'Jendabenja-Kadenja' i.e. (the central strand people as it literally means). In the puja the ancestors are thanked by the priest for their rebirth in their society. The puja is offered to Elupenu (Home deity) with Linga penu who is considered to be the authority of birth. After that the whole village is offered with a small feast. If the parents of the new born are financially sound a large quantity of rice is cooked in the parent's house out of which a leaf pot-full of cooked rice is sent to each household in the village.

NAME GIVING CEREMONY · DARU ITINA

The Kuttia Kondhs believe that the child is a rebirth of its ancestors. So during the name giving ceremony they invite all the ancestors who would tell the priest about the ancestor who has taken birth in their house. The priest traces up to three generations to find who among the deads in the last three generations of the village has taken birth. A Semul pole is worshipped at the time of naming to a child. The ceremony is called '*Dukeli Dakina*' meaning worship to *Dukeli* i.e. the ghost, who is the ancestral being living as a spirit or ghost in the outer space of the village.Usually a child is given name after he attains three years of age. Details of the Puja performance are described with the tree *Bombax* malbaricum i.e. the Semul tree in the chapter "Social and cultural aspects of plants and trees". The taboos associated with the worship are also mentioned in the aforesaid chapter.

For the first child the Kuttia Kondh give a big sacrifice. The animal chosen for sacrifice is usually a pig or a buffalo for the boy and a cow or buffalo for the girl but buffalo is commonly sacrificed in either of the cases. Later on it is done with a cock. The child is made to sit on the back of the pig or buffalo when the animal is kept tied to the Semul pole established earlier. On the back of the buffalo is kept some rice and turmeric powder on which the child is made to sit. Then the animal to be sacrificed with the child on its back is taken around the village. Thereafter, some quantity of rice is put on the buffalo head, in between its horns and the cock which is to be sacrificed later on is made to eat up the rice. Then the priest gives a hard stroke on the buffalo head where the rice is put with the sharp end of an axe to sacrifice the buffalo in the name of the Penu. Then the buffalo blood mixed with rice is taken and smeared in the forehead of the child. The sacrifice of buffalo is meant for Linga Penu and Dukeli both. Then a performance is made inside the house of the child where the cock is sacrificed in the name of Elu Penu.

After all the performance the priest declares the name of the child. For, he could know during the performance about the Dukeli or ancestral being who has taken birth. Accordingly the name of the child is given after the ancestral spirit. In the same day the nose and ear of the child are also pierced by the grandmother. She first touches the Semul thorn at places where it is to be pierced. But the piercing is done with thorn of Bael tree or by a pointed brass wire.

At the time of invoking the ancestral spirits the priest chants some lines. Through the chanting he invites the ancestral spirits and home deity to the spot where worship is being organized. The chanting goes like :

Raniadu Bendi adu	: Queen women (Names of the ancestral-mythical woman).
Pusarani Batarani	: (synonyms of above)

Daene wedasila daene lanjusila	Under sunless under moonless.
Udurengad penarengad satenje	Udurengad Penarengad died.
Mara ai dadi aai Satenje	Trees came, branches came, died
Kueni Sapangadata	: Over Sapangada
Isi daki kitkitere	This puja is being given.
Ye daka Ye kitka amu	This puja, this rice, we
Geau kadi siamu	: Telling like, giving.
Aku Pemba satenje	: Grandfather (maternal), Uncle (Elder to father) died.
Ye daka Ye kitka	: This puja, this rice.
Amu sandipadi kadimanamu	: We step wise doing like.
Ye gaani Ye kabba	: This song this chant.
Amu 'jendabenja-kadenja' bihitenje.	: We, (our) ancestors, finished.
Ye sandhi Ye padi kadimanamu	This step this way doing.
Memu Anganju likanju	: We seniors, juniors.
Ajananga Sandipadi Kadimai	: Like this step wise doing.
Sapangada sarchangada bamu	: Sapangada Sarchangada come.
Ranipalu Bendipalu bamu	: Ranipalu Bendipalu come.
Sorugada arapimai	: Hill hole offering
Lingajanani gaisi Alek Judek Gaisi.	: Birth for, bondage for.
Daru pada Ekalpimai	: Offering (asper) established.

(*** Rest part with description on Bombax malbaricum in chapter "Social and cultural aspects of plants and trees).

The above line Kuttia terms give importance to the deities during invocation and speaks about the traditional process. The over all meaning is that during the performance the priest invokes the mythical names (Pusarani-Batarani, Raniadu-Bendiadu) and describes the first life under earth where there were no sun no moon. Further when everybody came out to live on the earth, Udurengad and Penarengad the mythical heroes associated with the names like Nerandali, Raniadu ...etc. died. Plants and trees also died on earth. This mention about the mortal nature of lives on earth. Then the priest maintains that since then for the deads this puja was offered by the ancestors (Jenabenja-Kadenja-the term used to mean the ancestors. The names of the ancestors are not taken. It's a taboo. The puja is done

with the same offerings, same song and chanting step wise as was done earlier with the invocation to Sapangada penu, Sarchangada penu, Ranipalu, Bendipalu and other hill and hole deities, reciprocating heartly to thanks to such deities for they have given birth to the new born. The offerings are being made as it was established earlier by the ancestors who accepted life again in the form of a new born.

The later part of the song not mentioned here mention other deities. The later part also mention the cultural importance of the Semul (Bombax malbaricum) established in front of the house of the newly born child who is to be given a name

The ritual ends with a common feast with meat of the sacrificed animal. If the feast can not be given by the child's father he distributes the sacrificed animal's meat to all households. But the mother of the child is not given meat of the animal.

MENSTRUAL CYCLE AND PUBERTY RITUALS

Kuttia Kondh girls puberty is associated with a number of taboos. The first menstrual flow (*Jaka aate*) of a girl is an occasion to rejoice amongst the women folk because it establishes the potentiality of a girl to bear babies.

Immediately after the first menstrual flow of a young girl, she is taken for a bath by the old women of the village. They massage turmeric paste and oil on her body. She takes a fresh bath. After that a new set of clothes is given to her to wear and she is taken to the backroom of a house or to the *Jaka Kuda*. She stays there for seven days till her cycle is over. All the women then have rice prepared for the feast on account of the girl's puberty. During her seven days confinement in the *Jaka Kuda*, she is given food there by others in leaf plates. After marriage she never sleeps with her husband during her menstrual period. During this period be it a girl or a married woman, they are not allowed to cook, move in the front path of the house where '*Dharni*' is established i.e. they have to go about their work through the back path. They do not sweep the cattle shed and do not touch plough. All the male members are avoided. Deviation from the rules results in misfortune and gods have to be appeaed by sacrifice.

MARRIAGE

While dealing with the life of tribals we must mention the processes of marriage that are current is Kuttia Kondh society. Marriage is one important aspect of life cycle, for, it is the basis of all relationship with other members of the community. Marriage for Kuttia Kondhs is not only a process of relationship between two persons, but also a close relationship between two families. Thus with the union of two individuals in a marriage process, a union of two families takes place. Again, marriage is not only meant as a process that leads to child birth, but also it is a process that brings home (for a male) a new individual (female) who would take

up the whole burden of the family. In a Kuttia Kondh society different types of marriages are prevalent. Marriage is called 'Sedi' in Kuttia language. The prevalent types of marriages are discussed in the succeeding pages.

TYPE-I : MARRIAGE BY *ELOPMENT -GUISALA/GUISATA*

This is a type of marriage in which a young boy and a young girl first fall in love. The love in between them makes them to decide to marry. After the mutual agreement, they decide when and how to get married. Thus a plan is made out and on getting a suitable opportunity they both leave the village without telling anyone. The opportunity is usually found during community ceremonial events. The boy leads the girl to some place where the former would have arranged for a stay with the latter for some days. They remain hidden from their friends, relatives and villagers. After some days of conjugal life, they request their parents to agree to their marriage. Then the parents organize their marriage with usual amount of give and take.

TYPE-II : MARRIAGE BY CAPTURE : *TATANJA*

In this type of marriage, first a young boy decides to marry a girl of his choice whom he loves. He then speaks out his desires directly before the girl. If the girl indicates her positive opinion or she keeps quiet or answers through one of her very intimate friends, then the matter is fixed. The boy and the girl may meet themselves secretly. This may lead to co-habitation between them. But if the boy and the girl feel that their parents will not agree to their marriage they decide to follow this method i.e. marriage by capture. They decide about the time and day when the further actions are to be taken.

The boy goes back and tells his intimate friends all about the girl and his affairs with her. He then tells his friends that he wants to snatch the girl from her parents. He seeks the help of his friends for the purpose. When his friends agree to help him, he fixes the time and day of capture with the help of his friends. He may or may not extend the news to his girl friend instantly.

Then the boys wait for a chance to come. They await in a community ceremonial event or the weekly market day to snatch the girl for their friend. On availing the chance the boys lifts the girl and runs away. The girl's friends oppose the boys. If boys of the girl's village are presen,t there takes place a fight between the two groups. The boys of the bride's village beat and thrash severely to the boys of the groom's group. Since the groom's group was prepared earlier, they become successful in taking away the girl to a suitable place where the boys of the bride's village can not reach. The groom waits there for the girl. During the fight between two groups, the police also does not interfere because it is a traditional way of marriage in Kuttia Kondhs society.

The boys of the girl's side do not remain silent after the fight. They try to locate the girl of their village. But before the boys of the girls side reach the girl, the groom and the bride have finished atlast one time co-habitation, there remains nothing to do by the boys of the girl's village. They return desparately. Sometimes during the fight between the two groups, weapons are used as such severe injuries are not uncommon.

If however, the boys of the girl's side are able to locate the girl before they could have a co-habitation, she is taken back. The boy then waits for another chance when he becomes successful in his mission.

Later on the father of the girl invites the boy's groups for a feast which finalise the marriage but only after receiving the fine from the groom. After that the marriage is organized. This type of marriage is more common in Kuttia Kondhs society than any other type of marriage.

TYPE-III : *SORORATE* AND *LEVIRATE*

This type of marriage is known as "*Michulani tatanja* and *Midpasidi*".

This is preferred for a widow or widower. The younger brother of a woman's husband is the first man to be considered for a marriage with the wife of his deceased elder brother. Similarly wife's younger sister is considered for a marriage of her brother-in-law after her sister is gone away.

These relationships do not involve the give and take or bride price. Take for granted if to marry a widow, her husband's younger brother disagrees another man takes interest to marry that widow. In this case, the interested person will have to give gifts to the widow's parents as well as to the family of the widow's former husband.

TYPE-IV : MARRIAGE BY NEGOTIATION : '*SEDI*'

This is the most gentle system of marriage in Kuttia Kondhs traditions. The marriage is a long process. It takes a long period to be completed. Because the fixture of marriage is done at one time and the marriage is organized long after that.

In the normal process, male and female family members of the bride groom goes to the bride's house with rice and liquor. The quantity of rice and liquor are not fixed. On reaching the bride's house they call the father of the girl and offer him the rice and liquor. It indicates that the guests have come with a proposal for marriage. If the rice and liquor are accepted by the girls father it indicates an agreement from that day. The girl is considered their bride since that day till they are in a position to give all the bride-price. The giving of all the bride price money may take many years and paid through instalments also. Cases indicating the payment of bride price in a long span of 10 years are reported.

The period in between the negotiation and the marriage is the transition period. During that period the negotiation may break down. If the negotiation is broken down from the girl's side, all the amount and materials that they received as bride price are returned. If the negotiation is broken down from the boy's side they will have to forget the materials but money is returned by the parents of the girl.

When the bride price is already paid to them the two sides sit and decide the date of marriage. The girl's side remain nutral. The boy's parents decide the date of the marriage. Then the day is fixed. On the day of marriage the boy along with his friends, village members comes to the girl's village and eat the feast prepared for them. But it is not common or not compulsory that the boy should visit the girl's house on the day of marriage.

The guests of the boy's village arrive at the girl's village; they are treated with Mohua liquor first. Then they are called to have food in the feast arranged from the girl's side. In the feast two types of meat : buffalo meat and meat of goat are served. Buffalo meat is eaten mostly by the people of older generation. The boy's father and the girl's father sit at one place and ceremonially eat the buffalo meat, for buffalo meat makes them Samdhi. The term Samdhi is explained in the kinship systems. Without eating buffalo meat they can't be Samdhi - the tradition says. After that all the young boys and girls of either villages sing and dance. The song that is sung at this event is called '*Sedi G aani*'. Which is nothing other but the *Kui Gaani* and in the song the role of Nerandali is given emphasis, that works as a guide line for the bride. In the song and dance elderly people also participate. When one group become tired on singing and dancing, another group comes to the stage and the singing goes on. Amidst singing and dancing the girl is taken to a different house where she is dressed and adorned with ornaments by her friends in a traditional fashion.

The girl is made ready to go with her husband's parents and villagers by the afternoon. The Jani of the girl's village and of her in-laws village blesses the girl, if the boy is present, to both at the altar of Dharni and inside the house. Then the girl is taken for a bath before she is dressed in all her jewellaries and ornaments. The girl wears a saree or two pieces but no blouse. Her chest region is covered with beads, *kagada*, bangles in hand, hair pins on kapoli and a number of combs on her hair. The girl is taken to all her elders to seek blessing and meet her friends. Then she starts crying her friends and relatives also cry with her. The girl cries a lot for she is leaving her village.

Before leaving the village she is again blessed by the Jani at the outskrit of the village. The Jani spits on the girl's head to avoid evil eyes. The Jani massage

Tolo oil extracted out of Mahua (*Madhuka longifolia*) fruits on her head and by invoking all the deities blesses the girl. The Jani also requests the gods and goddesses to bless the girl in her new house.

Then the girl is taken to the outskirt of the village or a little far from the village where a Sal piece of about ten feet high is stumped. The Sal stump is cut and stumped by the friends of the girl. There the girl is given the last bid from the village. The process near the Sal pole is like a game played by the female groups of the girl's village and the boy's village. The girl is asked to cling and hold tightly the Sal stump where a large clearing is done around the stump. The girl is then encircled by her friends and women of her village who make a chain to cordon the girl. After the cordon is made by the women of the girl's village, the women of the boy's village encircle around them. The women of the bride groom's village have to take the bride out of the circle made by the friends of the bride. There is a lot of singing and dancing at that place. Then the women of the groom's village and women of the bride's village test their strength. After a lot of pulls and pushes the women of the groom's village pull out the girl from the Sal stump. After this the girl goes with the people of the groom's village.

With the girl, the parents send a buffalo, clothes, rice, liquor to the groom's house. The buffalo is meant for a common feast of the groom's villagers. The bride's family also give her gifts for her younger in-laws. The gifts depend upon the income of the bride's household. The bride price which the bride's father has received in exchange for the bride has to be relieved if the bride refuges to stay with her husband or the wife disgraces herself. Intra-lineage marriage is considered incestious. Even marrying within a village is considered to be incestious because the boys and girls of the village are considered to be brothers and sisters. Today a change is observed in this pattern. Girl and boy of different lineage living in the same villages are marrying.

The eighth day is much awaited by the girl at her husband's house. Because that is the day when her parents and friends with village people come to take her back to her village. During the eight days of the girls stay at her husband's house she is kept in a separate room. The husband and the wife can not meet each other or co-habit during that period. It is a taboo.

On the eighth day the parents and the village people of the girl reach the groom's house. The groom's side receives the guests heartly. Mahua liquor is served to the guests. *Katul* is also served. If *Salap* toddy is available guests are escorted to the *Madangabasa*. Dance and song continue. Everybody participates in a common feast there. If the groom's house is a long way from the bride's house then the guests take shelter at the groom's village for the night. The next day the girl is made ready to be sent to her own village with her parents and other people.

The girl is dressed is the traditional pattern. The young girls of the groom's side may add more ornaments to the bride's body. The girl walks with bent head with her two palms kept beneath her lower jaw of mouth. This is regarded as the traditional veil. The girl before leaving the groom's village is blessed by the elderly people and Jani for a safe journey to her village. They bless her to be saved from evil spirits, wild beasts etc. The Jani requests the deities around the village for the well-being of the girl.

The girl's new friends at her husband's village goes to half way to bid farewell as well as to wish a quick return to them. The villagers and parents are given with a buffalo from the groom's side for a common feast in the girl's village.

When the girl is with her parent's after marriage, the husband will have to visit the girl time and again. In fact, the first co-habitation between the wife and the husband takes place in the wife's village. As per the tradition, the girl will not return to her husband's village till she is pregnant. That's why the husband has to visit the wife time and again. Once the wife is pregnant she stays no more with her parents and comes back to her husband's house.

In the present condition girls avoid their husbands. For, they don't want to go to her husband's house and do not like to be loaded with great responsibilities. They do not like that they will work hard in fields of the husband and the earning will go to the husband's hands. Therefore they like to stay in their own village for along time, to cultivate their own hill lands and plain lands to earn their livelihood and save money to be spent by themselves on amenities. That's why they play hide and seek with their husbands, lest they will be pregnant and afterwards they will have to be in the husband's house.

During their stay in their village they may be found to be involved in sex affairs with other yoyng men of their village to quench their sex-aapetite but do not like to allow the husband for the same. A case study in this regard may be cited here.

This is about Basanti Jani, the daughter of Pitula Jani of the village Burlubaru. She was given in marriage to Govinda Majhi of the village Tuakola, four years ago. Despite several offers Govinda has not been able to co-habit with Basanti. For, Basanti avoids to her best to Govinda. The parents and brothers of Basanti have requested her to not be so rigid. But she is on her own way. She is of the same opinion that she is happy at her village with her parents and she does not like to be a slave in her husband's house. Govinda is in a transition. Neither she is able to divorce Basanti nor he is able to marry another one. Govinda is unable to forbid the love and affection he has got from the parents and brothers of Basanti.

In some cases the girls are not satisfied with their parents decision in giving

her marriage to a man selected by them. But Kuttia Kondhs are very much promise bound. Therefore, once they have accepted bride price would mean that they will definitely give their daughter's marriage with a man from whose parents bride price is received. In such a condition a girl wanting to save her parent's prestige agree with them and get married to the man chosen by her parents. Only alternative is that if the girl can be captured by some other young man for love. But such cases are very rare and have not come to our notice. The girl sometimes remains in a transition. That neither she can betray her father, nor she can go with another young man, for fear that her parents and new husband may be harmed by the witch craft to be effected from the first bride groom's side. Again in a captured marriage or marriage by elopement bride price is very low. And if the girl follows such method of marriage her parents shall have to return all the bride price received from the first would-be husband. Another case study in this regard may be cited here.

This is case about Kumudini Jani, a daughter of late Balu Jani of Burlubaru village. About ten years ago her father received a cock and some quantity of liquor from the father of Lokanath Majhi of Germel village. Then the negotiation was made that Lokanath and Kumudini would marry after they come to marriageable age. But when Kumudini came to know that she is fixed with Lokanath, she refused to marry. But to keep the promise of her dead father she finally agreed to the negotiation. Till the last minute of her marriage she wanted to be taken away by somebody other. That could not be materialized. Finally she married to Lokanath. She has a strong belief till today that the Germel people killed her father by applying poison with liquor that was served to her father. This belief has made her reluctant to marry Lokanath. Now she is with a decision not to go back to Lokanath rather she feels better to live alone in her village.

MONOGAMY AND POLYGAMY

In Kuttia Kondh society mostly monogamy is followed. But rich people maintain polygamous life. Both monogamy and polygamy are approved by the society. But to maintain a polygamous life, the husband's economy matters a lot. If the husband is rich enough and can afford the bride price which usually amounts to Rs. 500. to Rs. 1000., buffalo numbering one to two, 30 to 40 kilograms of rice and 4 to 5 tins of liquor measuring about 30 liters, can take more than one wives. Sometimes Salap trees are also demanded as bride price and a good toddy yielding Salap tree which must be young enough is calculated to be worth Rs. 500. to RS. 1000. Besides these clothes, utensils, other fancy items are also given by the groom's group for the girl and her mother.

DEATH

The body of a dead Kuttia Kondh is generally cremated. A pregnant woman who died in child birth or baby under a month old are usually buried. The personal

belongings of the dead persons are also cremated alongwith him.

Kuttia Kondhs observe death pollution for three days after death. The mourners after rendering their sympathy to the bereaved family bathe in the stream with mango twigs. The bereaved family does not cook for these three days, food being provided by the villagers.

As soon as a man is dead, all his kins and relatives are informed. They all come to extend their sympathy and are offered food by other members of the village. They may bring some Kueri i.e. little millet (*Panicum miliare*) and cook with them. This is not compulsory for all except the daughters of and sisters of the dead.

Immediately after a person is dead he is covered with a cloth of his own. Then the dead body is kept for a last look of near and dear people. Then a bed with bamboo is prepared to carry the dead body to *Tuleni* i.e. the graveyard. A *Kadeli* (cot) may be used instead of a bamboo bed. In the Tuleni the body is either cremated or buried. The Jani first puts earth on the dead body if it is being buried or adds fire to the body if it is being cremated. Then the people who have gone with the dead body break twigs from trees nearby and keep one twig each on the dead body whether it is buried or cremated. Before burying or cremating a dead body oil and turmeric paste is applied over its body. Then everybody leaves the place and takes a bath with washing the clothes that they had worn at the time of taking the body to the graveyard. Till three days the Jani goes to the place where the dead was buried or cremated and offers food for the *Duma or Dukeli* i.e. the ghost.

Death rituals are organized in the village any day between the third to seventh. Usually the ritual work is organized on the seventh day. It is called '*Dasah*'. On the ritual day which is called '*Dadi*' the departed soul is appeased by the 'Jani' alongwith the help of '*Kutaka*' by performing the Puja and sacrificing the animals brought by everyone. That day all the old earthen pots are kept aside and rice is cooked in new pots.

The relatives of the dead man, particularly in-laws, daughters, sisters send animals and litle millets for the '*Dasah*' feast. Along with the contribution of the relatives, the village people contribute a little millet to their capacity which is cooked in the feast. The animals sent by the relatives are cut into two bilaterally symmetrical halves, one half of which is sent back to such relatives and the other half is slashed and cooked in new earthen pots. Mahuli liquor as well as Salap are brought and offered to all guests and the villagers. All the ancestors with the sprits of the dead are offered foods and drinks on that day.

AESTHETIC SCENE : MUSIC AND DANCE

Singing and dancing are the integral parts of the Kuttia Kondhs life. Every

occasion is marked by different songs. These songs have different themes and are sung differently. The mantras chanted by the priests on various functions are different. The songs sung for the '*Meriah*' puja is different from calling ancestors to attend functions, asking the buffalo to understand why they have to sacrifice it to the *Dharni* and recalling the ancient myths associated with the puja. Marriage songs also vary from dressing the girl in her fineries to sending her off. The main song is *Kui Gaani* which would go on for seven days and seven nights. The '*Kui Gaani*' explains the birth of the world till the present day. These songs explain the ways of nature and the beautiful world they live in. These songs express the joys and sorrows of the tribals. They talk about the changes that are occurring and the reasons of their occurring. Thus the songs are their day-to-day activities relayed for the younger generations to follow and act accordingly. A classification of the songs sung by the Kuttia Kondhs is made in the chapter "Oral transfer of knowledge as a Phenomenon" The songs forms their greatest oral tradition.

Dances of Kuttia Kondhs are very simple. For some it involves just walking hand in hand while exchanging riddles with each other or in others it is just swinging of hips while walking by placing one foot infront of the other . The second one is a dance pattern determined by the rhythms in the songs.

The musical instruments of the Kuttia Kondhs comprise big drums "*mada*" or "medium drums `*Pidinga*', small drums `*Bandi*', metal ankle bells "*Jhanjianga*", bamboo flute `*Mahura*', an indigenous mouth organ made by a string called `*Gauni*' and an iron stick with bells called `*Muanga laudi*'.

RELIGIOUS CULTURE

It is said that the Kuttia Kondhs have 33,000 gods and goddesses as stated by Chandrakant Jani, a priest of Rangaparu village. The number 33,000 is used metaphorically to tell about innumerable gods and goddesses that have found place in the Kuttia Kondhs pantheon. The different gods and goddesses and aspects of the theology and eschatology have formed the important part of their religious culture. The theosophical feelings extended by the theosophists like the shamans and priests have made the religious system broad and complicated.

To the Kuttia Kondhs the environment is sacred and all the elements in it have the existence of 'Penu' All the animate and inanimate matters that are found around them and a small part of the larger whole Nature have the representation of penu in different forms. All the hills, animals, plants and the biotic components have Penu and most are also regarded as Penu. Some of these Penus are benevolent who help them in their day to day life. Some of them are malevolent who are there to cause harm to them and even to destroy them. All of these have to be propitiated, invoked at the same time or other. Some demand big sacrifices while some are satisfied with small animals. These penus have different form and abodes. Some

live in mountains, some in plants and trees. They are also seen in dreams of the shamans in different forms. The penus sometimes approach a Jani and priest, Kutaka or the witchman / astrologer and direct them to do performances for the welfare of the society. Other general folks who are not given with such unseen powers like Jani and Kutaka can not identify the various Penus. It is very difficult to bring out detailed information regarding Penus and the Kuttia Kondhs belief of theology and eschatology in detail, because it is believed by them that they loose their power if they speak a lot about their ideas and understanding of the Penus, for all the knowledge is attributed to the priests. And the priests are directed always to act for the welfare of the people in the village by acquiring the blessings and secret knowledge implanted by the penus.

It is clear from the above discussion that the Kuttia Kondhs religiously believe that penus are omnipresent, omnicient and omnipotent entities. Thus they attribute all places : the house, the village, outside the village and hills and mountains as representation of gods and goddesses in different forms. They do not have specific abodes and specific forms yet they are recognised by the priests in dreams.

Discussion in detail has been made about the denomination, nature and form of gods and goddesses in the chapters "Society and Culture -I", "Denomination of forests and parts of it", "Social and Cultural aspects of plants and trees", "Religious practiceas ...health".

EXPERIENCE AND ANCESTOR DEITIES

Vitebsky P. (1993) who worked on Saora's religion and mentions of the Saoras understanding of Sonums (deities) in his monumental work "Dialogues with the Dead". In the light of this the penus of Kuttia Kondhas can be divided into two categories viz: Ancestor and Experience deities. A paragraph from Vitebsky's "Dialogues with the dead" would give a clear understanding of the Ancestor spirits / deities and Experience spirits / deties.

"...... Both horizontally and vertically, the space of the Ancestors lies in the inhabited house and village. Horizontally, Ancestor space is distinguished on the landscape from Experience space as domestic to wild, or village to jungle. Vertically, it lies within the house and down towards the Underworld, which is the normal abode of dead when they are conceived as Ancestors ....

Experience space by contrast, is mapped on the landscape outside the village at ground level and above, from clumps of trees and paths up to the sun. These locations focus of meaning whereby the concept of the experiences".

Based on Vitebsky's distinction between Ancestral and Experience, sperite

the Kuttia Kondh's, Penus can be discussed as they have to similar experience about the gods and goddesses. It is their belif that the entire landscape and the upper space (over world) and the lower space (under world) are occupied by the gods and goddesses and the ancestors space is specified in both the upper and lower worlds. In quoting Vitebsky's ancestor space and experience space can be distinguished as domestic to wild. In the context of Kuttia Kondhs it makes sense that the ancestral spirits are confined to spaces like inside the house, inside the village, to a certain level on the upper space and the under world. But in case of Kuttia Kondhs belief, more of the ancestral spirit like the upper space around the village than the underworld and side by side with other gods and goddesses.

In the light of this the Kuttia Kondh's gods and goddesses can be discussed with regards to their residential sites. The gods and goddesses described here may thus be regarded as the experience deties or spirits.

Gods and Goddesses (Experience spirits)
associated with Earth and settlement (the lowest experience).

Dharni Penu (female)	: In Middle of the village represented by three stones and on mountains.
Keri Penu (male)	: Hill slope, village road
Satari Penu (female)	: At the outskirt of the village, under a tree, represented in form of wooden stumps.
Giri Penu (male)	: No representative form, village road.
Deu kuda Penu (male)	: With satari Penu or separately, represented.
Sandhi Penu (male)	: by a stone or wooden stump, village border.
Wango Penu (female)	: Village.
Soru Penu (male)	: Hill
Eju Penu (male)	: Water ghats near settlements.
Elu Penu	: House

Experience spirits on Hills (Soru)

Penu's meeting place	:Hill top *(Gatii jaka)*
Keri Penu	: Hill slope *(Keri, Danda)*
Dharni Penu	: *Soru jaka* (small hill top or a region below hill top large hills). (*Soru tude*, Soru nede and *Soru panga*) (Hill base).
Bhunjanga Penu	: Bad sprits on hills shifting cultivation fields.

Sub-Experiences of Hill (Experience) god.

The names of hill gods mentioned in the sacred geography part of the chapter "Denomination of forests and its parts" may be referred to.

The Highest Experience (Gods and Goddesses associated with sky)

Linga Penu	: God the authority of birth
Bura Penu	
Bima Penu	
Moradi Penu	
Kadikodi Penu	
Weda Penu	: Sun god
Verga Penu	
Duki Penu	
Jana Penu	
Dev Penu	
Dharma Penu	: God of justice and religion
Yam Penu	: Hindu god of death - Demon God.
Jangudi Penu	
Sakali Penu	

Sub Experience of *Elu Penu* (Home deity) / Penu associated with house.

Mardi Penu	: Home and big trees (Banyan tree)
Kama Penu	: Home and Banyan tree
Saiyabi penu	
Jena Penu	
Kalisundari Penu	
Adabai Penu	
Mala Penu	: Lamp
Maunli Penu	: Home and Banyan tree
Mamali Penu	: menstural hut (*Jaka Kuda*)

Tree Experience / Deities associated with trees.

Kamatali Penu	: Banyan tree
Mardi Penu	: Banyan tree
Pitri mara Penu	: Peepal tree.
Mara Penu	: Trees.

Sub Experience of Eju Penu / Deities associated with water

Rakas Penu
Kidi Penu
Gangi Penu
Soru Penu
Kuti Penu
Patadaka Penu
Ramatanga Penu
Banda Penu
Seningi Penu
Mundi Penu

Animal Experience / Deities associated with animals :

Masi Penu	: Python Snake
Esu Penu	:·A small snake
Minu Penu	: Fish
Maju Penu	: Sambar

(Reference for other Penus represented in animal forms in dreams to the Priest is given in chapter "Denomination of forests and its parts").

FESTIVALS AROUND THE YEAR

Puni Kalu

Celebrated in Pusa Lanju to worship *Dharni Penu*, Deu *Kuda Penu* and *Satari Penu*. The Puja is performed by the Jani. The Jani who worships *Dharni Penu* and *Satari Penu* does not worship *Deu Kuda Penu*. Other Jani must be there. The *Deu Kuda Penu* is offered with eggs which are broken there. No sacrifice is given to *Deu Kuda Penu* except eggs.

Punikalu is the largest regular festival of the year. Puni refers to full moon and new moon, whereas. Kalu to pestle, crop liquor and legs. Thus the Panikalu is a new eating festival organized on a bright fortnight. On this occasion Kueri liquor i.e. Katul is drunk by people. This is regarded as new eating of Katul.

On this occasion, pigs, cocks, Kueri (little millet), Kuling (Paddy) Katul (crop liquor of Kueri), turmeric and Mahuli liquor are offered to *Dharni Penu* and *Satari Penu*. *Elu Penu* is also worshipped alongwith other Penus. In this Puja new harvesting of Jata (Simba - Lablab purpurens) and anka (*Lagenaria piceraria*) are eaten. New Kueri offered to the 'Penus' is used to make *Kena* (which is used after a month to make *katul*). This Puja is done inside the village by the Jani.

MERIAH FESTIVAL OR *BIA-DAKINA*

It is celebrated in Phagun or Chait lanju. The appropriate time is the full moon of Phagun lanju. The Kutaka observes in dream where the dakina has to be performed. In the dream it may be suggested that the Dakina is to be performed to *Soru Dharni* or *Naju Dharni* i.e. to the *Dharni* in hill or Dharni in village. The main sacrificial offering is Podo i.e. buffalo. The buffalo to be sacrificed is called *Bia*. The main hill associated with village has to be offered with cocks and goats. The pigs and cocks are offered when the Karumunda (Refer chapter 'Social and Cultural aspects of Plants and Trees for SAL) is installed at the *Dharani* where the *Dakina* is to be performed. On this occasion the *Katul* is prepared for 2 to 5 times. This varies from village to village. This puja is performed for the well being of the village and good yield from agriculture.

This festival is not a regular festival of the year. It is organized at an interval of every 3 to 4 years and is celebrated when people are in sound economic condition particularly after a good yield from agriculture. This festival is the modification of the ancient Meriah festival in which human being was sacrificed.

BURLANGA DAKINA

It is celebrated in Baisakh lanju or Kuda lanju. On this occasion burlanga i.e. large bamboo container to store grains is worshipped. Goats and cocks are sacrificed. Usually only two cocks are offered but, if penu asks for goat it is to be offered. Kueri is usually the grain which is filled in the burlanga and offered Puja which usually begins from one end of the village. The last householder on Majhi line is called 'Rout Majhi' from whose home the worship starts. The sacrificial chicken is taken to every house in the village where it is given Kueri to eat and then it is sacrificed in Rout Majhi's house. In this Puja a home deity (*Elu Penu*) is also propitiated by the Jani.

There is a legend regarding the Burlanga Dakina. During this Puja. Kueri is filled in Burlanga and prayer is offered. The legend runs that there was a village Surungabaru where this Puja was being offered. All the households had filled their burlanga to the rim and cleaned their houses for the purpose. But the Majhi was poor enough who had not enough yield that year and what he had got was finished in household consumption. He was in a fix for what to do. An idea hit him and he collected Kuli piri (hay) and spread it in the Burlanga. After that he went and borrowed one mana (3 kilograms) of Kueri from his neighbour and spread it over the '*Kuli piri*'; in such a way that it looked as if the whole was filled with Kueri. Seeing the burlanga, earnestness of the Majhi, the penu blessed him with richness. After that he could always lend to others and became rich.

On the occasion of Burlanga Puja Bichavali stone is also propitiated. The

person in whose house this stone lies starts the Puja. The stone is believed to change his places from one's house to another.

TAKA KALU

It is celebrated in Sravan lanju when the crops in the swidden plots attain about one foot in hight. It is an occasion when worship is offered to Soru Dharni, in the swidden plots. Puja is offered to all the crops taking their particular names. It is done to seek the blessing of the hill god, earth goddess and other associated gods and goddesses with hill god for a better yield from the fields. On that day some mango karnels called *Taka* are taken to the field, washed with water and at a certain phase of the puja the karnel is cut open to remove the mango endocarp. The process has a metaphorical sense that as the mango karnel is cut open, crops should come out piercing through the earth. On this occasion a pig or a goat or a buffalo with a cock is sacrificed. After the sacrifice blood of the sacrificed animals is smeared on all the crops. The mango endocarps are then powdered and made into simba i.e. gruel, and offered to the penu followed by eating of people.

BADBINERE

It is celebrated in *Dassera lanju* and *Chait lanju. Kamatali penu* is propitiated during the puja. With *Kama penu*, *Mardi Penu* is also propitiated. Both *Kama Penu* or *Kamatali Penu* and *Mardi Penu* are regarded as two sisters who are believed to be living on banyan trees at a place called Sima rani. It is a very important puja of the year when these two malevolent deities are invoked, worshipped and bade (Badbinere) a farewell. Thus badbinere refers to farewell of the malevolent deities.

The nature of the deity is studied with bodily manifestation. The deities cause wounds (saju), small pox, chicken pox and measles collectively which are called 'Bicha' and eczema (sengu). Saju also refers to percupine and Bicha to seeds. It is believed that if the deity is not satisfied with the people of the village she sows bicha i.e. seeds to cause bicha i.e. pox diseases and collects her food when bicha (pox) grows on the human body. That's why Kuttia Kondhs fear most to the wrath and anger of the deity.

There is a legendary tale that speaks the origin of *Kamatali Penu*. For reference "sacrifice - the means to satisfy penu in the chapter-Social and Cultural aspects of plants and trees" may be followed. The legendary tale makes the Kuttia Kondh understand that while the goddess is in angry mood she throws the seeds which she had taken from the villagers when she was out in search of her son, on the human bodies which cause bicha (pox). Kuttias feel that she has to be appeased for good yield as she carried all varieties of seeds alongwith her.

The Puja takes three days to be completed. It starts on Monday and finished on Wednesday. The Monday performance is called *Basani*, the Tuesday is the real Puja and the Wednesday is the day for *Badbinere*. Three *Kutakas* and *Jani* are rquired to worship the deity. But if three are not available one can manage the performance. The priest will have to keep fasting for all three days and for three days he only lives on Salap toddy and liquor of Mahuli.

On the first day *Basani* is performed by the Jani or *Kutaka*. The *Basani* is the process that means to invocation of the deities. The invocation is done by the Priest with the following chantings :

Inu Kamapenu atisi	: You Kamapenu come
Inu Tatibui, Bitulbui	: You Tatibui Bitulbui (Synonyms)
Kuna maga, dadi maga	: You Kuna (Yam) beggar, death ritual beggar.
* Tipang deu Tarang deu	: Tipang deu, Tarang deu
Inu Sate atisi	: You really coming
Kandabana, Japina tatisi	: Sword, Gun, Weapon to sit upon.
Nai Lia pitha Japinati	: I Lia, cake prepared
Anu icheka bagu sienja	: I this much offerings giving
Inu imba Simarani - Maarani Kata	: You there Simarani-Maarani from
Inu imba linga janani atati	: You there took birth
Deupuru, Nandan puru	: Deupuru, Nandan paru (places)
Kasigada, Rendagada inu manati	: Kasigada, Rendagada you present
Usugada, Belagada Manati	: Usugada, Belagada present
Teligada, Maligada manati	: Teligada, Maligada present
Atisi inge sindur sienja	: Come for you vermilliongiving.
Tipang deu	The deity who smears Tipa of vermillion on the forehead.

The above chanting mentions about the abode of the deity : *Simarani - Maarani* from where she is requested to come to the seat of Puja. Many synonyms of the goddess are mentioned. The priest requests the deity to come and sit upon their weapons viz : *Kanda* (sword) *Bana* (Gun), *Japina* (Hand weapons). She is requested to accept the offerings with vermillion. With invocation all these things are offered. The same chanting is also recited to bid her farewell but the underlined terms in the above chanting are replaced by *Siamu* meaning go.

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* *Tipang deu : The deity who smears Tipa of vermillion on the forehead.*

On Tuesday too many processes are done. The Kutaka ceremonially takes his seat. This is called (*Kutaka kakbamu*), followed by the puja (*Dakibamu*), then talking to the penu for village welfare (*penu aramu*) followed by *kaju crana* (cock sacrifice) on that day. The offerings given are rice, fried paddy (Lia), vermillion, molasses, cannabis, opium (*Afu*), saree, bangles (*Paja*). Sacrifice of cock, goat and pig is made. Coconut, Bael leaves, china rose are recent additions. Three pieces of Kanda (sword) is made with semul wood. About the swords mention is there with Bombox malbaricum in the chapter "Social and cultural aspects of Plants and trees".

On the third day other animals are sacrificed. By the evening the Puja is finished. In a leaf pot of siali leaves some castor oil kueri are taken. Feathers from a cock is plucked out. Each Kutaka is smeared by oil on forehead by a feather, the process being done by senior villagers after the penu is bade a farewell. Then people go for 'Kutakai tukana' i.e. escorts the Kutakas to their home. Thus the Puja is finished.

DUSSERA KANDANGA DAKINA

Dussera Kandanga Dakina is organized in *Dassera lanju*. *Thakurani Penu* with *Kamati penu* is worshipped. This puja is offered in the village. The importance is given in worshipping the swords (*Kandanga*) made of Semul wood. Every household gives chicken and the whole village contributes for the purchase of goat. During the Puja, the Panos invite Kuttias to come and drink Mahuli with them.

BASA DAKINA

It is celebrated during winter. Weda penu i.e. Sun god and Basa penu i.e. place god are propitiated when it is indicated by them during a dream to the *Jani* or *Kutaka*. This is a festival of singing and dancing by the youth of the village, but old and young married and unmarried woman also join with the youths. Goat, cock and katul are offered to the Penu. If during this period visitors from other village come, they are welcomed with silence. People of the village do not talk for about one hour. This system varies from village to village. After the singing and dancing is over, the girls give pig to the boys and the latter give buffalo or cow in appreciation of each opposite group. This is not regular festival of the year.

The Basa Gaani which is sung on this occasion cannot be sung on any other occasion. Every village usually has different kinds of Basa Gaani which are mostly spot and lip compositions.

WANGO DROPONDI

This Puja is performed during Chait lanju, when the work for the

preparation of shifting fields has to be started. In this Puja, Dharni penu and Soru penu are offered Puja. In this puja, first Bagad or swidden plot which has to be cut and cleared is visited by about ten persons out of whom one is *Jani* and the other is *Kutaka*. They make a small house for the *Dharni* and return to the village leaving *Jani* and Kutaka and two of their associates to help them in further performances. The Jani leaves rice grains, particularly seven pairs in the field and return to the village alongwith his helpers. They do not eat in anybody's house for seven days and seven nights. Then they go to the field to examine the position of rice. If two pairs are missing it is considered good and after a collective puja on Wednesday or Sunday in the fields, cutting of Bagada starts. After the cutting the field is left to dry. A hen or goat, as demanded by the Soru Penu who is the authority of the hill is sacrificed.

Any type of sound of animals is thought to be inauspicious as it is believed that the Penu is angry or not satisfied and so people develop a sense of a fear of being killed by the wild animals. The field is then abandoned by the villagers and another field is looked for.

4

DENOMINATION OF FORESTS AND ITS PARTS
FOREST IN THE EYES OF THE KUTTIA KONDHS

According to Kuttia Kondhs, forests are patches of land with various types of plants; species of large and small trees including shrubs,bushes and creepers makes the patches look wilder; different types of beasts who live inside the forest make the jungle even more wilder; snakes and birds also add to it's wilderness. With all this they also believe that the forest is a place, divided into three slots - Earth (Tana), Over Earth (*Tana Kueti*), and Under Earth (*Tana Daeti*) out of which plants occupy only one place(i.e; earth) and animals - all the three places. And according to them, even though plants survive only on "earth" their roots touch the "under earth" and their shoots graze the "over earth" (*the sky*), thereby giving shelters to each animal living in the three affiliations.

Thus any patch of land with a lot of trees and animals can be attributed as a forest in the tribal eyes. The wildness (*Boti ne Ajine*) of the forest can be defined in numerous tribal ways. The large numbers of Timber plantation with bushes around is also termed as a forest in tribal eyes. It is called a forest if it is multistoreyed with large trees in between and creepers coil around large trees.

The places where sunlight *(ujada)* does not infiltrate, due to concentration of trees, are known to be real wild forest to the Kuttia Kondh. The sun (*Weda*), they know is the most powerful in the whole universe. And they also believe that trees compete among themselves as to who can grow more towards the sky (*Wani*). Thus trees in the forest are more important for them than animals. Animals in a forest are of secondary importance. There is a reason for this also. They strongly believe that the earth was barren in the beginning. The animals were very few. The first human beings who came out of the earth hunted for their subsistence. This is cited in their primordial song *(Kui gaani)*. But the earth was not luscious without trees. Then the idea of planting trees was contrived in the mind of the supreme lady of the earth *(Nerandali)*. And the supreme lady requested the supreme man

(Betamangera). As a result the first tree was born near 'Sapangada'. The myth says that the first species of the plants came out of the species of the trees and the trees were evolved out of the dead body of a Sambar. These species which evolved near 'Sapangada' were later known as Sati Kambani and Pditi Kambani. Here Sati means taking birth out of the earth and pdite means coming out of the female genital organs. And Kambani means trees of equal heights. The peak of a single tree is called '*Sarene*', while the peak of a group of trees is called '*Sarena*'.

TYPES OF FOREST

The forests, in the eyes of the tribals, are divided into four types. The classification is mainly based on the basis of arrangements of the trees in a forest. These are : Kambani, Bati , Uunda and Tuleni. The place where all these four types are concurrently present is known as 'Katani'. Bushes and shrubs are mostly present in a 'Katani'. But small creepers *(Tula)* are present over the trees in a net like appearance.

KAMBANI (FOREST)

Kambani is referred to as one type of the forests in the language of the Kuttia Kondh. This name has been derived from a particular species of a tree. The tree has been described in the primordial song (*Kui gaani*). A Kambani consists of certain species of trees having a common form of tree-top canopy. The Kambani usually consist of the species like *Shorea robusta, Pterocarpus marsupium, Lagerstroemis, Bombax ceiba, Eugenia jambolana, Mangifera indica, Ficus benghalensis, Ficus religiosa* etc. etc.. These species are usually dominant types by nature.

According to the song (*Kui gaani)* of the tribe, these trees have a tendency to touch the sky. But the supreme lady, Nerandali, prevents them to do so. The myth says: when Nerandali and her people came on earth for the first time, sky and the earth was one. They were not separate from each other. To separate them, they used these trees and pushed heaven up. In this process a space was created which sheltered them. But afterwards when these trees tended to rise towards the sky, there was a fear of obstructing the sun rays, which was the primary source of life on earth.Plus there was also a fear of the sky coming back through the trees and becoming one with the earth again. And moreover, Nerandali also feared that the creepers which were on the top of the trees could pull down the separated sky and make the earth and sky one again.

To prevent further growth of the trees, Nerandali created some birds to check the growth of the trees. But it was not sufficient. Therefore, she created squirrels and white ants, as the former can wreck the shoots and buds of the tree tops and the latter can infest the over-grown roots of the trees. Then the trees could

not grow taller any more. So, the Kuttia Kondhs consider these animals as the designers of the Kambani. All these things took place near Sapangada, where according to the Kondhs the first forest was created with the help of Nerandali. The name of this forest is Sati Kambani. Usually the Kondh's dwellings are found in the hilly forest areas. They rarely dwell in the plains or low land forest area for they strongly believe that the trees belonging to the hilly areas (*Kambani*) are of immense intrinsic value to them. These large and tall trees (*Dera mara*), including some under-growth (*Lika mara*) along with the creepers (*Tula*) constitute the whole of the hill-top forest. This includes variety of species like Shorea robusta (*Sargi mara*), Terminalia tomentosa (*Mardi mara*), Ficus benghalensis (*Bade mara*), Ficus scandens (*Pipoda mara*), Accasia pinnata (*Sikari tula*), Bauhinia vahlii (Paeri tulla) etc. which are all self-germinating plants.

The hill-top areas usually consist of dry soil (*Bachit vira*) and rocks (*Balinga*) for which the tree species like Ficus benghalensis etcetera can only grow because of their tremendous self-generating power. Although the under-growth and the shrubs are not found, the creepers like Bauhinia vahlii and Accasia pinnata along with the wild grass called 'Babe' (*Eulaliopsis binata*) are to be found in this area.

Combinations of such natural vegetation on the hill top are found to be interesting from the Kuttia Kondh's point of view. They regard their hill God (*Donger Penu*) sole responsible for the distribution of such vegetation. They believe that the Penu-the supreme God of the forest-decides about the plantation according to the locality. He chooses the tall trees as His abode. He prefers the hill tops because of two major reasons. One is to have a clear view of the sorrows and sufferings or vice and virtues of the villagers; who dwell at the foot of the hill. The other reason is to enjoy the first touch of the virgin rain. He uses the creepers (*the coil around the trunks and branches of the tall trees forming a massive network in the hill forest*) to move around the different places inside the forest, to meet the other Penus regarding the welfare of the tribal people. He allows the growth of the grass at the base of the trees to make the forest floor softer so that celestial beings can roam around freely.

As regards to the fauna of the Kambani, the Sambar (*Maju*) is very commonly found, as they can not survive in the dense forest. Besides Sambar, Tiger (*Kdani*), Bear (*Ali*), Elephants (*Hati*), Wild Boar (*Barha*), *Kutra four* horned antilope) (*Kateri*) and fowls (*Kambat kaju*) etc. also dwell in the areas. Animals, who live under the ground, are seldom to be found.

BATI

The term Bati has several meanings. Bati is the most common name for the

forest. Bati is also referred to with respect to bushy vegetation which includes under growth, shrubs, creepers and herbs.

In the hill forest the Bati lies between the foot hills and hill slope areas. In low land and plain land forest,vegetations are found. The Kuttia folks consider the Bati as the primary state of the forest. As it is well known the growth of forest is never static but always dynamic. This concept can not be described in terms of Kuttia Kondh's language. According to the Kuttia's views, the branches of the trees (*Kena)* inside the Bati, which spread through the forest, reserves space for small plants to grow (*Ningine*) in future. Therefore, Bati constitutes a vegetation over a particular period of time.

The ethno-ecological perception with regards to the Bati confirms that it grows better in soft soil (*Dea vira*). For this reason all types of plant species grow easily and swiftly. Further, the rain waters from the hilltop has easy access to the base of the hills and this also facilitates the growth of trees. Bati avails even more water than Kambani, for even if the rainfall in both the place are equal; Bati accounts for the water from the hill top as an addition. So vegetation in the Bati, as stated earlier, is much easier. The fertility of the Bati also gets enhanced for many fast growimg types of the species - which after atrophy - add to the fertility of the soil.

The fauna life inside the Bati needs special mention. For the variety of the fauna is simply formidable. They include snakes *(Srachu*), Pythons (*Masi*), Monitors (*Boda)*, Porcupines (*Saju*), Pangolins (*Jerandi)*. The larger snakes and pythons, Kuttia Kondhs believe, like to dwell in a cool place like the Bati. The snakes feed on mice and poultry. As told by an informant, the Pangolin and Porcupines have significant contribution in creating under-ground cellars. These animals will be discussed later.

Many other animals which live on the ground include different types of jungle fowls, peacock, rabbit, deer and kutra. Bears are also sometimes found.

The third type of faunas which lives inside the Bati includes birds of different varieties.

UMDA (GROVE)

This term is used to describe a patch of forest surrounded by rocky or barren lands. They are usually to be found in plenty on hill tops with rocky floor or huge stone surroundings. Umda vegetations in such surroundings generally content Ficus benghalensis, Ficus religiosa and Ficus scandens, (*which are dominant by nature*) along with Terminalia tomentosa, Chara, Shorea robusta,Pterocarpus marsupium and Accasia pinnata. Umdas found in other non-rocky surroundings

consist usually of wide varieties of small trees and plant species (*Ladenga*).

TULENI (GRAVE YARD FOREST)

Tuleni means a part of the forest preserved and used by the Kuttia Kondhs only for the cremation of dead bodies. These patches in the forest are free from regular visitors and trespassers. Collection of firewoods, cutting of trees for any purpose is totally prohibited within these areas. Even resins, mushrooms, tubers, and herbs or any sort of edible products are never collected from all these areas. Villagers are very conscious of not plucking a leaf or a flower or to break a brush-stick inside the Tuleni. It is believed that collection of anything from Tuleni means to take away food of the spirits of their ancestors who subsist on it. These taboos are believed to be existing since the beginning of the settlements. So gradually certain myths started building up around this lone virgin patches of the wilderness.

Among different species of plants in the Tuleni, the Sal tree is given a special status because it is believed that Dukeli Penu (*Main God of the Tuleni*) dwells in them. So the Sal trees were almost left untouched since long back. Even certain medicinal plants considered as highly effective as certain diseases are never touched in Tuleni. In exceptional cases, the Kuttia Kondh medicine man, if permitted by the Dukeli Penu, can use certain herbs and roots.

On the day of the funerals the village priest (*Jami*) has to break a brush-stick to offer to the dead body. Then taking the permission from the dead person's spirit, others can break brush-sticks. Fire woods of the Tuleni are only used for cremation purposes because fire woods from other areas are forbidden inside the Tuleni. A dead person is considered to be a forest-dweller (*Kambanate*).

These forbidden landscapes subsequently became a source of prevailing fear upon the villagers. Besides trees and plants, a large variety of animals such as deers, kutras, mouse deers, Porcupines, Sambars and Boars etc. are to be found in these forest. Hunting inside the Tuleni, although not prohibited, is very rarely performed. If at all accomplished, it is only in a group in the daytime. Noboby dares to enter the Tuleni alone for the fear of ghosts and spirits, who may kill them by affecting them with a rare disease. Interestingly, on a death case during the burial or cremation ceremony inside the Tuleni the village attendants need to pray Dukeli Penu (*spirit God/Goddess*). The Dukeli Penu is to provide them with sufficient games while on a hunting expedition, which takes place during the mourning period (*Dasah*). The mourning period generally falls in between the third to seventh day after death. This celebration of the group hunting is a must after every death case. It is strongly believed that if Dukeli Penu is satisfied with their prayer the hunting expedition would not go futile. The villagers normally does not shift the site of Tuleni, for they believe that by doing so they would obviously

disturb the spirits of their ancestors. Certain factors like epidemic plant diseases, spread of certain parasite creepers (Gachchi), the forest fire, *(which kills the Sal trees)* forces them to abandon the Tuleni. In such cases a new patch of forest (*in this case the villagers of Burlubaru have chosen Ratadinella*) is chosen to be used as the successive Tuleni. Leasing of forest patches by government departments to outsiders is also another cause which force them to abandon the Tuleni. As a matter of formality, they have to take permission from the Dukeli Penu before deserting the Tuleni.

KATANI (THE HILLY FOREST OF THE AREA)

Prelude

Kataniis a term used to derote a quiet wild vegetation from which the terms Bati, Kambani and Umda are derived. Very often this term is used to describe something 'wild'. Katani is not confined to any specific variety of vegetation or natural resources or plants or animals. Katani, from the Kuttia Kondh's point of view, is a 'four storied forest'. The ground floor consists of wild grass *(Randa)*, beds of herbs and small bushes - the first floor. The Bati and the Kambani are the third and fourth floor respectively.

Usually the Kuttia Kondhs dwell in the cleared patches of the woodland surrounded by hills and forest. The entire hill range is covered by the vast number of plants. These aggregation of plants at the hill - forest are also shortly termed as katani. Different parts of the hill- forest conserve different types of plants and animals.

DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE HILL-FOREST

The hill is known as Soru in the Kuttia Kondh's language. The peak of the hill is known as Gati (*Gatijaka*). Hill slopes are categorized in to two types viz; *Keri* and *Danda*. Different parts of the hill are named according to their shape and size. *Keri* means steep, sharp, downward slope of the hill forest. And *Danda* means comparatively wider slope of the hill-forest. An imaginative horizontal lining in the middle of the hill-slope is known as *Soru tude*. The region above it is *Soru jaka* and the region below the *Soru tude* is known as *Soru Nede*. So the entire slope of the hill is divided into three zones. The base of the hill is known in three different terms; viz; *Panga, Dharni*, Wango. The base of the hill, in general, is known as Panga. When three stones (*symbolized as Dharni Penu*) are found at the base of the forest, the base is termed as Dharni. A clear base is termed as Wango.

According to the existing type of vegetation at the base of the hill, *Panga* and *Wango* are used. *Panga* means the virgin vegetation at the hill base, where as the *Wango* means a hill base without or very infrequent vegetation. The Panga when artificially cleared to be used for shifting cultivation is known as 'Nella',

which is sometimes referred to as *Soru Nede*. It is the lower region of the hill in geometrical dimension. This is to say that the Soru Nede is cleared to make nella. In this context, the *Wango* and *Nella* are two different terms though sometimes the two names are confused.

One story is associated with the term *Wango*. It says that in the beginning the hill base was occupied mostly by Bengeri mara Piasala trees- (*Pterocarpus marsupium*). With continuous interference of people in such parts of the hill forest the vegetation was destroyed. The area gradually turned in to a cultivated field. So it is observed that the term Wango has come from Bengeri mara. Further, Wango having Dharni stones inside it - since ancient times - is known as Dharni Wango. Cases are there in the ancient history of the Dharni Puja that the *Pterocarpus marsupium* was being sacrificed for blood to Dharni Penu. The liquid which oozed out from the tree was regarded as blood. So to satisfy Dharni Penu with blood, people used to choose the said tree.

Gati and *Ana* are the two important part s of the hill. As referred to earlier, *Gati* is the last part of the hill. *Gati* is important both for religious and social reasons. The animals come down the hills through the Gati to drink water in the rivers. This makes hunting easy for hunting groups from the Gati side. One group usually waits at the *Ana* while the other group at *Gati* encircles the animals. The hunters guard animals at *Ana* and do not allow them to escape. Further, *Ana* is a better place to find animals for hunting. *Ana* and lada refer to the same place-a place which is the communicating link between two hills. *Ana* refers to the meeting place of two hills with steep down slope, where as *Lada* refers to the same type of place with more width. Animal behavior in the forest is nomadic. And while roaming around the in the forest from hill to hill, they would either pass through *Lada or Ana.* Moreover, animals normally make a *Salla* (enclosure) in the *Ana*. *Salla* is more or less like a cave which ranges from a small hole to large caves. And interestingly, Sallas are usually named after the animals who live inside it.

The second importance attributed to the hill is religious. Some large hills in the locality have plateaus (*Soru jaka bata)*. *Soru jaka bata* is commonly known as *agari*. In the literal sense *Agari* pertains to a virgin land. These plateaus are considered as the meeting place for Penus *(the tribal Gods*). *Soru Penu, Keri Penu, Dharni Penu, Gangi Penu*, etc. meet at these plateau and discuss the welfare of the tribes. Soru Penu's importance is directly proportional to the size of the hill. Many hills like *Bamana deu hill, Hati Salla hill, and Dumbuli hill* are of high significance as they possess plateaus. *Bamana deu hill* is the first hill one will see while coming out of the village *Burlubaru*. The *Hati Salla* lies to the south and Dumbuli to the north of the village. *Bamanadeu* lies to the west of Sapangada hill which is the center of Kuttia Kondhs' religious activities.

MYTH AND ORIGIN OF HILLS AND FOREST
(Prelude)

In the traditional primordial song Kui gani, there is an episode stating about the origin of both large and small hills on the earth. It says that, initially the entire land scape was barren. Further, the landscape was uneven. However, the whole earth could not be levelled properly. So, Rangan tali and Paber tali (*two feminine mythological figures in tribal* lore) were asked by Nerandali to level the earth . They levelled the earth with the help of a stone. Nerandali, then inspected the earth. And while doing so she came across a white-ant-house. This gave her the idea of creating the mountains, which she thought, would make the earth more beautiful.

OPERATION MANANG (FORMATION OF LARGER HILLS)

To construct hills on earth, the need of a Manang (*a measuring unit equivalent to four kilograms made out of bamboo)* was necessary. Manang Tali *(mother Manang)* was given the responsibility of making the Manang. The Manang was made. Nerandali, the supereme lady, was inspecting the work. Manangtali took a Manang-full-of-earth and threw it at Sapangada. From that, the Sapangada hill was made. Nerandali ordered the Sapangada hill to grow. In the same way *Ranipalu* (Molar teeth) hill, *Bendipalu hill, Usarera hill, Bearena hill, Tendabedi hill, Sababedi hill, Piju bangeri* (Piju=rain, bangeri=from Wango). *Bidi bangeri*(bidi=breeze), *Sunasella* (Suna=gold,sella=large stone), Rupa sella (Rupa=silver), etc. were made around Sapangada. Nerandali requested the hills to grow with their own *keri* and *danda.* The *Manang* started moving around different areas of the earth. As a result the formation of the hills started from the Sapangada East and moving through the South, West and North, the *Manang* reached Sapangada finishing the work of hill formation. But the hills made by *Manang* were only large hills.

Subsequently, the *Manang* made the hills named as *Piparani, Pendarani, Bangu sandak, Dura bangeri, Piju bangeri, Dimbul bandha, Rani bandha, Acha banda, Mnia banda, Kandu nella, Palad nella, Kanda badi, Baka bada, Tidi tadu, Bazar gada, Guna nimbar, Gadi nimbar, Kria ringa, Puki ringa, Tala bega, Bana bega, Patig dua, Napag dua, Sika danda, Bdela danda, Surga bata, Sakad bata, Singa bali, Mera bali, Deri pijur, Kagari pijur.* Starting from the East through South it reached at *Siram deu,* Bamana deu *hills* in the west. The above two hills are near *Burlubaru* village. Then the hills named Wango pakari, Rinda bali, Ducha bali, Acha digar, Mria digar, Sella Soru, Pati Soru, Kame seru, Kame gada, Lakti Nala, Rune nella, Lakirgadu, Pagirgadu, *Tamba dedi, Pitad dedi, Sona* duer, Rupa duer, Pudangadu, Modon gadu, Senim gadu, Kajam gadu, Asang *Salla, Parang salla, Surga bata, Becha bandha**, *baran garu, kapan garu, Secl kuri aru, Duber aru, Pusa rani, Bata rani, Sandil Gati, Barel Gati, Sone bereng, Nisi Tidi, Mundi*

Tidi were found. The manang reached at *Hati Sallaand Prapa Salla*, which were situated in the north of Sapangada. Then through *Soru burlang, Sargi donger, Mardi dongr**, Tuitambu***, Darma ladi, Masangdia, Kadong dia, Sanasella, Rupa sella, Rani palu, Bena palu, Manang* reached at Sapangada.

OPERATION MOOTING (FORMATION OF SMALLER HILLS)

Only with the formation of larger hills around Sapangada, the landscape design could not Satisfy Nerandali-the supreme lady. She then desired to design some small hills so that the earth may really look beautiful. So the operation mooting was started by Nerandali. The mooting was formal. For the formation of small hills, several handful of soil were thrown around the Sapangada hill.

Sapangada *gunjari* (surroundings of Sapangada) then looked hilly with the wing of small hills. The operation mooting was followed by the same route as it was followed by *Manang*. This is to say that the operation mooting moved in a clock-wise direction starting from Sapangada. Nerandali went on throwing handful of soil and the entire landscape became compact with hills. The smaller hills, thus, grew aside the large hills. The smaller and larger hills joined each other by Ana. To give the detail account of the names of the smaller hills I shall refer to four mountains viz: *Sapangada* in the East, *Dumbuli* in the South, Siramdeu in the West, *Hati Salla* in the North corner of the Sapangada. The smaller hills were found in between and around these hills.

HILL NAMES IN SAPANGADA-DUMBULI(EAST- SOUTH)

Starting from Sapangada to Sarchanguda, and Ranipalu to Bendipalu the mooting was operated. Through the way to *Dumbuli, Jendabedi, Sababedi, Jatrukupda, Sarenbali, Virapukur, Pdingenella, Salubiri, Gunjinanu, Mahananu, Kalangura Endangura, Sorubaring, Nachawani Kduking nella, Pitirimara, Anipuru, PadiGati Katugada, Petabalu, Juanbalu, Deepanela, Pungarinella, Dapinella, Arikada, Kudarilada, PukiGati, GanjuGati*[1], *SrekaGati*[2], *Kadannela*[3], *Meteeda, Pitebaling, Pidedabari, Anangadu, Tumundibandha, Raelbandha*[4], *Wangajalesi, Nelajalesi, Ratudinela, Mundiguda, Lakagada*[5], *Sachingnela, Kudengnela, Ushavati, RindaBati, Pikusnela, Germelnela, SindekSoru, Kumudinela, Kanjadinela, Terajindang, Kupanela, Lakadara, Nigadnela, Gadavali, Adagadi, Dimblebandha, Ranibandha etc..*

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* Hill named according to dominant composition of surga tree *(Phyllanthus emblica)*

** Hill named by Sargi tree *(Shorea robusta)*

*** Hill named by Mardi tree *(Terminalia tomentosa)*

DUMBULI - SIRAMDEU (SOUTH-WEST OF SAPANGADA)

Sendu*roti, Pujumunda*[6]*, Pujusudi, Sikulinela, Gundelnela, Laduracha, Kudadracha, Kakadak, Bdelakeri, Kandunela, JaruGati, KesuGati, Kichangjeru, RenganiSoru, Pulangdiba, Akudanja, Pdipadanja, Lidilada, Dadingbada, Satradika, DeusAna, TumassAna, Nisipidi, Bimbikidi, Akadepa, Pdiudepa, Etundujar, Gachaknela, Wangotidi, Denagara, SiTanana, Didkinela, Kunadeli, Rachelaku*[7]*, Pussabadi, Tuakala, Garadinela, DamanGati*[8]*, Kutumunda, Sorubhangi, Kinipanda, Manabali, Rangaparu, Sikarbada, Wangosuler, KAnangdaka, Batpada, Srambunela, VasiGati, SatiBati, Belagada, AliSoru, Kasumunda, Sionkusiaru, Daberaru.*

SIRAMDEU-HATI SALLA (WEST TO NORTH OF SAPANGADA)

Gitabali, Banguri, Katadinela, Burlubaru, PujuGati, Maningkedi, AdaBati, Kurangalu, DamenSoru, Aligahadi, Pengalinela, Sabaduni, Alidapa, Sikakinela, SuperiSoru, GunuSoru, BolaliSoru, Deriganchi, Surambaru, Atisada, Tajanginela, Jakerinela, BadeGati, Bendaudiji, Atinggarada, Durjudnela, Palkinela, Damengati, Keravani, Pulapada, Lalkuti, Surketi, Barigaba, Sindingkela, Satsanggada, Pikerpada, Meluenda (Dancing peacock), Sirjanggeri, Jaran Soru, Dupanela, Janavali (Crabstone), Sukilabata, Amadula, Nangelbadi, Sirchudi, Muniguda, Raniguda, Tatikana, Lauakudam, Sirkibandha, Katadinela, Kinadinela, Widi okadi, Dalangvata, PangariSoru, Bukelaku, Padekanda, Gahinvali, Dharninaska, Pidekukudang, Mundimaska, Achangadel, Vasakada, Kpunakada, MuskaSoru, Lakapajar, Atadtula.

Hills according to the names of trees :

1. Ganju (*Semicarpus anacardium*)
2. Sreka (*Buchanania lanzan*)
3. Kadam (*Anthocephalus cadamba*)
4. Rael (*Dillenia pentagyna*)
5. Laka (Bombax mabaricum)
6. Piju (*Madhuka longifolia*)
7. Rachel (A Type of Palm)
8. Daman (*Grewia tiliaefolia*)
9. Bade (Ficus benghalensis)

HATISALLA - SAPANGADA (NORTH TO EAST OF SAPANGADA)

Gunangadu, Pulampadi, Vindankeri, Pudrungnella, Sipangadu, Padkala, Rindavali, Pindagadu, Markadu, Nachuladu, Jagdalpur (koraput), Satanpur, Kudaddaja, Baliguda, Dadingmada, Pipadmada, Achangdeli, PujuGati, IrpiGati, Ukanmundi, Krayikara, Bagamunda, PakasAna, BikaPanga, Tambadaku, Dundru.

kadu, Sunvali, Padelnela, Garanginella, BaliGati, Deridengen, Kageri dergeni, Jambuguda, Sanakatak, Mahavali, Getavali, GulanPanga, Karibaru, Beenabandha, Nuamunda, Pedemnella, Sikerinella, Rajilinga, Pemulinga, Pemukala, Majukala, Barda Gati, Ranimundi, Burkapatang, Sunsabata, Krichitulla, Mundamalli, Sirambar, Siradang, Sirdekidi, Dadadkala, Krajjanella, Kutududi, Banangjala, Pikimadar, Kajuger, Gunjigata, Tadengbaru, Damankala, Meskarikala (cat hole), SukiPanga, Saparnella, Pudeninella, Gdispavali, Gamabarnella, Duerbedi, KudePanga, Kakibaki, Pidelnella, Prieninella, Rajamara, Meravali (yellow stone), Japinella, Polubnella.

Above mentioned are names of hills, fields and localities. Some names refers to ancestors, some to trees and some to patches of vegetation.

EPILOGUE

The mountains and hills described in Manang and Mooting is to be considered as the territory of the Kuttia Kondhs. The myth says that people after emerging out of the Sapangada hill were distributed-by the supreme lady Nerandali- over this patch of land. Geographically, not all of these hills are in Phulbani District; Some of them are in the Districts of Koraput and Kalahandi.

The myth also describes the formation of trees and plants in great detail. It says that after the formation of hills Nerandali thought about putting plants and trees on the mountains to make them more beautiful as well as to make it convenient for the animals to live in it. And as a result trees and plants were made which turned the area into a forest. It is also mentioned in the myth that trees and plants sprang from a Sambar body.

EARTH, HILLS & GOD

THE EARTH GOD AND THE HILL GOD

All the hills, either large or small, are regarded as Penu. As a matter of fact the Kuttia Kondh regard the hills and forests around as protectors and well-wishers. And the Kondhs worship them with deep reverence. There are, as a rule, two types of Gods. One is Soru Penu, the hill God and the other, Dharni Penu, the earth God. Dharni Penu (Earth God) is considered more powerful than the Soru Penu(Hill God) for the former is the lord of the Panga (meaning base of the hill) on which the latter stands. But Dharni Penu is considered present only if three stones are found in a row (Dharni vali) on the hill. Moreover, Soru Penu is known by the names of the hills which are added as prefixes. Thus the name of different Soru Penu will differ from hill to hill. The Soru Penu can either be friendly or evil. When the Soru Penu becomes friendly it safeguards the crop of the tribe from wild animals. But its curse can also ruin the tribe, when it becomes evil. The Kondhs distinguish the nature of the hill according to their dreams. When someone dreams

of an old man wearing a very short napkin around his waist (Kutaka) the Kondh believe it to be God. But when a very old man with white hairs. (*Bhujanga*) comes in a dream. it indicates the presence of an evil spirit which may harm the tribe. *Panga Penu*, the God of the base of the hill, is seen in a dream as a man tying a black saree around his head.

DIFFERENT TYPES OF HILL GODS

(A) TALABEGA ENU

(THE GOD WORSHIPPED FOR THE UPGRADATION OF HUMAN BEINGS)

This is a small hill. The literary meaning of this hill is "undressed hair". It is also worshipped by the Kuttia Kondhs for the welfare of human beings, cattle, crops etc.. When a careless looking, nude man with uncombed hair comes in the dream of a Kondh ,demands worship, he claims that Talabega Penu had appeared in his dream.

(B) SUNASELLA & RUPASELLA PENU

Judimuju is a hill near Guma. The tribes worship this temple when they get the instruction from the God through a dream. In the dream the Penu approach the *Kutaka* carrying bow and arrows in the hand. Worshipping of this God is associated with *Suna sella and Rupa sella Penu*. These are two stones of gold and silver respectively found near the Sapangada hill. Sunasella is considered to be a gold hill. The symbol appearing in the dream involves a woman sitting on a huge stone carrying weapons in her hands.

*Satavali is a large stone near Pedem. This is worshipped as the caretaker of the people who take shelter under him. Here the God comes as a man carrying an umbrella (Sata) in his hand. There is also a saying that when people came out of the Sapangada hills they took shelter on this stone for the first time. And from that time onwards, the large stone is worshipped as the God.

(C) MURLIVALI PENU

Murlivali is also a small hill near Kdukingi, which looks like a pile of small stones. Its Penu comes in the dream as a man carrying an axe in his hand.

(D) BICHABARI PENU

Bichabari literary means distribution of crop seeds (Bicha-seeds). It is also another small hill near Sapangada. It is believed that when the people came out of

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The hill has a small cave which is considered to be a temple.

Sapangada the Sapangada Penu requested the Bichabari Penu to distribute the crop seeds evenly among the people. The God sat on the Sunasella and seeds were placed on the Bichabari hill for distribution. In the dream the Bichabari Penu is seen as a woman carrying all types of seeds in a vessel.

(E) BANGERI PENU

Bangeri is a merging of two hills near Sunasella. The term Bangeri is associated with two prefixes. Piju and Bidi. Literally *Piju Bangeri* means the world of rain and *Bidi Bangeri* means the world of breeze. Both of them are linked with each other by "*Ana*". Penus of these two hills are perceived as the Gods of rain and air respectively. They are considered to be so powerful that they are normally invoked in all rituals that are performed in the tribe. In the dream the Penu come as a woman carrying 'Manang' in the hand.

(F) GUNANGI PENU

Gunangi is yet another small hill, whose Penu comes in the dream as a man having a knot of hair at the back of his head like a woman.

(G) KITANGI PENU

Deradueri (large door) is another hill which is situated near the Hatisalla hill near Golam Panga. As a rule, there is large cave found in this hill. In view of this Deradueri means large door. Kitangi is a small hill near Deradueri, whose Penu comes in the dream as a man with the knife enclosed in his hair knot (Kila).

(H) DHUMAMASKA & NISIPIDI

Dhumamaska and Nisipidi are two small hills which lie side by side. The Penu of the hills comes in the dream as a man carrying a flute in entwined hands.

(I) RAJI DANDRA PENU

Raji dandra is a large hill. The literal meaning of the word is a grand road used by the king. Sometimes the hill is denoted as *Penudandra*. There is a large space on this hill for the God to sit for a meeting. This hill has a sharp edged top. The Penu comes in the dream as a woman wearing a *Kagda* i.e; a ring of silver or aluminium worn around the neck.

(J) PADEKANDA PENU

Padekanda is a small hill near Ambadola. *Pade* means a small pig and *Kanda* means a sword. There is a story behind this name of the hill. Once, while hunting. the men tried to kill a pig with a sword by piercing the sword into its stomach. But immediately before it was sliced the pig turned into a stone with the

sword inside its stomach. The pig is found in this hill in a stone's shape. The Penu of this comes in the dream as a man holding a sword with vermillion marks on the top of the sword.

(K) SANDILI PENU

Sandili is a small hill with three stairs. It is near Amabadola. The three stairs of the hill look like three persons sitting one after another. The story associated with it is that three sisters, who were sitting to druther lice from each other's head turned into stones due to a a curse from the hill Penu. These three sisters come in the dream in the same manner as they were when they were turned into stones.

(L) DARAMARU, TUNDABATA & PUSARANI PENU

Daramaru, Tundabata and Pusarani are three hills near Bika Panga. Daramaru Penu comes in the dream as a man carrying an open lamp kept on a stand. Tundabata literally means a closed road. Tunda-Close, Bata-Road. Its Penu comes in the dream as a man having a Kapoli (hair knot) on his head. *Pusarani Penu* comes in the dream as a red eyed woman.

(M) WIDIOKADI PENU

Widi Okadi is a part of Dalangbata hill. Literally it means expiration of air. Widi-air; Okadi-expiration. It is situated near the village Garanga. The Penu of this hill comes in the dream in the shape of a strong wind.

(N) BADE GATI PENU & MAUNLI PENU

Bade Gati is a small hill near the same village. Once upon a time this whole place was covered with bade (banyan) trees. *Maunli Penu*, another God stays in the banyan tree. In the dream a lady carrying a banyan tree in her hand symbolizes the *Bade Gati Penu*.

(O) TAMBADADI & LAKUTI PENU

Tambadadi and Lakuti are two hills near kranjkana, which are religiously important. Tamabadi Penu is seen in the dream as a man carrying a *Nelingi* (Tamarind) tree in his hands, and the Lakuti Penu is seen in the dream as a woman carrying a stone of Trident shape in her hands.

(P) SONADUERI, PUDRUNG & DONADE PENU

Sonadueri literally meaning the golden door is near *Kotadi* of Kalahandi district. The Penu of this comes as a hen in the dream. But the tribe considers the Penu to be a cock. *Pudrung*, near Sonadueri, represents its Penu as a pigeon in the dream. *Donade* in the same region is represented as a cat in the dream.

(Q) DIGERISORU PENU

Digeri Soru Penu, a hill near the village near Palki, is represented in the form of a dog in the dream. Dog is known as "*Nakudi*" in the tribal language.

(R) KAMEI PENU

Kamei, a small hill near Batipada, literally means buffalo horn. A stone in the shape of a buffalo horn is found there. The Penu of this hill is seen in the dream as a man blowing a buffalo horn.

(S) KANDA BADA & BAKABADA PENU

Kandabada-Bakabada, a large hill near Mauna giri, Kalahandi, literally mean sharp fence and curved fence respectively. The hill is full of bamboos. The myth says that when the bamboo was driven away by the female God Nerandali, then this Penu gave shelter to this bamboo. The forest is dense with bamboo till now. The Penu is seen as a man carrying a sword in his hand. Bamboo is a special item in all kind of spiritual rites among the tribe. And so Kandabada, being the Penu of the place where the bamboo grows, is highly respected.

(T) SENDUROTI PENU

Senduroti is a small hill near Dumbuli mountain, whose Penu is seen as a man painting three lines of red, black and white, on his forehead. People of Sirki worship it as village God. Literally it means 'partition of the paddy field'. It is believed among the tribe that, the Gods were cultivating paddy there. The Penu is seen in the form of a bird.

(U) ADAGADI PENU

Adagadi, a small hill, is situated near Batipada. The literal meaning of the term is Waterfall. Ada = water; Gadi=fall. The Penu being a female folk is seen in the dream in the shape of a snake called *Masi*.

(V) SIKADI BANDHA PENU

Sikadi bandha, a hill near Kumudi, named so because of an iron chain. The iron chain is still found there. It is believed that the Penus are always available there. The belief holds strong because persons hardly have a sound sleep there. The Penus come as '*Mapa mnika*'(?).

(W) GADABALI PENU

Gada Bali is a small hill near Kumudi. The name has originated from a horse shaped large stone. Gada=horse;Vali=stone. The story goes that the Penu of this

hill while riding a horse turned in to a stone. The Penu comes in the dream in the shape of a man riding the horse.

(X) JINDANGI PENU

Jindangi is a large hill situated near Kumudi. It literally means 'a passage/ canal for water'. The story associated with it is that the Gods had cut open a large stone (a part of the hill) to open the canal with the help of four brothers named as Bisa, Kudunga, Sanger and Monger. Thus water through this canal drifted into the 'Tel' river. Confirming this, an axe mark on a stone still speaks of the story. Jindan is derived from the *Jinde Anga* meaning folded hands which refers to the shape of the Jindan. The Penu comes in the dream as a woman standing with folded hands.

(Y) SASADANGA PENU

Sasadanga hill is near Rangaparu. The Penu of this hill comes in the dream as a lighter colored man. Murjikeri hill in the same region comes to the tribe in bear form in his dream. *Katamunda* is a straight standing hill at *Samboda*. Its Penu comes in the shape of a Kutra in the dream.

(Z) SECHA KURIARU PENU

Sechakuriaru hill is situated next to the Madalakura village. The village people worship this hill as the village God. Its Penu comes in the shape of a deer in the dream.

(ZA) RUPAPATA PENU

Rupapata hill is regarded as Burlubaru Donger is found adjacent to Siramdeu hill. The Penu is worshipped as the village God of Burlubaru. Rupapata is also regarded as the nephew of Siramdeu. Its Penu comes in the dream as a man carrying a brass plate in the hand.

(ZB) ACHANJALA AND BAMANADEU PENU

Achanjala hill and Bamanadeu hill are the two hills at the other end of the Burlubaru village. These two hills are regarded as brothers of Siramdeu. The Achanjala Penu comes in the shape of a *Lambesi* (Snake like large fish) in the dream. And Bamandeu Penu comes in the dream as a man having a very long '*Wetinga*'(Bunch of hanging hair).

THE GREAT HILLS OF THE KUTTIA KONDHS & THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL & MYTHOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE

Many hills are named in the name of different animals and plants. Those animals and plants were named in this way because of the availability of such flora

and fauna in the region. However, a detailed list of it can be derived from the hill forest whose names were described earlier. The four great hills viz; Sapangada, Dumbuli, Sriramdeu and Hati Salla are divided into two groups. The former two with regard to their mythological importance attributed to them and the latter with regard to their caves.

(A) DERA SALLA AND SIRAMDEU

This is a large hill adjacent to Bamanadeu hill west of Burlubaru village. This hill is also known as *Dera Salla*. Literally *Dera Salla* means 'big shed'. There are many large caves in this hill. The forest near these mountains were not destroyed due to a strong belief. The mountains in this area are covered with trees of *Ficus* species.

The majority of them being, *Ficus benghalensis*, (Bademara), *Ficus relegiosa* (Sorupipadi) and *Ficus scandens* (Pipadi). The banyan tree (Bademara) is always regarded as the abode of the different Penus like *Maunli Penu, Kama Penu, Mardi Penu, Adabai Penu, Satari Penu.*

The Kondhs strongly believe that if a Ficus species is injured even slightly then a strong epidemic like small-pox or chicken-pox will follow. For the Goddess staying there will get annoyed and as a result all type of misfortune would follow the entire tribe to death. Thus the entire forest is not only spared but also strictly prohibited. *Maunli Penu, Adabai Penu* are known as demonic Goddesses who are notorious for troubling (scratches) people's stomachs and causing different type of horrendous diseases.

The village Burlubaru is circumscribed by hills. Among the hills, Gunjigata lies to the East, Bangeri to the South, Bamanadeu to the West and Ladiguru to the North. The Siramdeu hill stands adjacent to Bamanadeu and is regarded as head-man (Majhi) of the Gods (SoruPenu) because he is the decission- maker among them. He is assisted by *Bamanadeu Penu* in meetings. *Senoingi Penu* orders *Esubali Penu* to carry water for Siramdeu and *Eju Penu* cooks for him. Siramdeu has also a family. *Patingi Soru* is his wife and the name of his son is MundeGati Penu. *MundeGati Penu* comes in the dream carrying *Kejenga* (?) leaves. *Seningi Penu* has got the name from a 'serii' (mortar made out of wood. The water comes from a hole in the stone of the hill. *Seningi Penu* comes in the dream as a woman pestling corn as a Kondh woman does. Sambar and Bisons are regarded as the cattle of Siramdeu Penu. And He has a cow-herd man named as *Batala* in Kutha Khond's language.

Except the Bangura caste (Gachi), who offered the first homage to the Penu, no one is allowed to go there. This Puja or method of worship is known as *Bangura Dakina* in the Kondh's language.The Puja (homage) or method of

worship is offered to the God once in fifteen to twenty years. It is believed that the Jani,the Kondh's priest, who presides over the Puja,dies shortly after the performance. This prevailing fear exists in the entire tribe. Usually a Jani of Bangura caste does not go there unless his son or a man from the same caste is found to be a substitute as a successor. As an evidence to such a belief is the case of *Balujani* of Burlubaru, who died immediately, after finishing the Puja of Siramdeu Penu.

The Puja is offered in a calm and serene atmosphere. The Jani who performs the Puja wears garments made of Kejanga(?) leaves. The same dress is also worn at *Kdu-pata Puja*, which is performed at an interval of two to three years. *Kdu-pata* is a large stone in which a small hole is to be found. This is regarded as the store house of nectar. No one dares to touch it. Before leaving for Siramdeu, the Jani has to throw some rice over the head of an animal kept for sacrifice. This is considered a rite of reverence. The animal may be a pig or a buffalo or a goat. Then the animal is released and taken to the spot of sacrifice on the hill. Then the people of the Bangura clan go to the 'Puja spot'. This Puja spot is a cave, which resembles a house, situated near a sacred banyan tree. Rice, fried paddy, turmeric etc. are items usually required for the Puja.

Siramdeu hill is well known as *Dera Salla*. There is a large cave with five compartments. The compartments are used by different animals. Among these the Porcupine (Saju) is considered as the most important animal. For Porcupines are considered as the pets of Siramdeu for which the Salla is known as Saju Salla. In the same cave Tiger (Kdani), bear (Ali), snakes (Srachu or Masi) stay together. The Indian Pangolin (Jerandi) and Pink-quilled Porcupine (Sonisaju) jointly scoop and trim the interior portion of the Salla.

Large snakes are used as seats by Siramdeu. The tortoise (Sambi) acts as the money-keeper and the Pythons (Boda) catches fish from nearby streams for Siramdeu. The Tiger as the vehicle, the bear is the luggage carrier and Jackal as body-guard follows Siramdeu, who can transmute Porcupines into pigeons for sacrifice when-ever required. In many ways Siramdeu is revered as far as the 'Salla' is concerned. Much of the honey reservoirs are found in the stone crevices.

Ficus species grow well on stony surfaces. For, Kuttia Kondhs believe .that the presence of the Penu inside the trees allow them to grow in such a condition.

The Ficus is considered a very sacred species. Ficus species dominate this area. Breaking of even a small brush stick from this tree is strictly prohibited,during the religious activities in Siramdeu hill. On the day of worshipping the Siramdeu Penu all the people in the village belonging to Bangura community take lunch on Siramdeu hill. It is also believed that the amount of food cooked there never falls short.

(B) HATISALLA AND GADASALLA

The Hati Salla is more well known to local people as Katak Donger. On the map of Orissa it is known as Rukuni Katak. A large mountain having a vast plateau at a great height centers all the religious activities and ceremonies attributed to the hill. Rukuni Katak is surrounded by the villages named *Kinadi, GulamPanga, Pudrungi and MuskaSoru*. The vegetation in the foot hills consist of thickly composed of wild banana plants and a greater number of climbers and creepers that make it more compact and certain timber species like *Sal, Asan, Daman, Tangan* (Dengenmara), Madei (Manemara), Chara (Srekamara) are found.

The borders of the (undivided) Koraput district is nearby the hill and people from that area also come to feed on their cattle during summer and winter. The plateau is full of grass and thus becomes a good fodder source for the cattle.

Hati Salla is well known among the Kondhs because of the large caves in it. Hati=Elephant; Salla=Cave. The caves are,however, not big enough to accomodate elephants. It is called so because a great number of elephants are to be found roaming in the same place. This may be possible due to the dense Banana vegetation which attracts the elephants. On the other side of it there are some other caves known as *Gada Salla*(Horse Caves). Gada=Horse; Salla=caves.

The large plateau is also known as '*Bata*', which means 'Paddy field' in the Kondh's language. The Kondhs believe this to be the paddy field of the Penu, which hasbeen abandoned. The perennial source of water on the plateau helps confirming this belief even more. Further, a huge stone called '*Hati vati*', which lies in the mid-region (Soru tude) of the plateau, is considered as the pole where the Penu was then tying his elephant.

A 'cot' shaped stone, believed to be the bed of the Penu, was there in the plateau. In the course of time the stone must have been crushed, but the Kondhs believe it to be still present at Nisipadi hill situated some distance away from the HatiSalla hill. Nearby Kondhs also claim to hear the sound of a flute (which they believe to be played by the Penu)in summer .

Three huge stones on the top of the mountain, lying nearby the water source, is believed to be the bungalow of the Penu. People, belonging to both tribal groups as well as the non-tribals refrain from visiting the place, for the fear of death. It is said that some years ago, a saint sitting there in meditation, died in a very peculiar manner. No one dares to talk of the death as they strongly believe that this will bring them ill-luck. While the non-tribal people living in the area think the death was caused by an elephant, the tribal people strongly attribute the reason to be the wrath of the Penu who might have been angry with the saint for using His bungalow. The broken cottage of the saint , however, remain untouched till today.

No bypassser is harmed by the wild animals,although many types of wild animals like tiger, bear, sambar, gayal, porcupines, wildboar and elephants inhabit the place. And when someone is destined to die for any violation, he is normally brought by the hill Penu and is killed by elephants. Elephants are considered as the vehicle of the Penu and so they are entrusted with the work of punishing the wrong-doers.

A person going to collect medicinal herbs never fails if he offers prayers to the Penu. Some life saving herbs like *Raga Mara* and *Bichu Mara* (Botanical names are not available), however, can only be available to persons who have been specialy ordered by the Soru Penu in a dream. Both the species are available in the hill but immediately vanishes if some unauthorised person try to collect them, the Kondhs attest.

(C) DIMBULI SORU

Situated at the Southern end of the Sapangada hill is a huge mountain known as Dimbuli Soru. It is known as the largest mountain in the territory of Sapangada Penu which has a plateau covering an area of some square miles. The hill is more or less at the border of Kalahandi district. The immediate Kuttia Kondh settlement at the foothill of Dimbuli is known as Sirki village. The hill is attributed with immense social and cultural importance due to a number of factors. It is also believed that the Kuttia Kondh took shelter in this hill after the first generation of people were born at Sapangada. The hill is an excellent source of food for the tribals. Among the food varities tubers access the highest propagation followed by different crops. But people generally did not collect food from this hill thinking it to be the property of the Penu. They strongly believed that they would be severely punished if they would collect the foods from the hill. But now such a belief does lightly prevail.

There is a reason for the availability of tubers in abundance on the hill. The Kondhs don't collect the tubers just like that. Some rituals take place in which the Kondhs take permission from the Penu. Further, a procedure is followed while collecting the tuber from the forest. In this procedure, the collector has to roll down to the tuber from a distance. He then takes the permission from the Penu in his tribal way and then digs the tuber out Millet (Minor & Major), and paddy are not collected in this manner. Because these crops need to be processed to be edible. So for a hungry man in the jungle Millet and paddy can not be the immediate food items. So a hungry man looks for roots and tubes in the forest. Millets and paddy are not therefore violated as collection of such crops from Dimbuli hill for domestic consuption is always a taboo.

The Dimbuli hill is regarded as the king of the Soru Penus. This is because

of the great height of the hill. Moreover, this is the highest hill in the whole region. There is a a patch of land near the hill which is known as 'Kulibandha' in Kondhs' terminology. The hill is considered as the God and the patch of land is considered as the priest. There is a big plateau on the hill. Kondhs believe that this plateau was created when the Dimbuli Penu was defeated in a war from the Sapangada Penu. The war was broke out due to a small misunderstanding between the two Penus. As the story goes once Sapangada Penu was poaching in the Dimbuli Penu territory without the latter's permission. The enraged Dimbuli Penu declared war against the Sapangada Penu without giving any chance for consideration. Initially during that war the Dimbuli Penu was in an advantageous position. But in the end the Sapangada Penu won the war by cutting down the head of the Dimbuli Penu. This plateau is depicted as the cutting down the head of the Dimbuli penu.

Dimbuli was once governed by a king named Nala raja. He was considered to be the king of Penus. The king left two of his sons named 'Kulisa' and 'Maila' who are believed to be staying in the hill till now. And they are considered to be the owner of all the crops and tubers on the hill.

It is also believed that a tiger who was used as the vehicle of the Penu still lives there. But as a matter of fact, he never harms any body unless attacked, in which case he deyours the attacker easily.

There is a place in the region known as *Dimbuli Mungeli* which looks like a nose. This is the place where all worship is generally performed. There is a waterfall on the top of the hill. This water flow touches the *Dimbuli Mungeli*. Water from this place is used for the worship. There is a place in the Dimbuli Mungeli where sweet potatoes are planted. This place is regarded as the chest of the Dimbuli. Paddy, Millet, which are of wild variety are grown at the base of the Dimbuli Muaneuli. The quality of the paddy grown there is high. Dhuan bada (Tobacco leaves) are grown plentifully. Crop Fields with an embankments of one foot are considered to be the 'once' cultivating fields of the God who used to cultivate paddy there.

This hill has a religious importance through their primordial song, 'Kuigaani'. It is mentioned there that the first people on earth were born inside the Dimbuli hill. But they could not find a way to get out and so roamed around many hills under the earth. Then they finally reached Sapangada and came out to the earth.

That part of the Kui Gaani reads

Tera Dimbuli, tera atadi, *imba linga janani pdiye.*	*Thirteen dimbuli thirteen atadi* *Here (we) took birth*

baye Gena saa baye gena naye	*Unnecessarily took birth*
ichek mulu laani	*This much area (we have) covered*
Baye linganiteye baye Jananiteye	*Unnecessarily gave birth*
Inisatisi adine inisatisi ranjine.	*How it will be ok, how it will fit.*

Which means the birth of the Kuttia Kondhs who did not find a place to come out and thought their birth to be a fruitless one.

The hill is worshipped once in a year. There is no particular time for this performance of worship. But as a rule the Penu is invoked on Monday and worshipped on Sunday. The Penu comes in the dream to the Kutaka and ask him for worship and sacrifice. The worship can be offered under a large tree at a nearby village. A large stone which is kept under the tree is considered as the hill. And then a sacrifice of either a goat or pig or hen is made.

On the event of the 'Meriah' festival (Biakatina) the villagers, who celebrate the festival, worship the Dimbuli Soru first to satisfy the Penu. Sacrifice is a compulsory affair. The Puja is performed in a nearby village facing the Dimbuli hill. But the Puja is offered somewhere near the hill. The puja is performed at the foot hill and the priest presides, sits facing the hill. Sacrificing is done sometimes on the puja spot or sometimes at certain places on the hill. In ancient times human sacrifice was being given on the hills. At present buffaloes are being sacrificed in place of human beings. Since it is hard to take the buffaloes high up to the hill most of the times sacrifice is being given right on the puja spot. The villagers of Sirki, worship the hill as the village God who stands for the protection and welfare of the people in the village. Dharni stones are normally found near the ground of worship. Puja is also offered to them. Invocation of Dimbuli Penu is common on all occasions of worships of the Kuttia villages.

Huge Sallas are found there in the hill along with smaller ones. Some Sallas are even big enough to accomodate tigers, bears, elephants and large snakes. These animals also stay there quite often. Kondhs had a belief that if some attempts we made to kill animals their bodies will never be found.

(D) SAPANGADA

Sapangada centers in the myth of the Kuttia Kondh tribe and folklore. It is also known as *Sati Kambani and Pditi Kambani.* Sapangada is the synthesis of two terms. *Sapan*=Birth; *Gada*=hole. Sati Kambani represents a vegetation in the area. This is believed to have created thereafter the birth of people in the same place. *Sati Kambani* means the place where the birth of the first tree species took place. The dominant vegetation is Sal, following it are Asan and *Pterocarpus marsupium.* There exists a canopy like structure. The ground floor of the canopy is dominated by *Phoenix acaulis.* The middle floor being dominated by *Xylia*

xylocarpa (Dengen mara) and climbers like *Bauhinia vahlii* to a very much lesser extent.

The Sapangada padar is some distance away to the East of the village Saperi and just before the village Kranja. It is circumscribed by a number of hills named *Sunasella, Bichabari, Pitrimara, Judimuju* in the East. The immediate four hills surrounding Sapangada are *BariSoru* in the East, *Achabandha* in the South, *Kranja* in the West and *Masangdia* in the North. A river,whose water flows from *Gunjianu-Mahananu*, streams at the one end of the padar.

The Kuttia Kondh's myth states that they have come out of the earth from Sapangada. Nerandali, the supreme lady, is regarded as to have given birth to the Kuttias. This is the commonly accepted myth. Some other opine that, people actually took birth from Dimbuli hole. But as they could not find any opening to come out to the earth, they finally reached at Sapangada where the porcupine helped Nerandali in making a channel for the people to come out. This is, however, a missing link in the oral description of the myth by the youth mass. There is a place regarded as the hole from which people took birth. It is now labelled and no one would say that there was a hole some years ago. And the entire padar is named according to that hole named Sapangada. Again the whole padar may be divided into two parts. One is Sapangada surrounded by Sati Kambani. The other is identified by a Mardi mara (*Terminalia tomentosa*) standing in the border of the hole. A *Bauhinia vahlii* plant with a white-ant house stands at one end of the border of the hole. The myth associated with this plant species states that, immediately after the people came out of the hole, a cow followed them. The present Mardi mara was then just a wooden pole. People pulled the cow out by the help of Paerinana i.e; rope of the *Bauhinia vahlii*. After the cow came out the pole (*Mardi munda*), to which the cow was tied, turned into a living tree. So the *Mardimara* and *Paeritula* represents the birth of the cow as the last animal.

After coming out of the hole,the cow attempted to kill all the people and eat them up. So Udurengad who is regarded as a mythical hero of the Kuttia Kondhs, who took birth with others from Sapangada broke down all its teeth. From the blood of the animal grew the white ant house.

TO DESCRIBE THE EVENT IN THE KUI

Kanasai[1] Burasai tiee	I will eat all the Sahib people.
Udurai[2] tiee Penarai tiee	I will eat Udurai (Syn = Udurengad) and Panarai (Penerangad)

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1 *Kanasai and Burasai are understood as sahib people*

2 *Udurai and Penarai refers to the same hero*

Timalandu Timalakana tiee — I will eat all from Timaka clan.
Palu Snichi Data snichi Sapinjane
Amigadi Musrangadi paru Sarasema
Sarapusa
Palude Datade ketnenje(Udurengad) — Broke down all its molar and camine teeth.

Which means that the cow tried to eat the Udurengad, Penarengad, Kanasai Burasai and the Timakas for which its teeth were cut down.

Timakas are a lineage in the Kuttia Kondh tribe. According to the present priest of Sapangada, named BaduPujari, son of Preeti Pujari of village Kranja, the whole mass of the people who came out from the Sapangada were divided in two main categories. They were *Rajianga and Kuenga*. And these two broad divisions descended from two Kondh brothers named *Mininguera* and *Dambinguera* who were born from *Raniadu*. *Mininguera* was elder to *Dambinguera*. Their caste then was Kondh. But once both the brothers challenged each other to encounter who was more powerful. An elephant was kept in the middle of a fence of seven bamboo pieces. *Dambinguera* crossed the fence and the elephant by one jump. *Mininguera* failed to do so. Thus, *Dambinguera* was declared powerful and became the king. He made his family known as Rajianga in which all other people except Kuttia Kondh are included. Mininguera's family got the name Kuenga in which all the Kuttia Kondhs were included.

The Kuenga were then divided into many lineages. Many stories are associated with Timaka and Nandruka. The Nandruka came out first from Sapangada. They had giant like bodies with very long ears and large eyes.

Nerandali felt upset by meeting the Nandruka. Such huge people were beyond her desire and imagination. So out of anger she cursed the Nandurkas that she would never provide anything for them and they would survive by eating their own body parts. Nerandali maintained that she cannot be satisfied with the offerings from Nandruka. So she drove the Nandrukas away from the Sapangada.

The next to be born were the Timakas. But Nerandali did not feel like giving birth to the Timakas in the same manner as she had done for the Nandrukas. So the Timakas went out in search of a place to come out and finally reached at Knehelpanga and Damanpanga where they were born from bamboo shoots (Terka). Nerandali felt like accepting offer from theTimakas. So theTimakas were valued as priests who worshipped at Sapangada so that the offerings could satisfy Nerandali. So Sapangada at present times is being worshipped by the Timakas at a interval of five to fifteen years. And group worship by the Timakas are usually organised at a seven years interval. The Timakas were first given crop seeds by Nerandali. The Timakas were later on allowed to distribute seeds and fields among

kuttia people. The first distribution of seeds was done at Sunasella- a hill at the Eastern boundary of Sapangada near the village Pedem.

The paddy crops were given to the Rajianga people to cultivate and the other crops in mixed varieties like *Kueri, Mande, Pokanga, Kobanga, Kating, Kredanga,* etc. were given to the Kuenga people. Further, to solve the distribution of the land, the Rajianga were given the first priority and so were allowed to cultivate plain land as paddy can hardly be cultivated on hill slopes. The Kuenga were allowed to cultivate in the Soru Nede region which are known as Nella in recent times. Further, the hills and slopes were distributed among the heads of different lineages. *Mininguera* was presiding over to supervise the distribution process. The people of *Damanaka* distributed the lands to the. People now believe that the hills, where *Dharnivali* is now found, was definitely inhabited and cultivated by their fore-fathers.

The *Bicha Supinere* festival which is celebrated in the forest gives importance to *Suna sella* name of a hill. The festival is organised often after field preparations are finished. The seeds are worshipped there with a sacrifice. This is done to beg excuse from the God for cutting down the forest to plant seeds. He may destroy the seeds, out of anger, by excessive rain (Duludakina).

The next place of importance in Sapangada is the *Mila Mitpen vali* where there was a pile of stones in ancient days. Some statues were also found there recently. As the Pujari (Priest) says, during the period of R.C. Pattnaik, the collector.then such statues were taken to and kept at Puri. Presently two stones represent the *Mila Mitpen Vali*, one larger stone being regarded as the Mother, in whose cradle is the smaller stone which is regarded as the Daughter. In ancient days taking a bath in that place-especially for the cluldren-was considered sacred. Mothers used to take their children to bathe there with turmeric paste and water. Then they used to worship the Sapangada Penu . The Sapangada Pujari (priest) presided over the invocation. *Mila Mitpen Vali* means 'The Birthstone of Children. Adjacent to *Mila Mitpen Vali* is a narrow perennial stream flowing between two stone walls. The walls were believed to be made by the Penu. The stream is known as *Kadakambeli Eju*. Using water from *Kadakambeli Eju* was contrived a taboo in the ancient days as this water was only meant for the bathing of the Penu. But now there is no such taboo. So, the people bathe there nowadays. The water is good and cool.

Three Dharni stones are found-within a radius of two meters-at the center of *Sati Kambani*. The Dharnivali stone which faces the east is the most important one. A stone is established for the *Pujari* seat. Just after the *Dharnivali* there are two posts which are used as sacrifice poles. In ancient days human sacrifice was being executed at those posts. The dead bodies of sacrificed human bodies were

buried under a Sal tree, which is at an angle of about 60 degrees to the left. There are a number of stones at the base of the tree till today. Dharni stones facing South and West are also worshipped along with the Dharni stones to the East.

The terms Jani and Majhi are usually suffixed to the names of the Priests of Kuttia Kondh. And Pujari is suffixed with the Sapangada priests' name. Rungu Majhi, according to Budu Pujari, was the first priest who initiated human sacrifice there. Offerings are usually given in Sapangada but the Penu stays in the nearby large hill known as the *Masangdia* hill.

A school was being built on the other side of Sapangada. But the school could not be completed. People believe that the Penu disagreed for the school to be built in His area. So, to keep the area undisturbed the Penu ruined the school building. It was also believed that the Penu showed its reluctancy of building the school by instructing a tiger to kill a labour. To add to this tragic event the child of another labourer was eaten up by a python. Again bricks in the building took no setting and fell down. Finally the school, building could not be finished. And the Kondhs attributed this as the anger of the Penu.

Every village settlement also worships to *Sapangada Vali*. Old settlements have established *Sapangada Vali* near their villages. For the new settlements stones from Sapangada are carried and established. The worship is offered to Sapangada Penu in the new settlements as it is not always possible to go and offer worship at the Sapangada.

ASSOCIATED GODS WITH SORU PENU

The Soru Penus are worshipped along with other Penus. Different festivals are meant for different Gods and Soru Penus are invoked on each occasions. The sole lord of the landscape is Dharni Penu and the lord of hill is Soru Penu. Soru Penu is subordinate to Dharni Penu. Likewise, *Kidi Penu, Gangi Penu, Kana Penu, Mardi Penu, Maunli Penu,* etc. stay in the forest. So formal account of such Penus are also followed in the worship.

DHARNI PENU

The Penu is usually worshipped twice a year on the occasion of two great festivals-*Puni kalu* and *Takakalu*. These two are celebrated in the months of *Pausha* (January) and *Asadha* (June July), respectively. The kalu has several meanings: festival, legs and a fermented rice liquor prepared from *Panicum* species(Kueri). Puni means, full-moon or new-moon night. So Dharni Puja in *Puni kalu* means Puja offered to the earth on the eve of New Year when new crops are to be eaten. In Takakalu Dharni Puja is offered to the earth of the hills for a good harvest.

The Dharni Penu is established in the village by the people with three stones collectively known as *Dharni vali*. Dharni Penu stays in the villages as well as in the hills- where *Dharni vali* is found. A tale associated with Dharni Penu is that it was the first to be born. At that time nobody was there to offer her worships. So she gave birth to human beings to get offering and sacrifice in worships. In worships offered to Dharni Penu a chant is followed by the names of Soru Penu.

Part of the chant goes

Sateini Wango Penu Nella Penu	Is it true that Wango penu,[1] Nella penu
Sateini Mala Penu deepa Penu	Is it true that Mala penu,[2] Deepa penu.[3]
Sateini sikadi Penu kada Penu	Is it Sikadi penu, Kada penu[4]
Sate Dharni atisi	Is it Dharni penu arrived !
Nai paragunda Tinum	Please have our rice flour (paragunda)

Which means if you are really the lord of the *Wango* and *Nella, Mala, deepa sikidi* and *kada* you will come to eat rice flur which we are offering to you.

So Dharni Penu is the lord of *Wango (*meaning earth) and *Nella* (meaning swiddens). Further, she is the lord of *Mala* and *Deepa*. *Mala* means *Malang* i.e; iron implements which are used to sacrifice human beings (Maane) and Deepa represents an iron dip used as lamp.

Siakdi and Kada means the iron chain and rings respectively to be used as to tie the human beings (*Maane)*.

Besides the *Puni kalu* and *Taka kalu*, the Dharni Puja is celebrated in the Meriah festival (*Biakatina)* which is celebrated is every four to five years l. The Penu comes in the dream as carrying a sharp, flattened knife (*Sechu*) which is used in *Dukelidakina* and *Biakatina*. When the Penu feels dissatisfied due to hunger it causes bodily man infestations like small pox, chicken pox and measels. The associated Penu with Dharni Penu is *Soru Penu* and *Keri Penu* and *Sandi Penu* (Sandi=boundary) of the hills, *Kuti Penu, Gangi Penu, Kidi Penu* are water Goddessses and *Deu Penu* is the village Goddess.

The whole worship (Puja) comprises of seven steps. In the first step- '*Jani muni gata relmu*'-the Jani draws lines on the earth near Dharnivali with rice and turmeric powder. The second step is '*Pranga kitkanu*' i.e; three pairs of rice on

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1 *Wango penu (Sn = Nella penu) : Earth God*

2 *Mala Iron chain with the help of which in ancient days the human for sacrifice was being tied. Mala penu is the authority of the iron chain.*

3 *Deepa Lamp made of brass used at the puja spot*

4 *Sikdi and kada : Iron chain and rings as used to arrest the sacrificing animal*

the earth is kept, the third step is '*Penuarpinja*' (means invocation of Gods and Goddesses). The fourth step is '*Penuwate*' means the Penu reaches the Puja spot followed by '*Kaju dakina*' meaning the sacrifice of fowl. The sixth step is *Prasad-tinje guananga* means requesting the Penu to accept the 'Prasad' and distribution of 'Prasad' (fruits and other things offered to the God and Goddesses during the invocation) and the seventh and last step is followed by 'Penu ningite' when the Penu is given the farewell.

Usually two Janis (priests) preside over the Puja. People affected by fever or any other sickness are not allowed to the Puja spot.

KAMA PENU & MARDI PENU

Kama Penu and Mardi Penu regarded to be sisters were born by *Simarani Nella*. Kama Penu may be compared with Devi Durga (an Indian Goddess -when invoked- helps human beings at the time of a catastrophe). Kama Penu is worshipped at the time of *Dassera lanju i.e; Dassera festival* (normally celebrated in September-October throughout India). Kama Penu and Mardi Penu are worshipped in the villages in Dassera, Badbinere and in Sravana Puni respectively. Kama Penu and Mardi Penu are also called *Sima Rani* and *Maa Rani* respectively. They are believed to dwell in the Banyan tree, which is abundant there. Both the Penu along with *Jena Penu, Maunli Penu* stay in the Banyan tree in the forest.

TO WORSHIP MARDI PENU THE JANI (PRIEST) CHANTS

Inu weda Mardi, Lanju Mardi	You are the Sun deity, the Moondeity.
Inu Dina Mardi, Kasa Mardi	You are the Lord of the country, the state.
Anu icheka Paragunda, sienja	I am offering you this much of rice flour.
Icheka nunigunda Sienja*	Offering you this much of nunigunda.
Icheka Rakatira, Sienja	Offering you this much of blood.
Icheka juhar pariate	This much of Salutes (regards) to you.

Which means You are the lord of the Sun & Moon, You are the lord of our country. I am offering only this much of the rice powder & coloured powder, this much of blood and so much of salutations. Then the Puja chants for the Soru Penus are followed.

THE STEPS IN PUJA (WORSHIP)

1. *Kutaka kaku bamua* (Kutaka presides).
2. *Dakibamu* (Puja starts)
3. Penuarmu (Invoking to God)
4. *Kaju katna* (Fowl sacrifice)
5. *Penusachi* (Penu leaves)

Nunigunds Mixture of rice flour and turmeric powder that is put seats.

KIDI PENU & GANGI PENU

Kidi Penu and Gangi Penu are worshipped in crop land at the foot hills. Those Penus protect the crops from wild beast particularly from the destruction caused by elephants. The worship is offered near the foot-hill-forest where a water source must be found. It also must be a shady place, because Gangi Penu stays at places where water is available with shaed and kidi Penu stays at a large stone at the same place. Both the Penus are regarded as sisters.

When a new field is cleared at the foot hills for cultivation people usually choose one-age-old tree especially any one species out of Sergimara (*Shorea robusta*), Bengeri mara (*Pterocarpus marsupium*), Laka mara (B*ombax malbaricum*) under which the worship is offered tothe above said Penus. The worship is usually offered twice a year. One at the time of Cropping and the next at the time of the harvesting. The Kondhs believe that after this worship the crops are not affected by a particular disease which is triggered from the mud.

MARDI PENU

On the eve of the germination of the crops in shifting cultivation projects, a worship called '*Badaki dakandi*' is organised in *Asadh Lanju* (July). In the worship offering is given to *Keri Penu*, the Penu of the hill slope, *Soru Penu* and Bhujanga. Bhujanga is the evil God worshipped with Soru Penu. The sight of the Puja is usually selected (more or less) in the middle of the cultivated field, where three stones are established under the *Mardi mara (Terminalia tomentosa)*. The stone towards West represents *Keri Penu*, the stone towards South Soru Penu, and the stone towards North *Bhujanga*. The Eastern side is kept vacant and *Weda Penu* (Sun God) represents that direction.

All the cultivated patches may not have a *Mardi mara* but for a completely clean forest patch there must be one. All the property holders (Cultivators) in that patch of the forest contribute for a *'Badaki Paji'* i.e; a *Badaki pig* to be sacrificed. After worshipping Keri Penu, it is believed that no wild beast could cause harm to the crops. The Soru Penu saves the cultivation from attack of the elephants, bears, wild boars etc.. If Soru Penu feels dissatisfied he orders the Bhujanga to throw stones (Walinga irkate) at the cultivators. If it happens so, then another mid-term Puja is organised. At the time of the worship crops should not have exceeded the height of three fourth of a foot.

KUTTI PENU & SANDHI PENU

After the site-selection for shifting cultivation Dharni Puja is followed. A worship is offered to *Kutti Penu and Sandhi Penu* in the hills where the clearance of forests for the cultivation has been made. The recitation while worshipping *kutti*

penu and Sandhi penu means, "We have now cultivated the hills and thus have destroyed your houses; have pity on us and do not ruin our houses." This gives the reason of worshipping all these Penus. Further, the Sandi Penu, who stays at the border of the village and hill does not allow beasts to enter into the village boundary.

ANIMALS & HUNTING PRACTICES IN FORESTS

Immediately following the *Puni kalu* festival in the village Burlubaru, people go to worship *Kdupata (Kdu pata dakina)*. *Kdupata* is a huge stone, *kdu* being the name of the *pata* (Stone). After Puni kalu this worship is a must. This stone is found on the way to Jhiripani, and immediately after village Kusumunda. All the male folks attend the Puja which is followed by a feast. A goat or hen is sacrificed there. Females in the village do not work that day nor do they accept any new work. Any type of work is considered a taboo for them that day.

Kdu pata worship is organised in the manner in which they request the Penu (a stone in this case) to supply a great number of animals for hunting. The men take their bows and arrows, and axes, which are common tools; sometimes a gun is also taken. Immediately after the Jani declares the end of the worship all men go out for hunting in the forest. The Jani stays at *Kdu pata* to cook the sacrificed animal for the hunting group. However, all men are not allowed to go with the hunting group. Men whose wixes would be in menstrual period (Jaka) or a person who has a new born child of not more than twenty-one days, etc. are not allowed in the group. Moreover, only the Kuttia folks go for the group-hunting and people of other castes are not allowed to go with them.

The *Kdupata* Puja is not organised every year. It is organised only at an interval of two, three or four years. People of different villages have chosen different places of worship. People of Germel village worship *Tiba Vali*, people of Saperi village worship *Kanda* Vali (stone shaped as a sword) and people of village Pukuri worship *Sareni Vali* (a porous stone). After that people from all groups go in for a group-hunting.

Hunting is a tradition for those people. Although social norms dominate cultivation among the tribe,. hunting and gathering are the important pasttimes. For it is observed that people prefer meat to vegetables. The hunting practice has enhanced the people's knowledge about certain hills which are important dwelling places of different beasts. Hills and forests named by *Pidipada, Bazargada, Akadanja, Pidipadanja, Deusana* have a greater number of wild beasts than other forests. Normally they are unapproachable. So with the ritual work of performing worship, the Kondhs believe that the Gods of such hills and forests after being satisfied with the worship would send animals to the forests which are approachable

by them. It is also believed by religious credit that Gopal and Nirdar are two Godly beings who are engaged in guarding the grazing animals in the forest. So through the worships they are also given importance otherwise they might be reluctant to let the animals be approached by the hunters.

Tragulus meinna, Mnalu (Rafous tailed hare) , *Lepus nigricollis ruficandatus*, *Katani* kaju (red variety jungle fowl) Gallus gallus grey-*Gallus sonmaratii*, Melu (Peacock) *Pavo cristatus* are captured by keeping traps. The traps for such animal species are usually kept under trees of Surga (*Emblica officinalis)*, Baera *(Terminalia belerica)*, *Katadi mara*, Baela mara (*Aegle marmelos)*, Denga mara (*Schleichera oleosa*) etc.. Those trees usually bear fruits in the periods of December to May.

Other animals like (Barking deer) (kateri) Muntiacus muntijack, wild boar (Braha) *Sus scrofa cristatus*, Bison Gayal (Sama) *Bibos gaurus* and Sambar *Maju Cervus unicolor* are hunted by group hunters in the jungle. Kateri and Braha usually love fruits of Gambermara *(Gmelina arborea)*, Pujumara *(Madhuka longifolia)* alongwith the fruits of other trees like Surga, *phyllanthus emblica* Katadi, Baena, Denga(*Seleichera oleosa*) etc.. The wild boar loves the tubers in the forest. The Gayala (Bison) and Sambar reed on the plant species (herbivorous). But they are not normally hunted.

This plant and animal interaction (Food chain) in the forest is also cited in the folk lore (*Kui gaani*). Importance has been given to Saju (Porcupine) and Jerandi (Pangolin) : *Manis crassicaudata* whose food habit has been determined by Nerandali (the supreme lady) in *Kui gaani* (the folklore). That when people came out of Sapangada, the channel from under the earth to the surface was dug by porcupines. The pangolin helped the porcupine in levelling. After finishing the channel the porcupine and pangolin demanded their wages to Nerandali. And Nerandali, in the shape of wages, allowed them to eat tubers in the Jendabedi hills.

The Genes Musa-Squirrel (*Funumbulus pennanti)* has also been cited with its food in *Kuigaani*. As said earlier the squirrel could cut the Sarena (tips of the large trees) which were growing to touch the sky. Then it also had demanded its wages to Nerandali. She gave her Mango (Maskamara *Mangifera indica)* trees, so that the squirrel can survive on mango fruits. Besides mango the squirrel was also allowed to eat any other fruit which it may take. And for its habitat trees with creepers were provided so that it can live safely.

So the folklore has given some representation of the food chain which makes people able to capture such animals easily. Only some individual hunters use such knowledge of food chains.

In a group hunting the whole of the village people go together to a forest.

usually into Bati. On the one end of the forest some people stay with weapons to kill animals and from the other end other people encircle the beast. Finally on getting a beast, people distribute its meat among all people of the village. In the forest, people have a good idea of the foot marks of different animal. If an animal is injured and goes away to the jungle, then following its foot marks, they can reach the animal. Further, husbands of menstruating women who might be in the hunter group are not allowed to touch the foot steps. A belief also persists that by touching the rod of axe on the earth, foot steps (Gutra) of animals vanish. The distribution of the meat of the animal hunted among participarts in group hunting is equal. So nobody of the hunting group feels unhappy at the distribution. The meat of the killed animal is distributed equally among all members in the hunter team. To make the distribution equal they count the number of sliced fleshes of the animal and distribute them in numbers among themselves. Forest having much of *Gmelina arborea* species attracts Kateri(Barking deer), forests rich in timber species, *Phoeniex* species etc. attracts Braha.(wild boar)

MAN-PLANT-ANIMAL INTERACTIONS

With reference to Kuigaani (the folklore), the God has two names viz; Penu and Maju. The Maju (Sambar) is so important animal that it is worshipped. But the same animal also is killed for meat. In the folklore, the plants and trees grew from the Sambar body. Again the habitat of the Sambar is usually a Kambani because the animal is a large sized one which can not stay in dense forest (Bati). Kambani is considered as the abode of Penu. So the Sambar is regarded with same dignity as Penu. Finding the animal in hunting is a chance. It is informed that the animal species is distributed by Penu. So finding the animal is predicted at an interval of every four to five years. If the animal is availed every year then it indicates the Penus' satisfaction with the mass of people and with their village.

At the death of a Sambar in hunting, some soil beneath the head part of the animal is collected and worshipped. Then the animal is carried for cutting. Before cutting it, the Kutaka worships it again. The Kutaka chants by touching a panicle of *Thysanolaena maxima* (Saparaka) and a twig of *Emblica officinalis* (Surga). A hen's egg is usually kept in one of its ears. A chick is led to eat the rice kept over the head and neck of it before the animal is sacrificed. Then the Kutukas first cuts a piece of its Panda (skin) and takes it away.

After that the egg from its ear is taken out and kept with the soil collected earlier to be preserved by the man who killed the animal. The jaws of the animal are kept by the hunter. After some days, a *Gauda Dakina* (Herd-man worship) is celebrated in the village. In the worship the herds men *Gopala* and *Nirdar* are requested to bring more such animals to the people. The first phase of *Gauda Dakina* is organised at the *Dharnivali* in the village. There a goat is sacrificed

to the Dharnivali along with the jaws of the animal. After that, the second phase of worship is offered somewhere near the hill. In the second phase, an umbrella made up of Bamboo foil, a pair of slippers made up of the bark of Manemara (*Lannea coromondolica*) and some brush sticks of Sargimara(*Shorea robusta*), a walking stick and a shoulder rod is given to the Gauda. The jaws are also taken to that place. A chick and a *Paji* (pig) are sacrificed and offered to the *Gauda* there. Then the jaws are preserved. Usually the jaw is preserved up to the next hunting of a Sambar. And in the next hunting the previous jaws are burnt.

The horns of A Sambar (Male) are sold out at a rate of about fifty rupees. The horns of a kateri and its jaws are also kept preserved because by keeping it preserved, good hunting of such animal is predicted. The *Kamanga* (horn) of *kateri* is burnt in *Burlanga dakina* (*worship to crop resovoirs*) which is celebrated in *choitra lanju* (*April*) at an interval of five years. The *Burlunga kalu* is celebrated for a good produce of crops and for a good propagation of such animals whose jaws and horns are buried. All the old stocks except the stocks of hunting of that year are burnt to ashes.

ANIMALS, DREAM & BELIEF

The animals in the forest are also associated with indicators of social events, auspicious and inauspicious signs. Domestic animals are also associated with such belief. The dream of a maid would indicate the availability of at least one beast in the hunting. But by seeing a pregnant woman in the dream would indicate the harassment of not getting a game. Further, if the hunter trippers off a stone at the time of going to hunting, the availability of an animal is highly assured.

The tiger (*Kdani)* in a dream indicates a good sign for the family. It also indicates hunger. The bear *(Ali)* in the dream is a sign of damage to crops by grasses and weeds *(Priba*). The crop lands get so much occupied by grasses and weeds that the crops lacks nourishment and the result is a poor harvest. A Horse (*Ghoda*) in a dream is a sign of good millet production in the same year.An Elepahant (*Hati*) in a dream is a good sign of property. The elephant is an indicator of Bidi Penu, Goddess of crops. So good crop harvest particularly production of paddy is assured when it comes in the dream. Mnalu (*Hare*) in dream is an indicator of an inauspicious event in the family. If the animal is seen as trapped or 'being killed', then an attack of an incurable disease to any of the family members is indicated. Deer (Jiada) seen in a dream indicates the spread of whitish patches like a leper patient. A Jackal (*Kulia*) is very inauspicious. When seen while hunting it indicates non-availability of game. Again seeing the animal at the time of going for an important work it indicates failure. Porcupine(*Saju*) and pangolin (*Jerandi*) are always associated with a good sign. Melu (*Peacock and Peahen*) are associated with a inauspicious signs. If a peahen is seen standing in front of a house in the

dream the attack of Doali *(Epilepsy)* disease to any of the family members is indicated. Seeing a peacock, on the way to any work indicates definite failure.

The domestic animals are also indicators of many social events. Poda (*Buffalo*) in a dream indicates an all-time conflict between husband and wife. Cow in a dream is a symbol of Goddess Laxmi and so a good crop is predicted. Paji (*Pig*) in a dream indicates the demand for a worship to Gangi Penu and Kidi Penu. Seeing a black goat in a dream indicates a bad 'Graha'(*meaning a bad phase of life resulting out of the bad influence of any of the planets*). Graha= Planet. At the time of going for hunting seeing a Todara kaju (*Cock*) indicates an all good sign.

When cutting of a cow or bullock or buffalo or Sambar is seen in a dream the death of a person in the family is indicated. In the same way dreaming of cutting one's own pet goat or pig in the dream indicates death. A feast in a dream also indicates thedeath of a family member.

ANIMALS SEEN IN DREAMS AS INCARNATION OF GODS

TABLE NO - I

WILD ANIMALS	GODS
Deta (Rabbit), *Khebda* (Mouse deer)	*Kraha Penu*
Mnalu (Hare)	*Rasi Penu*
Lakda (Monkey)	*Maunti Penu*
Sitadi (Deer)	*Sechkuriaru Penu*
Kateri (Kutra)	*Katamunda Penu*
Ali (Bear)	*Murjikeri Penu*
Melu (Peacock)	*DimbuliSoru Penu*
Masi (Python)	*Adagadi Penu*
Goda (Horse)	*GadaVali Penu*
DOMESTIC ANIMALS	**GODS**
Kaju (hen)	*Kandi Penu*
Ada (goat)	*Kuti Penu*
Parang (pigeon)	*Judangi Penu*
Meskari (cat)	*Dandadi Penu*
Tadra kaju (cock)	*Pdiudupa Penu*
Poda kama (buffalo)	*Kamei Penu*
MERA KAJU (yellow hen)	*Sanadueri Penu*
MENDHA (sheep)	*Eju Penu*
PAJI (pig)	*Gangi Penu*
Nakudi(dog)	*Digeri Penu*

AQUATIC AND AMPHIBIAN ANIMALS	GODS
Sembi (tortoise)	*Banda Penu*
Panan (frog)	(snake God) *Masi Penu*
Minu (fish)	*Kidi Penu*
Ejuminduli (otter)	(fish God) *Minu Penu*

OTHER ANIMALS	GODS
Pata (birds)	Runengi Penu
Mera gadri (stork)	Kiuti Penu
Srachu (small snake)	Esu Penu
Lambesi (big fish)	Achanjala Penu
Dani (chameleon)	Pod Penu
Kikla (grasshopper)	Wali Penu

ANIMALS - ECONOMICAL AND ECOLOGICAL ASPECTS

Animals constitute the second component of forest compared to the plants and trees which are regarded to be the first. In a village also the animals are the secondary beings. Animals fulfill the requirements of human beings in various ways like meat, medicine, economical benefits as well as ecological benefits. However, animals in forests have been recognised as to have different functions during the creation of the Universe. This is preserved in the folklore. But, domesticated animals are not regarded as functional units as they are mainly domesticated for economical benefits i.e; for money and food.

In the domesticated categories dogs, pigs, cattles with buffaloes including goats are important among the mamalian species. Further, the dogs and pigs are scavengers (SapasuPI). Banishing the customary value of these animals, their admission to the traditional rituals may not be neglected. Individual citation of the characteristics of these animals may give a picture of the association of such animal species with the tribe.

PAJI (PIG)

It is the dominant composition among the domesticated ones. It is regarded as one of the cleaner species though it itself is dirty. The main cause why it is domesticated is because of its numerous propagation. A pig can give birth to about six to ten hugs at a time. The animal is also ritually important for sacrifice and is exchanged as a gift in different festivals. The animal being herbivorous adopts the common food habit of people. The animal consumes different vegetative waste. The wastes comprise of crops and vegetables eaten by the people in different season of the year. For example the animal can consume the seeds and solid waste of

Maize,the coat of leguminous crops, waste parts of tubers, the mango endocarp. etc. Besides, the faeces ofchildren are cleaned up by pigs. Sometimes the animal is found destructive as it damages the root bushes of the banana trees and tubers grown in the kitchen garden. The faeces of the animals are used as manure.

Ritually the animal is important for sacrificing and it is cheaply available. In the death rituals pigs are presented between the related families. The pig rendered as a gift is cut bilaterally in a symmetrical manner, one half of it is kept with the villagers and the other half is returned to the donor. To keep the pig safe from the carnivorous beasts in the jungle, the *Pajingasuleri* i.e; the pig shed is made just behind the houses. Sacrifice of pigs satisfies Gangi Penu who comes in the dream as a pig. An important medicine is also prepared out of the fat of the pigs (*Paji knahanga)*. This is prescribed for cough and asthma. To prepare the medicine, first the fat of the pig is boiled. This liquid fat is then mixed with different types of honey wax.

NAKUDI (DOG)

The animal has its importance as a great friend to hunters and to hunting groups. It also guards the village and the house. It is a friend of the Soru (hills) and saru (salt) which implies that the animal is associated both with the human beings in the house as well as in the forest. The animal is considered exceedingly important for its abilityto bark and follow after beasts. Certain dogs are also trained to follow the foot marks of animals in the forest. So this tribe which has a strong inclination for hunting has domesticated the animal for their own benefit during hunting. It is also regarded as one of the 'cleaning agents' as it cleans the fleshes in bones left after cutting an animal. It also cleans the human faeces by consuming it. It safeguards other domesticated animals and human beings as well. Since it is an animal which is both a herbivorous and carnivorous it consumes the left-overs,faeces, flesh and bones in the village. The animal symbolizes the *Digery Penu. Digery* being the name of a hill.

KADI (CATTLE)

Kadi literally means bullock and kadinga means cattle. The animal occupies the second predominance among the pets after the Paji. There are two views indicating the importance of the animal,For religious as well as economic reasons, the animal is always considered auspicious. It is considered as Goddess Laxmi (The Indian Deity of Opulence). Further, the animal is commonly used in ploughing fields. Kuttia Kondhs do not have a great affinity for milk. So the cows are domesticated for ploughing. In ancient days people were taking the meat of cattle now it is not so much observed. These animals can in no way harm the crop land as they can never go high up to the hills to graze.

As the skin of this animal is thin and durable it is mostly used in making musical instruments like drums, named as *Tapka, Dapkari*, etc. Separate *Kadi sala* are made behind houses with a wooden floor at some height above the earth level. The soil mixed with cattle dung and urine is used as manure. Milk is sometimes collected from cows but no other derivatives of milk like butter and curd is prepared.

PODA (BUFFAL(

The animal is considered to be highly important for it is a suitable substitute of human sacrifice which was practised in the Kondh lands before. Ritually the animal is important to be sacrificed in the Meriah festival (*Bia katina*) and in the naming ceremony (*Dukelidakin*a). Besides, in certain worships, if the Kutaka wants, a buffalo is sacrificed.

In occasion of marriage, a feast with Poda meat is a must as it is held that without Poda meat a good relation between two fathers-in-law can not be established. That is why sometimes the bridal side sends a Poda when the bride leaves her house for the groom's house. Again when the bride returns to her father's house, the groom side sends a buffalo. This is the common scene. But Poda is never presented in death rituals. The *Kamei Penu* comes in the dream to the Kutaka carrying Poda kama (Buffalo horn).

The animal needs no maintenance. Domestication gives primary importance to meat and secondary importance to milk and as a ploughing animal. Moreover, blowing horns are made out of buffalo horns. Skin of the animal is of very little importance to the people.

ADA (GOAT)

The animal is considered important for it is sacrificed in different festivals. In some cases pigs are sacrificed as substitute to goats. Seeing goats in the dream represents *Kuti Penu*. Goat needs less maintenance. Fodder is available in nearby forests. The skin is consumed with its meat. Sheep are rarely domesticated but are required to be sacrificed to cure *Doali* (Epilepsy) disease applying witchcraft.

KAJU (FOWL)

Fowl is domesticated by almost all house-holds. The yields are definitely eggs and meat. But for sacrifice it is the cheapest one. Hen represents *Sana dueri Penu* and cock represents *Pdiudupa Penu*. It is a hill named after a centipede who could climb up to the top of the hill. *Tadra kaju* (Cock) if seen before going to hunting indicates availability of a beast. It is beneficial as it feeds on small worms and insects. It is also exchanged as a gift in formal groups.

FORESTS : TYPES AND VEGETATION RELATED TO SCIENTIFIC STANDARDS

The average rainfall in these areas is 1250 milimeters and the temperature in an average is 22 degree centigrade. Severity of winter, sometimes accompanied with frost is not uncommon to the area like Belghar and Daringbadi of Phulbani District. The summer is very short. Climatically the entire area falls under a northern tropical moist deciduous zone. Sal, being the predominant species in its pure form, is distributed from the lowest altitude to the top of the hills. No doubt the best crop is noticed in the valleys having deep loamy soil. According to the composition and condition of the vegetation in the forest the following categories are made.

SUB-GROUP 3C-NORTH INDIAN DECIDUOUS FOREST

Type - 3C/c Ze - Moist Peninsular Sal Forest ; The quality of Sal varies from All India Q-II to Q-IV depending upon depth of soil and moisture. Density of the crop is well stocked in most of the forests. The forest in general contains secondary growth.

3c/c2E(I) - MOIST PENINSULAR HIGHLEVEL SAL

This sub type is usually found in upper slope above elevation of 100 meters. Quality of Sal tuber is Q-IV type. Density is some what open. Frost is common in the area.

Common associates of Sal in this sub type are ; *Terminalia tomentosa, Anogeissus latifolia, Lagerstroemis parviflora, Pterocarpus marsupium, Albizzia chinensis* and *Toona arborea*. The middle storey contains *Xylia xylocarpa, Careya arborea, Bridelia retusa, Dillenia pentagyna, Buchanania lanzan, Bauhinia variegata, Ongeinia oojensis*. The sparse under growth consists of *Clerodendron viscosum, Indigofera pulchella, Helicteres isora, and Colebrookia oppositifolra.*

Phoenix acaulis grows in the poor shallow soils. The common climbers are *Bauhinia vahlii, Combretum decandrum, Smilax macrophylla, Milletia auriculate*. Common grasses are *Thysanolaena maxima, Heteropogon contortus, Themeda triandra*, and *Impareta arundinacca.*

SUB TYPE 3C/C 2E(II): MOIST PENINSULAR LOWLEVEL SAL

Fairly wide spread and occupied in middle and lower slopes. Supports good quality Sal (*Q-iii*). Regeneration good and canopy is usually full.

Common associates of Sal are *Pterocarpus marsupium, Terminalia tomentosa, Madhuka lattifolia, Mitragyna parviflora*, and *Bridelia retusa*. Middle storey contains *Mallotus phillipinensis, Emblica officinalis, Diospyrus sylValica,*

Careya arborea, Oogenia oojensis. Ground floor contains *Holarrhena antidysentrica, Carissa spinarum, Helicteres isora, & Phoneix acaulis.* Common climbers include *Smilax macrophylla, Combretum decandrum.*

SUB TYPE 3 C/2E(III) MOIST PENINSULAR VALLEY SAL

Moderate shrub growth. Quality of Sal is good(Q-ii/iii). Trees are of lofty height and timber is perfectly sound. Regeneration of Sal is excellent. Density of stocking is full.

Associate of Sal are : *Terminalia tomentosa, T. belerica, Adina cordifolia, Pterocarpus marsupium, Lagerstroemia peryiflora, Alstonia scholaris, & Syzygium cuminii. Lower storey contains Mallotus philipinensis, Careya arborea, Casenia tormentosa, Oogenia oojensis, & Emblica officinalis.* Common shrubs and undergrowths are *Indigofera pulchell, Clerodendrum viscosum, Murraya exotica.* Common climbers are *Bauhinia vahlii, Smilax macrophylla, Milletia auriculate* and among the grasses are *Imperata arumdinacea & Thysanolaena maxima.* Bank of perennial stream being more moist contain ever green species like *Michelia Champaka, Saraca indica, Mangifera indica, Anthocephalus cadamba.* These forest are climatic climax.

MOIST SAL SAVANNAH-3C/DS (DEGRADED STAGE)

Soft climax type forest with fire as limiting factor. Ground floor invaded by Chhana (*Imperata arundinacea*) & Sinkula (*Heteropogon contertus*). The other species found in the area are *Lagerstroemia parviflora, Dillenia pentagyna, Wrightia tomentosa & Emblica officinalis.*

TERMINALIA TOMENTOSA FOREST:3/EDAPHIC-1 (E-1)

Sal is not able to come up in such areas due to adverse soil conditions. *Terminalia tomentosa* accounts to about 60% with its common associates as *Terminalia belerica, Terminalia arjuna, Anogeissus latifolia.* In the underwood are *Mallotus phillipinensis, Diospyrus sylvetica & Buchanania lanzan.*

The classification is followed to the types and sub types on the basis of the classification adopted by champion and seth in their book : "Revised Survey of The Forest Types of India".(1962)

5

CULTURAL VALUES IN RELATION TO ENVIRONMENT OF THE KUTTIA KONDH

Societies differ with the difference in interrelationship between individuals and groups. Interactions among the groups clearly delineate about the type of society. The style of living in the society is directly or indirectly reflected in the social interaction of the individuals. Thus style of living also changes with the change in form and structure of a society. Tribal community differs a lot from the non-tribal style ofliving. Every tribal community shows a typical style ofliving. The conditions of living are also unique to them. It has its own way of living based on the environment and the surroundings. The inter-action of the tribal societies with the natural environment, forests, their abode at the base of the hills and amidst the forests makes them known as forest dwelling communities. Thus a life style is not designed by itselfbut it is made to design in relation to the living space, the cultural background, the environment around them, the resource, the religious beliefs and all that directly or indirectly contribute to the nature and behavior of the society. To understand the community, its culture and configuration of the society amidst the forests and natural environments one will have to very carefully judge its association with the animate and inanimate materials around, its association with the biotic and abiotic components of the environment that have significant role in the overall layout of their cultural patterns and traditions. To understand the communities' vast cultural heritage and life style, customs and traditions at a closer look one has to look into its living conditions which are first to be affected by any change.

The entire life style of a community is embedded in two of its most important discourses - society and culture. Society and culture are two divergent lines of the life style of a community often intersected at a point when the life style becomes a form of socio-cultural identity of the community. When the term 'social'

refers to having to do with interrelationship between individuals and groups, the term 'cultural' becomes different from it in meaning, sense, justifications and in terms of appropriateness to certain factors. Thus the term 'social' is distinguished from 'cultural' in that, 'social' pertains to relations between persons whereas 'cultural' pertains to belief, standards of behavior, values, knowledge and all other aspects of culture. It is difficult to justify whether culture is first or the society first. Even before the society came into being, groups of people were living in concentric patches with particular sets of beliefs, behavior, values, knowledge which they acquired spontaneously or through their direct and indirect association with the environment. It will not be untrue to state that the Nature around them which we now term as environment, is the sole educator. The pre-historic man lived on this basis, learning a lot from the nature. Thus nature conditions smaller beings, human beings, animals, plants and trees and to live coherently. But the nature which is composed of those living beings with inanimate matters may be regarded as the 'Being' in which the 'living beings' are small set of functional entities.

THE BEING AND CULTURE

The nature thus becomes a larger phenomenon as the 'being'. The being experienced different feeling, structural pattern of similarities in beings, the behavior and natures and such other entities which are parts and parcels of the larger set 'Being' or the nature. Thus the experience of beings about Being over time gave an understanding of the Being - a larger phenomenon. Then the question arises what is the root of Being or what is the unit of Being from which beings started to experience or measure the Being ? The question has both simple and complicated answers as it goes on either ways, the physical or the physiognomical side of Being and the moral, high moral and philosophical understanding of the Being. Hence on the physical plane Being is simply known with the objects, entities and structures and philosophically the pattern in which the objects, entities and structures interact, interplay with the Being. Thus the physical understanding of the Being gives a description of its form, structure as a whole as Nature or partly through the different components of it. On the other hand the philosophical understanding goes along experiencing the mystery, the mysterious power and dynamics of the Being. This conifirms that Being is not a simple structure, rather a larger structural and functional whole. Then the structural and functional units of Being become the 'environ', depends upon the analysis of singularity or plurality.

The Being through observance and analysis of the beings prepares a set of standing principles and methods which continue for a period of time. This standing set of principles is based on the moral values of the beings handed down from the Being. Both beings and Being are subjected to time and space. Both changes with time and space. Being operates beings. The operation and the dissection processes go on with time. Culture is born out of the interactions between Being and beings.

Culture in a broad sense is the sum total of beliefs, morals, values and ethos of a community binding all the members in a common bond. According to another connotation culture is the sum total of agrifacts (products of agriculture), socifacts (social organisation, family etc.) and mentifacts (religion, behavior, pattern and other traits pertaining to mind and brain). In fact, culture is·man and his works keeping broadly in view to the annotations and connotations of culture a community having a separate cultural entity of its own is to be approached.

The Kuttia-kondh popularly known as the Kuianka (a group of human beings), a part of the larger community (Kondh) living in different regions has a separate culture different even from the other segments of the same tribe (Kondh). Thus the culture of the Kuttia kondh born and developed over the ages is attuned to nature. Thus Kuttia became confined to a certain space. To make it clear, culture is the understanding of beings about the Being over a particular period over a particular space. Thus as the spaces became different, cultures became different. The interaction of beings with Being over different periods of time over a particular space, made different sets of standing principles of culture. At this moment when co-relations are being made with being and Being and their interactions, interrelations, interplays that relates to the term culture, then the being must be very much specific who determines the culture. The being here is 'Kuianka' - a group of human beings, popularly known as Kuttia Kondhs. Thus the culture under analysis here refers to the culture of the Kuttia Kondhs that has been or is being framed out at a particular time with supplements and complements taking place in it, so to say the culture developed and develops over a particular space in different periods of time.

KUIANKA 'BEING' AS A PART OF THE BEING

Kuianka have a systematic view or spiritual outlook towards the nature. Its relation to the nature is ecological, organic and holy. 'Ecological' in the context of Kuianka beings and their culture is nothing but what is called spiritual. This spiritual understanding of the Kuianka about its outer world deigns its capacity for the unified vision of the whole. In this vision there is neither subject, nor object but exists only an indivisible 'oneness'. With this spiritual vision Kuianka conditions its life harmoniously into the whole.

The organic understanding of the nature and the Being or the whole as is perceived by the Kuianka makes it to identify and know the other living beings living side by side. On the other side of the organic components lies the objects or the non-living entities. This makes it to understand the counter-part elements of the Nature with whom Kuianka deals in his everyday life. In his holiest understanding of the cosmos, Kuianka do not confine himself to the obvious physical nature around with many micro dimensions of this thought. The various micro-dimensions

of this holiest association of the kuianka to the nature are the subjects like culture, the knowledge, the belief, the moral values, the principles of living that tend to the Kuianka well being. The Kuianka feels that the large is felicity and the small is miser. It thus grows from small stature of individualness to the large stature of the wholeness. It maintains a principle of sustain and abstain with the larger whole around it.

Then from where do the Kuianka start ? Kuianka is very much particular about his understanding of the Nature. It starts from the very smaller space to know about its space in the larger space. In this regard first Kuianka knows only about his village, then the mysterious nature surrounding the village. Thus the first identification of the Nature for a Kuianka starts from the village. In this regard village is the first 'environ' that gives a concise idea about his living place. The further understanding goes in favour of knowing different places or different living spaces. Further, he comes across great many living and non-living materials inside his living space. But his living space is a microcosm in the macrocosm. Thus he propagates his idea to understand the other elements of the nature around him.

BASA : THE TERM FOR ENVIRON

Kuttia Kondhs or Kuiankas' understanding about the environment around starts from the term 'Basa', which refers to 'environ'. Ordinarily 'Basa' is the term for a place, especially where many people gather a round. People might have gathered for a festival or for some social and cultural events. 'Basa' also refers to community feast in the forest. In any case Basa denotes the place and the event. It gives a meaning to a situation. Thus 'Basa' is the term that distinguishes many places or many situations. It is interesting to note that *Basa* is not the only unit but is associated with several other units. So *Basa* is surrounded by *Basa*. It makes an understanding that the first unit, Basa is a part of second unit *Basa*. This gives the understanding of the surrounding (*Gunjare*). In this regard Basa can be made into many categories with different names. For a Kuianka, in his understanding about his living space the first *Basa* is his house (*Elu*). He finds many things around or surrounding his house which is a part of the whole village '*Naju*'. Thus *Elu* makes the first *Basa* and *Naju* makes the second. The surrounding of the house is called *Elu gunjare* and the surrounding of the village is called *Tedi Gunjare*. *Elu Gunjare* and *Tedi Gunjare* differ from each other with the measurement of space, living and non- living things in which Kuianka is a part. All those are understood as Basa are nothing but environ.

Basa is identified with certain names. Such as *Madangbasa, Naju Basa, Penu Basa, Maju Basa* and so on. The *Madangbasa* refers to a place where people sit and drink toddy. It is a place of social intercourse and a place for exchange of ideas and thoughts. The very true *Madangbasa* relates that it is associated with

Mada i.e. Salap toddy. Hence no other place can be regarded as a *Madangbasa* for the reason that such places can not be toddy drinking areas. It is unique in its aspect that its surroundings create a peculiar environment of its own. The behavior pattern and interaction of the people in such an environ form the structural and functional aspects of *Madangbasa*. Thus *Basa* here refers to the place or the environ and '*Mada*' defines the nature, behavior types of interaction of people at that environ, making the denomination of the place and the environment of *Madangbasa* structural and functional aspects of *Madangbasa*.

So far as, the structural elements or components of environment of *Madangbasa* are concerned, these are a group of people, a Sago palm tree, the materials used at drinking place trees, animals, rocks,...etc,. Thus Kuianka feels that *Madangbasa* is a small unit having a vast surrounding. The interaction of people among themselves and with the surrounding gives a clear meaning to the Madangbasa.

The other terms like *Naju basa, Kadibasa, Penubasa*, Majubasa go with a different understanding in relation to their environs.Here the Basa gets its meaning from the living beings who dwell there. Thus the place is known as a habitat. A habitat space is thus named according to the living being in-habiting there. In this understanding *Naju* basa refers to a place where a *Naju* is settled. *Naju* is a village in which many a number of family and individuals live. Thus *Naju basa* refers to the sum total of the population living in a village. In this regard the structural components of the *basa* refers to the living human beings, animal beings, the houses, kitchen gardens and all other inmates. Again *Naju basa* specifically must satisfy to the needs and conditions that make a place habitable. *Kadibasa, Karubasa, Pajibasa* are included in the village where animals like *Karu* (buffalo), *kadi* (cattle), *Paji* (pigs) are given place. In these conditions the animal living space is a part of the total area demarcated by *Naju basa*.

Going outside the village, the Kuianka feels that there are even more *Basa* to his understanding. It is *Penubasa* that mentions of the abode of the godly beings (penu). The cultural and religious beliefs of Kuianka impel it to feel that the hills, forests, trees, rocks around him are the abodes of penus. To trace the immediate habitat of the *Penu*, the Kuianka always refers to the hills nearby. Therefore hills (*soru*) are regarded as the *Penubasa*. *Penu* is believed to reside in the hill top (*Soru jaka*) which is also considered to be Penu's meeting ground. The *soru jaka* is also otherwise known as *Gati jaka*. Both the terms are more or less coterminous. The *penu basa* can be compared with *Najubasa* and *Madangbasa* having some similar features. *Najubasa* is at the bottom of a hill whereas *Penubasa* is at the top of the hill. The *Madangbasa* can be anywhere in between these two basas.

Maju basa in contrast to *Penu basa*, refers to the place where *Maju* i.e.

Sambar lives. The abode of *Maju* is somewhere amidst the forest or forested hills. The hill top is the *Penu basa*, the hill base is the *Kuianka basa* and the surrounding forested patches and parts of hills are occupied by *Maju* i.e. Sambar. But the term *Maju* is not only meant to the Sambar but to general understanding to all other beasts in the same place. In this context, *Maju basa* refers to the whole of the animals living habitat. Hence, the Maju basa has a special characteristic so far as its location, surroundings, type of population, their interaction and over all the territorial space are concerned.

The above examples give a complicated meaning to understand *Basa*. In an ordinary sense it mentions about the habitat, the population living in such places. However, the *Basa* in the social context of Kuianka refers to the Kuianka settlement pattern, the understanding of the settlement of other living beings. As such *Basa* does not confine or demarcate a particular space rather it is a space within a space. In the Kuttia terms the space is meant as a *Basa* within a *Basa*. This gives dual understanding of *Basa*, that it is a larger whole as well as a smaller whole. However, the smaller whole may be even fragmented to still smaller wholes which are also called *Basa* but named after some particular characteristics associated with it. Thus the *Basa* gives an overall idea of a living space, the living space of Kuianka, living space of animals and living space of godly beings etc. The different types of *Basa* described earlier makes the differences in the physical plane and the behavioural patterns and the type of population. For example *Kadibasa* and *Majubasa* i.e. the habitat of cattle and habitat of Sambar are not only different in physical plane or in consideration of the landscape where they dwell in,but also mention about the difference in the type of the animals. The domesticated and the other wild animals also show the distinction in their behavioural pattern.

The Kuianka's idea about those smaller habitat places or *Basa* leads to the Kuianka's microcosmic thoughts. The Kuianka saw the nature, gathered experiences from his interaction with the nature and perceived the macrocosmic thoughts and the ideas on environment. The macrocosmic thoughts or the cosmology of Kuianka came long after his living in a space under the earth. Then the cosmos meant to them as their abode only. When he came out from his underworld living space he saw the real world outside. The cosmology then changed. The worry he had in the suffocated dark habitat under the ground was rejoiced after Kuianka came out of his underworld dwelling place. Therefore, Kuianka has experienced two living spaces, one under the earth and the other above the earth. There are various dimensions of the Kuianka's ideas on his living space.

DIMENSIONS OF KUIANKA LIVING SPACE

According to Kuianka's self perception, they are the people who speak *Kui* language. They share a view of their world through *Kui* language. They perceive

their first living space amidst a landscape covered with forested hills. Circumscribed by these hills is a large patch of plain land, the place being denominated as Sapangada which is the centre of Kuianka's cultural evolution.

Sapangada is therefore important to the Kuttia Kondh's cultural identity. The cultural evolution of Kuttia Kondhs is described in their cosmogonical myth - *Kui Gaani* which is preserved in the Kuianka oral traditions. The landscape Sapangada has got due importance, for, it is associated with Kui gaani which describes the way Kuianka along with other living entities 'emerged out' or came into being. Accordingly, Sapangada is their living space and their place of origin. The entire myth ofKuianka's origin has found place in the chapter "Myths, legends .... of Kuttia Kondhs" and in the chapter "Denomination of forests and its parts". Thus the reference of *Kui Gaani* is not new at this point of the description.

According to *Kui Gaani*, to begin with, all living entities were submerged in darkness. In this condition, they were concealed and did not come to the lime light. The people were trapped in darkness searching for light. They spoted a ray of light suddenly. It illuminated the dark underground. It showed them the way to emerge out of darkness, into an open space, between the earth and the sky where there is light and shade. This landscape is covered with trees and forested patches. Here, open spaces are at times lit up and at other times concealed under shade. Such open spaces are living spaces. Sapangada is thus the truth, for it denotes such open living spaces.

The symbolic centre of this living space in the same name i.e. Sapangada is prevalent in Gumma Panchayat of Belghar area which is surrounded by deep dense forests and forested hills. There is a small hole, which was large and wide few generations ago. The Kui Gaani is associated with this place. The name Sapangada is symbolic - it names both open living space as well as the origin of Kuianka and other living entities. In the use of this term is concealed a perception of living space which is co-extensive and coeval with Kuianka place of origin.

CONCEPT OF THE BIRTH

According to Kuianka, the term Sapangada is a conjugation of Sapan and Gada. Sapan derives from the root term *Sapani*. *Sapan* is also grouped with derivatives of *Sate*, *Satamu*, *Satere*, *Satanja*. But the birth for Kuianka has two terms - Sate and Pdite. Sate refers to come out and Pdite refers to take birth. The gap in between this 'come out' and 'take birth' lies at a point which determines the origin of the entity. In the former case i.e. *Sate*, Kuianka came out of the underworld where there is no explanation on physiological basis of the birth process of living beings. This makes sense that Kuianka is not reproduced but is presented by the larger whole under Sapangada earth. In the later case i.e. the pdite is however

different from sate in the sense that Pdite is described with physiological attributes of human reproduction. Therefore Kuianka has two ways through which it came into being one, directly emerging out from the Sapangada hole and second taking birth from female genital organs. However, Sate and Pdite intersect at a point and become common continuing with each other. When Kuianka has two terms for 'coming into being' yet only one is being used in their social life which is Pdite. Kuianka describes that 'Sate' had only one occurrence or took place only once, when the Kuianka came into being after emerging out of the under earth through Sapangada hole, but never after.

But Pdite in fact is the real process with which the heredity is maintained and the Kuianka exists. Thus 'Pdite' is the process that is taking place continuously after the '*Sate*' that took place only once and that was at the time when the underworld Kuianka came into being. Both of them are of natural occurrence, but one directly by Nature and the other through natural process of human reproduction. This is the only perception on which Kuianka stands to describe its living space after coming into being.

As it has been always about the life of an organism, birth and death are the very true features of life. Kuianka after the *sate* became earthly beings and the further Kuianka beings were originated with a process known in Kui as 'Linga janani pdiye' i.e. born out of sex organs where linga is the sex organ and Janani is meant as the covering or the mask. Thus in the practical social life of Kuianka it is understood that after a conception takes place in the female after sexual union of the male and female, the future being is masked over by some other things. Here it makes a sense that after conception, the life that stays in the mother's womb is covered by the mother's body itself, that is, the conceived child remains in darkness or concealed in the mother's womb which is covered by the skin of the mother. The conception is called 'Pao pata aate' i.e. the stomach is swelling up and so a life is sheltering inside. The '*pata*' i.e. the stomach has an inner chamber which carries the embryo under a good covering. This is also symbolic. This nature of the conception of the embryo in the mother's womb is compared with the origin of Kuianka under the earth which was covered by the earth's crust. But in actual usage 'Jana' refers to the covering though in either sense i.e. inside the stomach and under the earth, yet it is used mostly with Linga that is associated with *Pdite*. *Sate* is associated with 'Jona'. This practical truth that Kuianka is originated in the mother's womb by sexual union of two persons of opposite sex gives the mention that mother is the sole creator, that Kuianka feels when he is not sure about how is the life made in mother's womb. This makes Kuianka to believe that mother is the sole originator. The term mother is associated with *Pdite* but there is none associated with *sate*. At this point the Kuianka gathers the practical experience of origin and applies it to the unknown birth process under the ground, but attributes.

that since mother is a female living entity who gives birth to the earthly living, it must be a mother or a feminine gender who gave birth to Kuianka under the ground. But that feminine gender is unknown. Here Kuianka makes point that it might be the *Dharni* or Nerandali. With this answer the Kuianka becomes confronted with a problem, that if it was Nerandali who gave birth to others, then where is its mention in Kui Gaani ? Again, Nerandali was one with others under the earth. She is then attributed as the mother in many lines of Kui Gaani but she is not the mother. Then the Kuianka gives an answer, with great confusion that it must be Dharni who gave birth to all along with Nerandali in the underworld. So Dharni and the goddess of earth came into the lime light of Kuttia perceptions based on the myth.

According to the local belief the life and the living space of the Kuianka were concealed in the earth under Sapangada. The Sapangada thus is posed as an image or a symbol for the whole process of Kuianka's 'coming into being', 'emerging out' from an unseen world to a seen world. For the under earth of Sapangada was quite unseen in the same way as the mother's womb is unseen. Thus the 'emerging out' is a metaphor, a code that gives mention to the Kuiankas travel from darkness to light.

The above example of different types of *Basa* denote a place, sometimes multiplicity of places, sometimes having a definite coverage and sometimes without any specific coverage in measurable units. From this understanding of *Basa* Kuianka have developed a culture. That Kuianka holds its imaginations in form of certain lip compositions which ultimately take the form of songs. The imaginative mind takes into account many things seen around the *Basa*. This gives a meaning to the type and nature of *Basa*. Again, the type of *basa* provokes the Kuianka imaginative mind and to his vigils of objects. It develops in its members new thought, new look, new sight in which he catches hold of the structural units in the *Basa* and narrates the functional aspects of the objects and the interaction of subjects and objects, subjects and subjects, where subject stands for the living beings ; may be a *Kuenja* or *kuiladu*. This is called *Basa Gaani* which is the setting of the environment around. In a skillful composition of *Kui* terms, it makes the *Basa Gaanis* different at different spaces or places at different times.

In a *Basa Gaani* (Basa - place, space, *Gaani* - song) in the context of Kuianka origin from Sapangada, *Sapani* refers to the emergence of a dream sequence. Like dreams, origins are mysterious. Here there is a play of shadows. This indicates the coming of an entity, but leaves mysteries from where the entity is coming into being. This sense of mystery therefore surrounds the being of its entity. It, in the sense of mystery needs to be preserved to know of the being of this entity. In other words, the object and its shadow together determine the being of an entity. What cannot be known by observing the object can be known from the study of its shadow. Finally, dream is the shadow of living itself. A living entity is

one which dreams and appears in dreams.

Basa gaani can be sung when there are visitors. They are unmarried boys and girls who are entertained by their peers in the host village. They sing songs which describe various dimensions of their living space. When they return, their host sing a farewell *Basa gaani*. They, through the words in the songs, ask to walk carefully; there are unknown obstacles on the way and know of us or we will know of you (your well-being) in dreams.

Coming back to the discussion of Sapangada we find that the term - '*gada*' denotes the creation of *Penu*-godly living beings. Yet there is another term in the Kuikana words, called '*kada*' which means to a man made open space. Thus *gada* differs from '*kada*' in the sense that the former is nature made open space and the other is man-made open space. For, it is meant in ordinary sense that *gada* is a hole that is not made by man and *kada* is a hole that is dug by or made by man. *Gada* includes valleys, caves, plateaus or the *gada* is included in them. *Gada* is sometimes taken as a territory where there may be small valleys, caves. But *Kada* does not have such a meaning, rather it is simply a pit ; large or small or very simply a hole made by man and therefore *gada* and *kada* are never confused.

Thus the term Sapangada means the coming into being of open space; the *gada* is regarded as either a territory or simply a large hole. To highlight this 'open space' as an aspect of living space, they describe the coming into being by the terms- satare, sate, satamu, satate ...etc. This is distinguished from the birth (coming into being) of plants, trees and animals, these are described by the terms '*neinjane*', '*lingajane*', '*merinjane*'. The open space is understood as a clearing and to make a clearing is '*sapina*' in *Kui* language. In contrast *neinjane*, *merinjane* and *lingajane* describe the tearing open of a surface and after tearing open what comes out is called '*aainjane*'.

MEMORY OF THE BEGINNING

The *Kui Gaani*, preserves a memory of the creation of open space by godly beings, Penu (plural : penuni). Since this open space is Sapangada, it is a memory of a beginning of the origin of their living space and their way of life and living. This was the beginning of their settlement. It was concerned with the question, in what way did the Kuianka people shaped the forest landscape into their living space ? This is a critical question. The setting up of a settlement is described in the chapter 'Society and culture-I of Kuttia Kondhs'. The setting up of a settlement is based on three main factors : (i) the available open space for the settlement (ii) the permission of Penus who are authority of different parts of the open space, and (iii) other ecological suitabilities.

The entire settlement site is divided into many parts and in each part there

is a Penu or Penus. The authority of the earth on which Kuianka wants to make the settlement is 'Dharni penu' Alongwith Dharni penu are associated a number of Penus who interfere with different spaces after the settlement is made. Such associated godly beings are *Elu penu, Keri penu, Sandhi penu, Eju penu* ..etc. With them are associated the *Soru penu* i.e. Hill god from whom permission is taken for setting the settlement at its foot (If the hill is a god then the foot hill is the foot of the god. But the hill itself is standing on the earth called *wango*. Though the hill base is called *Panga* still it is a part of the total earth '*wango*'. Then the authority of the *wango* is Dharni penu whose permission is necessary to turn the forested landscape into a living space.

DHARNI PENU AND THE OPEN SPACE(S)

Dharni penu circumscribes open space used for cultivation or settlement or for both. They believe that the presence of *Dharni penu* is felt in all parts of the forest. In the open space actual presence of Dharni is symbolically represented. These spaces are in the area between the *Penu basa* and the *Naju basa*. Here., in between the Penu basa and the Naju basa 'Dharni penu' is represented by three vertically placed stones. These are placed in front of a large stone.

The *Dharni penu* is placed in different order of Kuianka's cultural life. *Dharni penu* is associated with Sapangada *Naju*. Sapangada is the kuianka's living space. In it there are *Naju* situated at the base of hills in valleys and in these available open spaces. These hills are forested, each has a name and a set of associated terms. Together they constitute the landscape and the sacred geography. It circumscribes the area Naju, (that is for settlement and *Nella* that is for cultivations). The Dharni is everywhere indicating that any part of Sapangada is a microcosm of the macrocosm. In other words, all are open living spaces, and this open space is distinguished from other open spaces by the presence of bushy forests (*Bati*) and canopy forests (*Kambani*).

The presence of *Keripenu* alongside Dharni penu indicates that each space is a transitional space. It is 'common's' located between the meeting place of Penus at *gati jaka* and kuianka settlement. This land is in collective custody of Penu and Kuianka, utilised collectively for earning livelihood. For better crop Dharni penu is propitiated.

Failure of a crop is normally an indication of Dharni penu's anger. Frequencies of illness and death is also an indicator of her anger. Conversely, when the duration increases in fallow period (in the shifting cultivation cycle) the Kuianka knows that its capacity for regeneration (*ate ainjane*) has decreased.

Ecologically speaking, Dharni penu refers to the being of self regenerative process. Kuianka is of opinion, that when people did not know of cultivation, Penu

gave them all known varieties of food. These they got from the hill called *Dimbuli soru* where the Penu cultivated. These edible plants are always available in *Dimbuli soru* but can only be seen by selected persons to whom penu speaks in dreams. *Dimbuli soru* is also associated with the myth that was originated from Sapangada from where the culture of Kuianka developed. This has been referred in the chapter "Denomination of forests ...".Kuianka, in fact, came into being under the earth of *Dimbuli soru* but because they could not find a passage to come out, they went to Sapangada through the passages under the earth connecting the *Dimbuli soru* to Sapangada. This makes the link of how food was being provided to Kuianka. Further it is mentioned that it is *Diubuli soru* from where Kuianka collected seeds of food grains for cultivation. The descriptions of *Dimbuli soru* and Sapangada in the aforesaid chapter contributes substantially to understanding of the living of Kuianka in the living space - Sapangada.

Soru penu is the presiding deity of the intercore of a space which is the highest point on the surface. It also refers to the upper elevated regions. This Penu is associated with hills. Many a Soru penu are named after the hills together which constitute the sacred geography of a space.

Gangi penu represents the exterior aspect. This Penu is associated with water. The Kuianka believes that flowing water carries away all that is harmful to human beings. This include illness and disease.

The presence of *Soru Penu, Keri penu, Dharni penu* indicates that open spaces are created by the godly beings for cultivation. Further, cultivation is possible when open space is accessible. To make such open space accessible, it is necessary to acknowledge the presence of Penu.

MYSTERY OF SAPANGADA

Beginning is always shrouded in mystery. As such the beginning of Sapangada is mysterious. Mystery begins with the enquiry of materials in the forest.

Through enquiries the members of Kuianka could derive the understanding of the cosmology of the forest. This lead them to understand the structures and functions of the forest. They gradually acquired knowledge on the utility and preservation of the forest. This leads to understand the practical aspect of Kuianka culture. The Kui Gaani describes the creation of Sapangada as one such practical activity. The song describe in sequence how open space was created in a landscape, in a forest and how the Kuianka began to live in it and how in time it became meaningful for the existence.

Another term important for our purpose is *Bicha* which denotes the material object and its production. Kuianka believes that all that exists is products

of work. The visible object is product of work. But the invisible aspect is a presence of its shadow, the process of production. *Bicha* is further taken as an occurrence, e.g. the spread of pox diseases. *Bicha* as an occurrence makes sure that it has a mobility. The mobility of *bicha* on one hand is a process of production, on the otherhand, is a process of destruction as the pox-diseases destroys the well-being of the Kuianka. Thus the things have a dual meaning though denoted by one term- *Bicha*. It has an invisible mobility in planting a belief in the Kuianka which in later times blooms with feelings,perceptions about the mobile nature of things in terms of *bicha*.

This perception is preserved as the memory of work which created Sapangada. This work brought it into being, and thereby opened on the beginning of Kuianka existence and their social and cultural way of life.

KUIANKA'S RELATION TO THE FOREST

Kuianka's relation to the forest is rooted in the mystery of multiple origins. This gives them their sense of passage of time. In the process of becoming a space or spaces for practical activity in the forest landscape, the practical activity preserves independence of living beings within a framework of their inter-relationship with the landscape, the hills and forests, overall with the Nature and not without it. In this context the question of 'origin' becomes meaningful. The interrelationship between Kuianka and the forest prepares the ground for existence of a tree as an independent or interdependent being which is a class in itself and for itself. This is described by the Kuianka as '*Satotanja*'.

The *Satotanja* exemplifies the 'manner of being present which is in accordance with the space from where the 'manner' itself comes into being. Thus *Satotanja* is Kuianka's self - perception.

Sapangada preserves a memory of the beginning which has three aspects namely, the opening - up of a possibility, the knowledge of the original work and the beginning of a settlement.

The *Kui Gaani* gives the Kuianka a sense of the passage of time beginning with the point of origins. According to the gaani, Sapangada denotes the process which opens the possibility for an entity to come into being. It describes the creation of the physical space where Kuianka lives. It describes the process of emerging out of darkness to become a living space.

THE CULTURAL VALUE

The Sapangada stands as the origin of a possibility, origin of an entity and knowledge of an original work. The possibility of the 'origin' and the 'original' in later times posed various aspects of the Kuianka cultural traditions. The inter play

of shadow and darkness and light in the living space gave rise to Kuianka's cultural identity. The interplay does not maintain its continuity and is believed to be continued in the future. This continuity of interplay between the origin and possibility of origin manifested through the Kuianka wisdom and the knowledge become mobilized. The mobility of knowledge gave origin to great many things in the social and cultural traditions. Thus the purification of knowledge or the mobility of knowledge or the dynamics of the knowledge (*Edu itere*, *Budhi itere*) is the sole basis of the cultural and moral value.

The knowledge that the kuianka holds today is a reflection of his understanding and self perception about the living space. This understanding of the total set of knowledge emerged out of Kuianka's mind. When Kuianka became the earthly being his knowledge was enlightened. The knowledge of the living space that the Kuianka holds is a part of the original knowledge. The forms of knowledge which came out spontaneously through the practicality of activities of Kuianka with its living space gave birth to the cultural patterns.

Through knowledge Kuianka observed and understood the living space around him and the objects, subjects in the living space, gave rise to what is called the 'value'. Thus the practicality of knowledge is 'value'. This value based knowledge of the Kuianka is reflected in the tradition and culture. The culture has preserved the value based knowledge with which every member of Kuianka is acquainted. The application of the knowledge brings forth a set of principles which are almost binding for everybody. The value-based cultured principles through the process of transformation over the ages are reformed and continue in the society incorporating events and traits.

It is interesting to note that *Kapka Gaani* in a nut- shell is the application of the Kuianka knowledge to feel, to identify, denominate, understand the components of the living space. *Kapka Gaani* is a milestone which signifies the moment when Kuianka takes the components of the living space into the curriculum of its original knowledge. *Kapka gaani* adds a lot to the understanding of the environ and so may be regarded as an environmental song like *Basa Gaani*. But the difference between the two lies in the prediction.and understanding of the knowledge. Basa gaani describes various dimensions of the living space in terms of behaviour. The *Kapka Gaani* also takes into account the multidimensional space through practical experience. Again *Basa gaani* refers to the specific situations whereas *Kapka gaani* takes into account the collective situations. Further '*Kapka*' is derived from '*kapa*' which means a box or a basket and basa in this context refers to the available space or space inside the kapa. Therefore basa is hidden in 'kapa' so in the Kapka. When *kapka* refers to a box, *basa* refers to the whole space inside the box or a collection of spaces occupied by elements in the box. It is therefore that if *Kapka* represents a macrocosm, *basa* represents a microcosm. Similarly if

Kapka refers to the entire living space, basa would mean to the units, fragments, sections of the living space.

UNDERSTANDING OF COMPONENTS OF THE LIVING SPACE

Kapka Gaani is also a symbol. It brings into the Kuianka's knowledge all that is present on the earth like Kuianka itself. The song is enriched with the composition of *Kui* terms in a specific sequence and the sequence brings into notice the entire ecological phenomena in the living space. The song starts from a confusion. The confusion is about the living space. The confusion leads to an analysis of knowledge for all 'possibilities'. Possibilities are further analyzed for appropriateness or misappropriateness. The appropriateness is ultimately found out. The King who was in a confusion in the song is an image. The King is nobody but a Kuianka - may be taken here as a very ancient Kuianka - the ancestor. The King was alone is indicative of the Kuianka being alone in the entire living space. The King is followed by his fellow beings the whole way through. This is the image of the past generations. The order transmitted by the King to his fellow being is the knowledge that Kuianka transmitted through generations. The King is eager to reach his friends and relatives, the Kuianka is in search of finding his immediate beings in the darkness. The King reaches a point of time when he is completely desperate for no way is found to reach.

The Kuianka is self perceptive. He started his exploration into the nature in the image of the King. The King was in a hurry as he wanted to reach his country. He didn't know the path. He was left in complete darkness but was brave. He started his exploration into the nature to find the way to his country. He came across the sun, moon, stars, sky, fire, water, hills, forests, rocks, streams, rivers which were not living like the Kuianka. The king came across animals, fish, plants and trees, birds etc., who were living like the Kuianka. The King was still in confusion. He fired his gun. He shot at various spots. He shot at the trees, plants, forests, hills, holes, sky, sun, moon etc., with an attempt to get a response from such things so that he could find his way into his destiny through the forest. In this way the King proceeded. He halted at various places to observe the space around him. He broadened his knowledge about the living space. He understood the importance of the components. He tried to know the movement of the sun and so knew about the direction. He tasted water at various places to find if such water could be taken by a King or not. The confusion was unraveled when Kuianka understood rightly. This applies to the knowledge of Kuianka. He now came to know of which should be and which should not be. This makes the way for Kuianka to reach his destiny. This shapes his knowledge in the proper form and leads him in the proper direction. Ultimately the King reaches his destiny crossing many hurdles, crisis and problems. This whole process adds to the Kuianka's knowledge of observing, feeling and perceiving in the entire life span. It is the environment - the box i.e. the *Kapa* in

which are found many elements out of which kuianka is one. which have a self existence and is subjected to birth *sate* or *pdite* and death '*Saate*'. The interaction of Kuianka with the environment, the understanding of the Kuianka about the various living and non-living components and his interaction with them germinates in him the truth of life, the knowledge of life and the knowledge of the whole. Birth signifies the beginning of knowledge, death signifies the turning of the knowledge down through the generations. All these attributes go side by side with the Kuianka culture - a record of the ceaseless efforts and experience of Kuianka alongwith time.

EDU : THE ROOT OF VALUE BASED CULTURE

The Kuttia concept of open space and living space, the path of knowledge from darkness to light, the concept of environ and the appropriateness of an activity, all are summed up in a word '*Edu*'. *Edu* is also the root of the Kuianka's understanding of his society, the culture, the religious dogma, the standard of living and well-being. Moreover '*Edu*' is a parameter of thought and behavior which are woven with sense the cultural or social'. *Edu* defines the adaptive mode of Kuianka to circumstances which is very practical. The term practical here means modes by which the desirable and appropriate things can be actualized.

> *"Edu itere budhi itere*
> *Inisatisi adine Inisatisi ranjine".*

The lines mean that through the thinking process knowledge comes in. *Edu* literally means 'think' and '*budhi*' refers to knowledge. The first line thus means that when there is a thought, it brings a knowledge. So the thought is the root of *budhi* or the knowledge. The following line is meant as 'how it will be right, how it will fit'. Thus either lines give meaning to a process, a process driven by intellect or in particular to a 'resolute intent'. Both are obversed in the kuianka understanding of knowledge. '*Insisatisi*' or 'how to' is the question always in Kuianka mind at the beginning of a process. Thus any activity or process Kuianka does whether it be about society or about a culture is always a collection of '*inisatisi*'. The appropriateness of the process is valued from the terms '*adine*' and '*ranjine*' which respectively mean 'right' and 'fit'. So the right and fit are the evaluation of a knowledge or a thought. This understanding that through a thought knowledge is acquired makes the Kuianka adaptive to circumstances and makes it easy for him to solve the question, how it will be right, how it will be fit. This is the basis of all Kuianka process.

The same term '*inisatisi*' may be used for 'what is'. Then the *inisatisi adine* would refer what's right. What's right is the process of thinking and how it will be right is the act of doing as per the knowledge derived from thought. This is the base question that has added a lot to cultural values of Kuianka. This was the question

when Kuianka was under the earth or in darkness and the same question sustained with the Kuianka on the earth and in shadow and light. Thus '*edu*' is not simply a thought, rather a form of awareness or an awareness of what is to be done, of that which is desirable and appropriate. *Budhi* is a verb. It is the use of intellect to do the work. Modes of living therefore are ways in which the desirable and the appropriate can be realized. In the awareness of the Kuianka's desirability is embedded a 'resolute intent' which insures the well-being of those who live in it. It follows the appropriateness of things, of thinking and doing is best defined by its contribution to the well being of people.

Edu and *budhi* thus give the appropriateness to the Kuianka culture or shape the kuianka culture with justifications of appropriateness. It will be right to say that the *Edu* and *budhi* maintain the cultural value of the society by maintaining the appropriateness in thoughts, deeds and responses. The *Kui Gaani* cites one example of this appropriateness.

Nerandali thought that without plants and trees the earth looks nude. Hills were also looking nude. Plants and trees came into being long after the hills were made. Without the plants and trees animals are also in open. Birds are not getting a place of abode. The desirability of Nerandali for the basic needs on the earth as perceived by her 'resolute intent' is solely to ensure the well being of those who live in it. As the *Gaani* states, the hills are fully an appropriate need of the Kuianka for, he can cultivate there, hills must leave plains amidst them,for, the Kuianka can make his settlement there. The hills must be around the Kuianka village settlement, for they will protect them. These adds appropriateness to Nerandali's desires and desirability which are meant for the well-being of the Kuianka - her descendants.

Further more, the idea to bring the plants and trees into being was not completely a self centered idea to benefit herself or to satisfy her desire of observing the landscape around her in decent way. Here, her desire is also having lots of appropriateness. For trees and plants at the first instance became abodes of animals and birds, they came into use of the materials needs of Kuianka. This adds to the meaning to the environment also. Since situations provoke specific thoughts from which is derived specific knowledge and intellect it reflects on the situation and shapes the situation. For instance, occurrence of death, of marriage, of customary visits have specific thought appropriate to the occasions and non- customary situations may provoke response which is not prescribed but is spontaneous.

EDU AND *NEHIJELLA* WELL-BEINGNESS AND *WEDA-SILAE* : The concealed truth

Edu is therefore the thought that provokes the intellect to do some action. It drives the intellect towards specific directions of a desire and helps the intellect to materialize. *Edu* is also the appropriateness of a process, a practice or an activity

with regard to specific situations. It is the awareness that leads to the concept of well-being. Then the thought, the intellect, the action, appropriateness of process, practice, activity and over all the awareness - everything emerge out from *edu*. Thus the *edu* is the 'value'. It gives value to a situation, a society, a culture from which emerge out the discourse of social value, cultural value, aesthetic value in relation to a situation or environment over a period of time.

Several terms highlight the attributes of value or the appropriateness with regards to time, place and activity. The terms *pune*, *bakaratamu*, *mrangeetae*, *takana* may be taken into consideration here. These terms refer to the activity of the immediate moment at hand. '*Pune*' means to know, to understand and to remember. '*Bakaratamu*' refers to lose tract of, to lose sight of, to miss the connecting link. '*Mrangeetae*' means to be distracted. '*Takana*' means to cover distance - a corollary which is to retain in mind over a period of time. None of these terms refers to or describes a process of recollection. In conjunction with these meanings, associated meanings of the term *edu* can be elaborated.

Edu so far has referred to the awareness of this living space in so far as it shapes a resolute intent for realizing it for living in space and time. The terms discussed above elaborate their timely awareness. Timely awareness is '*Pune*' that is to know the activity and task at hand to be accomplished. Conditions when immediate activity is obstructed are understood as forgetting in the sense of '*bakaratamu*' i.e in the sense to lose tract of connecting link between one work and another and in the sense of '*Mrangeetae*' to lose tract of in the sense of not to be distracted. For awareness '*edu*' - takes shape as resolute intent. The knowing of how to do things has to be retained over time as tradition to make the resolute intent to be meaningful. This covering of time is linked to movement - '*Takana*'.

This timely awareness '*edu*' and knowledge *pune* have been retained over time in *takana* shapes the thinking on appropriateness. To bring out its character the term of untimeliness is discussed here. '*Weda silae*' is described as untimely. Literally, '*Weda silae*' means sun absent (Weda - sun, silae - Absent). This term for absence of the sun describes a condition : the sun is the source of light, When it is absent there is darkness. Sun illuminates and in its illumination timeliness can be judged. Without awareness and knowledge there is no light and vice versa. Consequently all activity is shrouded in darkness. For, it is based on incorrect recognition of situations, which in turn is the cause of such activity. Accordingly 'weda-silae' is the absence of the sun. The source of light is darkness. This is both the result and cause of untimely activity. This is an aspect of inappropriateness.

Timely activity is appropriate. This is given in the meaning of terms '*dina mehananga*' and '*angadina*'. Here *dina* is time though literally meaning a day. '*Meha*' is 'to see'. Therefore to see what is timely is in the observance of '*weda*

silae'. Here *edu* is complete. The opposite of *dina mehananga* is '*angadina*'. *Anga* is to see different and *dina* is time. Accordingly '*angadina*' is not to see what is timely. This is in correspondence with '*weda silae*'. With this understanding of timely and the untimely *edu* is complete.

Those who, according to Kuianka are able to distinguish the '*dina mehananga*' and '*angadina*' are well aware of the condition of *weda silae*. People of such awareness are described by the terms '*satotanja*' and '*nehijella*' with little distinction.

These terms describe their well-being, for they have conducted their lives keeping in mind awareness as a measure of the use of words and performance of deeds.

Nehijella in fact describes a life force or life which is free from disability. This particular view of feeling of life is reflected in social behavior. Disability is the result of absence of a resolute intent to do work. In other words absence of *edu* and the condition of '*weda silae*'. It is not physiological even though it is not manifested and is recognizable on the physiological impairing or damage of the body. For, in Kuianka society, there are physically disabled men who work and make themselves socially useful. Illness is understood as a state of being inflicted. It is the result of inappropriate activity which calls upon the Kuianka the anger and wrath of penu-godly beings. The person whose life force is *nehijella* is called '*satotanja*' or a truthful person. '*Sato*' means truth and '*tanja*' means people.

To sum up the discussion at this point, *Weda silae* refers to condition created from the absence of Sun - the source of light, when it is not possible to distinguish between timely and untimely activity. To be able to see the timely it is called '*dina mehananga*' and the inability to see the timely is '*anga - dina*'. A person who is able to see, '*dina mehananga*' is '*Satotanja*' a truthful person and his life or life force is '*nehijella*'. Untimely activity is a result and cause of misrecognisation - it leads to darkness.

CULTURAL VALUES IN RELATION TO ENVIRONMENT

The Kuianka's cultural system is based upon its cultural ethos. The cultural ethos of Kuttia Kondhs shape their culture, their way of life, environment, including all the material and non-material products of their group life that are transmitted from one generation to the next. Their cultural life pertains to beliefs, standard of behaviour, values, knowledge and all other aspects of culture which they hold with great traditional feelings. Many aspects of the Kuttia Kondhs' culture have been described in the earlier and later chapters. But in this chapter only the values and knowledge of the Kuianka cultural life is sketched. But in rare cases the terms like cultural value and environment are used. For, the Kuianka feels that environment

is both extrinsic and intrinsic. The intrinsic environment is exemplified as the 'being' itself and the being here is the Kuianka. The Kuianka have a myth of origin which shows the intrinsic environment Sapangada to which the Kuianka is subjected to. There has been lots of debates about the understanding of the outward and inward environment of the Kuianka. It starts with the understanding of 'being' and 'Being'. The Kuianka in the beginning is presented by the 'Being' and so to say the 'Being' has shaped the Kuianka.

Being is a larger whole of which Kuianka and other subjects and objects in its surrounding are smaller parts. The Kuianka shows many faceted association with the Being like ecological, organic and holistic. But all the forms of his association with 'Being' or the large whole or the biggest environment have their root at the culture, the knowledge, the moral values of Kuianka or the vice versa. The understanding of Kuianka about the 'environ' lead it to understand the living space in which he lives. The 'environ' as is understood by the Kuianka by the term '*basa*' makes it to feel his habitat or abode and *basa* is a part of the Sapangada - the living space. The living space is broad in which are located the plants, trees, animals, penu, hills, forests,...etc. Hence the living space is a collection ofliving and non-living entities in and around with which Kuianka deals in his everyday life. The form of interaction that the Kuianka holds, socially or culturally is based upon his understanding of his living space.

There are many dimensions ofKuianka's living space. The symbolic centre of Kuianka living space is Sapangada which carries with it the thoughts and beliefs and the entire cultural pattern of Kuianka. Not only Kuianka emerged out from there, but also the entire cultural feelings and values emerged out. This emerging out shows the beginning after which the Kuianka is exposed to a bigger environment. With the Kuianka's emerging out, other beings like plants and animals also emerged out by *sate* or *pdite*.

Kuianka developed a fear towards the mystery. He did not feel protected without the surrounding around him like the hills, forests and other things. He wanted to feel very much protected in his settlement and his psychic manifestation started to see the unseen in form of penu. He felt the penu to be superior to him, also the supreme entity who made the living space for him. He took penu with him always whenever he stayed. He served for the penu and penu blessed him in his settlement. The Kuianka went through his surrounding for livelihood. Penu in the beginning helped him and he started cultivating on the hill slopes. He lived on it and taught the succeeding generations to live on it. This living with dependance on the 'Penu and the cultivation made him to think a lot for his well beings. He went back again to the mystery of Sapangada where he was confronted with the question "in what way a forest was shaped into a living space'? He discovered relation to the

forest which was of practical use to him. He leamt how to live amidst forest maintaining inter relationship. Living in this forest habitat made him to understand the significance of different components of environment. Thus he made his settlement amidst the forest within a cultural framework of inter-dependance.

The real cultural value in the living space was finally found out. Then for a proper interaction with the environment, '*edu*' contributed substantially by making the Kuianka know about the appropriateness, awareness of the original work - the continuance of origin of possibility, entity and knowledge.

It is knowledge that makes the environment. The knowledge leads the Kuianka to understand the secret of well-beingness, (which is nothing but a manner of interaction with the surrounding with the timely appropriateness of the activity). Thus Edu is the broad environment that values the *Jella* as *Nehijella* and both are obverse. Environment is meant here as the living space. Thus understanding of the 'Being' is the prime cultural value of Kuianka.

6

SOCIAL MEANING OF RESOURCE AND RATIONALITY OF MANAGEMENT OF KUTTIA KONDHS

INTRODUCTION

Resource is meant as any part of man's physical environment, living or non living, or any human skill or knowledge that can be utilised in the production of goods. Resource is understood in many ways. Its use depends upon the man. The various components of the environment viz: earth, water, forests are used by man to derive his needs. Man has many needs. Some out of them are very necessary to maintain a marginal livelihood. The prime necessities of man are food, clothing and shelter. The resource used to provide these three prime needs are always given importance since time immemorial. The needs of the pre-historic man was very much limited. He used to get his needs satisfied from the environment around him. Then there was little exploitation of resource. With the growth of population and civilization, the demands on the resources increased, so exploitation became maximum. This exploitation went on with time and is going on still. The civilization has reached a point when human wants are unlimited and resources are limited. To satisfy the desire of human beings, to fulfil the unlimited wants the resources made available by the nature was the only source. The earth, water, trees, plants, animals, forests, air, sun everything are regarded as the gift of the nature to the human beings. These are the resources on which the pre-historic man depended and also the civilized man. These are known as natural resources as they are provided by the nature. The natural resources, for a general understanding, in later times were divided into two categories : Biotic and Abiotic. The former refers to the living organisms or the biotic organisms and the latter refers to non-living things in the environment.

The wants of the pre-historic man being very limited were only limited to

use the natural resources for the purpose of food, clothing and shelters. The advancement of man's intelligence leads him to use the resource in a more scientific way. Development of various types of weapons, starting with stone and wood to metal with sharp points not only saved him from wild animals, but also made him superior to all other creatures on the planet. Together with this, man also used his intelligence to evolve himself into a more comprehensive social being superior to animals, forming a society, caring for his kith and kin and fellow human beings. The civilization marched ahead, more and more societies with different names came into being, but the natural resources to be used and reused for the need of the societies remained static. There started a competition for acquiring living space. The forests were cleaned to provide living space for the communities. The resource was shared among the communities which started to exploit the available resource around them to maintain a pattern of living to their likeness. The man's desires turned to be insatiable. These insatiable desires made him in quisitive to the things outside, because they are perceived by the senses as the source of happiness.

Resource is known in various ways, by various terms and in various uses by different types of communities on the earth. With the evolution and consequent growth of the civilization, entire mankind became differentiated in different respects; the main respect being the adaptation to different geographical regions. With this came the societies now regarded as the developed societies and the undeveloped and underdeveloped types. Different societies living in different geographical situations learnt to live with their interaction with the environment from which they learnt to use the resources available in the best way as they could. This depends upon the considerable knowledge of resource use. The advanced societies have shown a different set of knowledge of resource use in comparison to the undeveloped societies. Here the societies become different. One becomes a technocratic society which uses technological know-hows in resource use. The other type uses its indigenous knowledge in a scientific manner and lives inside forests being known as forest dwelling communities or tribal communities or aboriginal communities. Thus the knowledge on resource and resource use becomes different between a technocratic society and a forest dwelling community.

In this instance we are concerned about one such forest dwelling community whom we know since long as Kuttia kondhs. In some chapters we have discussed earlier about the Kuttia Kondhs pattern oflivelihood, their living space, their social and cultural identity designed with the indigenous way of living in interaction with the nature around them. They are a forest dwelling community, practising shifting cultivation, believing on the unseen power and mystery of the nature around them which is reflected in their religious and cultural life. They are people with limited wants and such wants satisfy to the three basic needs of mankind : food, shelter and clothing to live on the earth. They have their indigenous ideas

of resource use for it is the main essence on which they subsist and live.

Kuttia Kondhs do not have a term comparable to the western term 'resource'. What they know about it by the different names attributed to various forms of resource, in their *Kui* language. Thus they have a similar idea like those of the advanced societies to understand the various elements that are regarded as resource. He knows about resource by a name, given in *Kui* term. To the Kuttia kondhs understanding, it is a resource (they do not have a term for it) which come to their use (*Kama aate*), i.e. that which comes in work'. That which comes in work here means the things that satisfy their needs and demands or the things that are used by them for specific needs. This is the general understanding of Kuttia Kondhs' of their living resource. The resource is also meant as 'that which give, known in Kuttia terms as '*Si-eete*'. The term *Sieete* literally means 'to give', thus it makes the resource to be understood as the things that give, or the things that produce or yield or very simply understood as the production and re-production for general well-being.

Here arises the question what are such resources that are '*Kama ate*' or '*Kama aatati*' to Kuttia Kondhs ? Or what are such things that come in use in Kuttia Kondhs life. The Kuttias divided the whole nature into many parts. They are *Tana* i.e. the earth, *Vira* i.e. soil, *Mara* i.e. tree, *Kambani* i.e. forests, *Soru* i.e. the hills. Besides, the *Kadi* i.e. cattles, *Karu* i.e. buffalo are also included in their resources. Among the other things Kuttia feels the *weda* i.e. Sun as one of the most useful resources. Then the question arises what is the source of these resources ? Kuttia Kondhs attribute to nobody but to the myth itself which is the source of all resources.

SOURCE OF RESOURCE - THE MYTH

When Kuttia emerged out from Sapangada, he found that the earth and sky mingled into one. To separate the earth and sky they used poles of wood to push the sky up. They pushed the sky up to find sufficient living space on the earth. There came the need for houses to take shelter in. They cut the forest and got the materials for house making. To be able to cultivate and earn livelihood, Kuttia brought seeds while he came out from the underground. He cultivated crops by sowing seeds on the available plain and hill land. The seeds germinated with the help of sun and rain. Kuianka needed many other things for his minimal need of household artifacts and got such materials from forests. So with its emerging out he came to know about the Sun, rain, earth, forests, trees, plants, animals, which came in use. One Kuttia kondh once said, '*Mehanangani budhi ate*' i.e. knowledge comes after long observation. It is his self perception. To make it clear, the Kuttia Kondh is of opinion that certain things are known from observation. He cited many examples to make out his point. He gave the example of germination of a seed. A seed does

not germinate if it is kept in house or put on a dry land. But when the seed is put in a wet land or when rain showers upon a field where the seed was put, it germinates. This example makes a meaning that for the seed to germinate water is important. Water is made available to the earth from rain or from stream. Thus streams and rain were used in germination of seed. Thus the rain and stream are also resources as the seed. Both the seeds and the water are useful for the life. So they are also resources.

Further, when a seed germinates into a plant or tree it does not yield fruits if it is not exposed to the sun. It will not flower or bear fruit. Therefore sun is a type of resource. Likewise water, soil, rocks and other materials that came to be used are called resources. Thus it is understood that whatever matter or life that comes in everyday use of the Kuttia Kondhs is regarded as a resource. Then what is the main resource base ? It is attributed to the '*Aaga Kata*' i.e. the Nature. Though 'Aaga kata' is not exactly what we mean as nature it is regarded as the precursor of all that is now a resource in the Kuttia Kondhs understanding. This understanding continues with their myth, they were exposed after emerging out from the underground of Sapangada to the outerworld. Immediately after coming out Nerandali thought of bringing the plants and trees into being, to create the hills for the value of these things. But she could not create the sun, moon, water, sky, fire ... etc, for those were beyond the capability of man to create. Therefore when they were living under the ground, they did not have a perception about the resource. However, their self perception about the resources grew after their emerging out from the Sapangada. Afterwards every thing that was felt as essential need for man's survival on the earth, perceived by Narandali, was brought into being which became the essence of life on the earth.

In the understanding of the Kuttia Kondhs culture the trees, plants, forests, hills were made or created or brought into being especially to beautify the nature, as is recorded in the myth. But in fact, those things were really meant to beautify the living of Kuttia kondhs in their living space. The myth left those things to be used by the Kuttia Kondhs through generations. The terms '*bicha*' and '*jara*' are synonymous and refer to the seed which was the first resource that were carried from the underground. This '*bicha*' signifies the regeneration and reproduction ability of the resource. Bicha is sown on the fields to get yield in multiples. This made the first subsistence resource of the Kuttia Kondhs.

Thus it can be stated that the myth stands as the source of the resources. For, the Kuttia Kondh observed, identified and classified his resources as per the ideas of the myth. In later period the material or non-material things came to be used in the 'daily life. In this way through resources the Kuttias came to know about *Aagakata* i.e. the nature from the tales, songs and stories that are associated with their culture.

NATURE AS THE RESOURCE BASE

Kuttia Kondh attributes the nature as the resource base. From the hoary past he has been a forest dweller. He did not know about the cultivation or did not have a group life or a settlement. He was wandering here and there. He was gathering food from forest by hunting animals or collecting the fruits and roots. He was changing *basa* (place) for *basa* (tuber) frequently. Tubers are very much associated with the Kuttia Kondhs food pattern. The history of 'basa' i.e. tubers dates back to the time of Kuttia Kondhs' origin. 'Basa' stands as a metaphor when it means to the first food in form of tubers. The Kuttia Kondh admits, as he had heard from his ancestors, that in ancient days when they were like nomads (*Treyenja*) they were gathering mostly roots from the forests.

The search for food made the Kuianka to be dispersed over a vast stretch of the land. In the beginning when they just emerged out, they were provided with food by *Dimbuli Soru*, the Kuttias hold strongly. The *Dimbuli soru* was then the food base. In the Kuianka cultural beliefs they hold that *Dimbuli soru penu* was cultivating on the hill land. He was cultivating all varieties of crops that the Kuttias are cultivating today. But such crops were invisible. But this is a symbolic expression of the food then available on the hills. The hill was made by Nature and so is a part of it. Kuttias were not the people then who could understand the mystery of nature. Everything was like a mystery then. While wandering around the forests, they came across various types of landscapes where they found various sources of foods and shelters. They are of the opinion that their ancestors were living at one place till the food stuff was fully exhausted. After that they were leaving the area for other. Then they were living like hunters and food gatherers.

Slowly there came a change. Kuttia could learn the art of cultivation. As it is said agriculture is the first culture. So Kuttia began his cultural identity with agriculture. But it was not agriculture that provided it the food for whole year round. So dependence on forests went on as it was continuing. It grew on the lap of nature and got everything from it. The immediate place from where he could avail things was the Nature around. It supplied food, shelter, medicine, fuel wood, fodder and everything to the forest dwelling community. To be particular about the availability of resources, the Kuttia kondhs denominated various parts of the Nature viz: Hills, Forests, Valleys, Plateau with various names. This naming of different parts of Nature, parts of hills, forests ... etc. was based on certain characteristics. For example a hill named after a tree would mean the availability of such trees on that hill. So denomination of the Nature with various names gave the idea of availability of particular types of resources there. Examples may also be cited of the hill-names which are so named according to the forms of resources available. *Pijubangeri* is a hill that is named after *Piju* i.e. rain, *Bidibangeri* is a hill named after '*bidi*' i.e. wind. The name of the hill *Titigada-Bajargada* refers to

plenty of available animals in that area. Likewise forests or forested patches are most of the times known in terms of plants and trees, animals etc. The *Gunjinanu* and *Mahananu* are the two main perennial streams which Kuttias believe as the earliest source of water. Hence the rain, wind, plants, animals, water-all these are resources and to make the resource base particular and accessible Kuttia attributed various names to it. Kuttia Kondh now understands and strongly believe that those things are the gifts of nature. Still nature is not clearly understood by Kuttia Kondhs. To them nature means their living space. They get all their needs from the living space that is sufficient for their life and living. This is their overall idea about the nature which is regarded with great esteem as it is the only resource base for their survival.

CULTURAL MEANING OF RESOURCE

Nature is the Kuttia's culture. But they are yet to understand the nature as we understand. Their cultural pattern and living in forest indicate that they are Nature believers, they act for Nature and deal with Nature in their everyday life. Nature is a mystery to them like their living space. The understanding of a Nature starts from their fear complex. The fear complex was generated from the mystery of their origin. This fear complex developed to make the whole set of their religious pattern and cultural base. In their religions behaviours they worship the different parts of the surrounding in different names. There lies the secret of their understanding of Nature - as a complex whole, the creator and the destroyer.

In their religious beliefs, the Kuttia Kondhs worship a great number of deities with various names. In their system of nomenclature they know the almighty in the names of Sun, Sky, wind, Rain, Earth, Plants and Trees, hills and forests, animals ... etc. In naming the deities in Kui terms, there lies the feeling that the deities are named after their authority of such things. Those things are their resources using which directly or indirectly they live on earth. The association of those things with certain godly beings indicate their regard for the components of the Nature more than anything else.

The *Dharni Penu* is regarded as the goddess who is the authority of the entire earth on which the Kuttias live and make their settlement. The earth itself is a resource, for it has provided them the basis to live. With this belief they worship the earth goddess with great esteem. There is a belief that the goddess holds the life of the Kuttias and other beings who live on its surface. Therefore the *Dharni Penu* is worshipped, given with sacrifices and other materials that are found on the earth. The earth goddess must be satisfied, failing which she will destroy the community lives living on its cradle. It must therefore be sacrificed with animals. The animals including man has got life from it. It is as per their myth that Kuttia Kondhs are first represented by *Dharni Penu* and then reproduced. Again the fruits

roots, animals etc., on which the human being lives are also carried by the earth goddess. The blood (Ne-ri) that is flowing in the animal body or in the Kuttia Kondhs is a gift of *Dharni penu* directly or indirectly. Therefore she is given the blood, through a sacrifice. The human sacrifice to *Dharni penu*, was an old practice as recorded in their belief pattern and later on in history. So Kuttias are religiously conscious to satisfy the *Dharni penu*.

Dharni penu with another name *Wango penu* is also worshipped with respect. Wango penu is associated with the agricultural fields and the fields used for shifting cultivation. The shifting cultivation and plain land agriculture happen to be the only means of food supply to Kuttia Kondhs. They worship Wango penu in association with many other penus for a better yield from crops. This belief is associated with their crop resource. They feel that the crop resource is also made available to them through the grace of gods and goddesses who are the authority of the resource. Being too much religiously motivated they worship the Wango penu alongwith *Dharni penu* for the resource base - the earth. It is the Wango that provides ample favourable opportunities for a good cropping. Hence, it is also regarded as a resource base.

The *Soru penu* i.e. hill god is regarded as the protector of the Kuttia kondhs. It saves them from a storm. It provides lands-*Nella* for shifting cultivation. It looks for the Kuttia Kondhs well-being from a great height. It has its trees and animals from whom Kuttia Kondhs collect food. It provides fuel woods, wood for household artifacts. Therefore it is a resource base so it is worshipped.

The religious feelings are associated with all aspects of the Nature. The water resources comes in possession of *Eju penu* and *Gangi penu*. Kuttia Kondhs feel that it is water that washes away all their miseries. Again it brings to them all the miseries in form of diseases and ailments. Further water is the main resource that is the basis of cropping and cultivation. Water resource in any form like streams, ditches, pools, rain water everything is given with a legitimate respect on religious grounds. For a good cropping they pray to *Dharni penu*, *Eju penu* and for the well-being on health grounds they pray *Gangi penu*. This is the secret honour accorded to the water resources.

Likewise the Sun is given a lot of respect as *Weda penu* who is the master of all knowledge and awareness. Invisibly it showers its blessings through a good cropping. It makes distinction between day and night, timely and untimely action. Further it helps the Kuttia Kondhs well being by showering upon them its splendourous sustaining gaze. The Sun god is invoked in all the religious performances. All these attributes with the sun god make it a resource from which the Kuttia Kondhs avail awareness, good cropping, know about the changes of seasons and weathers and predict the Sun's power etc.

Wind must not be forgotten for, it has got a place in Kuttia kondh's religious beliefs. Wind is given respect as *Bidi penu*. It is *Bidi* that makes life by maintaining respiration. It dries up the earth. It has the ability to change things. It has developed a fear complex in the Kuttia Kondhs that it may appear in form of storms to abolish the Kuttia well-being. It purifies their environment and blows away their miseries. It is the Kuttia's perception that wind has significant contribution to their life.

Tree is regarded as a Penu called *Mara penu*. Tree stands as a penu itself, as abode of penu and its representation. Trees and plants are justified to be benevolent to human life. It provides to most of the material needs of Kuttias who live in forests. Trees have great deal of association with their life and culture and other aspects of a moral value. Trees have provided them with food, clothing and shelter. Again trees as gods or representation of gods stand as their protectors. To the Kuttia Kondhs trees stand as resource.

Animals are also given due importance in Kuttia kondh religion. The animals whether be in domestic or wild form is one of the greatest resource of Kuttia kondhs. Work animals contribute substantial labour in field processing for agriculture. Further more, the domestic animals and wild animals make a part of their food habit. Animals are seen as incarnations of gods and goddesses. The mythical *Maju* or Sambar may be given example here, from whom the trees and plants took birth. This makes it equivalent to penu as a creator. Sambar is also looked differently in a ritual organized after it is killed or hunted. Through religious performances due regards are given to the animal world. As a food it is a resource and as an environment cleaner it is a resource. Animals are sold for cash which is a resource in terms of economy.

Wani (sky) and *Padani* (heaven) are also given due importance in Kuttia kondhs religious systems. They are given high regards as they carry the Sun (*Weda*), the moon (*Lanju*). Jokal (*lighting*) and Areaja (*thunders*).

The above discussion points to conclusion that the Kuttia Kondhs know the nature through their cultural traditions. The religious dogma set by their culture gives emphasis on the supreme power of entities regarded as Penus. The penus are unseen. But they are provided through various parts of a landscape which is mysterious in origin. Being confronted with such a confusion, he regards the penu to be the sole creator of the entire landscape as well as parts of it as living spaces. Such living spaces are living because of certain material and non-material things. As the entire landscape *Dharni* is fragmented into many smaller living spaces and cultivation spaces, the main penu is also fragmented and each fragment has got a name of its own with an added suffix - Penu. Thus penu defines the whole, the whole being the mystery to the Kuttia Kondh understanding. The whole or the collective body is termed as '*Grudu*' by Kuttia Kondhs. So nature is understood in a

metaphorical way through penu. The nature thus becomes a collection of various forms of landscapes so also association of penus. Again each penu is specified with special sets of feelings. The penu is regarded mightier as he keeps under his custody the living resource of the mankind in the context, of Kuttia Kondhs' feeling. The reverence to the nature or this '*Grudu*' is extended through the penu. So penu made the nature. Further nature is a collective body of penus. For, Kuttia Kondhs name different objects, landscapes with different names with whom are associated the penus. Thus penu is the resource base and at the time of exploiting resource from such resource places, the penu's presence and good will is acknowledged through religious performances.

The earth, the fields, the sun, water, wind, sky, heaven, lightening, thunders in the abiotic sphere and plants, animals in the biotic sphere are associated with a penu each. This is the aspect of conservation. It is their cultural belief that whatever is necessary to Kuttia Kondhs is provided by the penu. Penu is, therefore, taken as a supreme being who stands at the centre of Kuttia Kondhs', cultural traditions. In fact, they take permission from the penu for limited use of the penu's property. The life giving natural resources are supplied by the penu through different sources like sun, wind, water, rain - etc. Thus the penu stands to explain the nature - the base of all resources, with the effective and limited utilization of which the Kuttia kondh well-being is maintained.

Kuttia kondhs have a strong sense of self conviction that till the penus are offered with worships, with respect the living resource of Kuttia Kondhs will never be exhausted. This is their self perception which lead them to offer their gratitude, to the penus through religious performances. Those performances are done during cutting a new field or forest for cultivation, at the time of sowing seeds, at the time of harvesting to thank the Penu to provide the resources for a perfect yield from the fields. This feeling leads them to regard the plants and trees, animals and beasts, the livings and non-livings as the various forms of resources. Thus there are cultural grounds that made the Kuttia Kondhs to value their resources perfectly and this cultural link has cultivated faith in them on penu who is taken as the sole creator of all things.

SOCIAL MEANING OF RESOURCE

Kuttia Kondhs as a social group with the prevalent occupation linked with agriculture and partly as hunter and gatherers are a forest dwelling community which has designed its society in relation to his understanding. Their settlement is made on a cleared patch of land yet, forest is regarded as their second home. They depend upon the forests for many of their household, personal and community needs. Their culture and social thoughts have grown on the basis of their association with the forest. So to say Kuttia Kondhs have developed strong social

and spiritual bondage with the forests which are regarded by them as their brother, as ancestors and in many cases are named after them.

Their everlasting social bondage is mainly based on their dependence on forests which provide almost all of their needs. When a Kuttia Kondh is asked about a material and its availability, immediately he takes the name of the forest or forests from where the material is made available to him. The earlier explanation that Kuttia Kondhs know of a resource in terms of its utility and the production made available from it stands true. In this regard the people regard the forest as the most social form of resource or social resource. Besides the patches of land without a forest is also regarded in the similar way as a social resource.

Then what does social resource mean? It is not only in form of the material and production that make the total body of social resource. Rather it would mean to the entire process of socialization of the people to such resources. The people feel themselves a part of forests, a part of hills, valleys, plateau around themselves. For, they feel that without those things life of a community in a forest is meaningless. There are kinship relations associated with forests and other landscapes. The forest is directly or indirectly associated with the food provision of the society. Besides these things the household artifacts, materials for construction of houses in general are provided by the forests. In sum total survival of the forest dwellers and others for centuries depend on forests. To evaluate the relationship of the tribal people with the forests in general a paragraph from *Gadgil et.al. is quoted here.

> "What has been said about the people in general is much true about forest dwellers whose life system viz: forests, have been traditionally protected by them. For centuries they have developed what can be called a constructive dependence on forest that kept a balance between human and ecological needs. They lived in harmony with forests to such an extent that this relationship has often been described as symbiotic because the total dependance on the forest is comparable to that of the child on its mother. The forest dwellers have met their basic survival needs like food, fuel, fodder, building materials and medicines from the forest. Edible fruits, leaves, flowers, roots etc. from the trees, and crop from slash and burn cultivation have provided them with food. Medicines were got from herbs, roots, flowers or animals and birds from jungle (Gadgil, Prasad and Ali 1983 :13)

With this description of Gadgil et.al. may be added that the Kuttia Kondhs are not wide apart from this idea. Their social attachment to forests - the main

source of their social resource is not limited with only getting available materials from it. Consequent upon their interaction with forests they developed a culture geared to keeping a balance between their own needs and environmental imperatives, as a result of which their social and cultural life became interwined with the forests. Kuttia Kondhs keep up their constructive dependance on forests which is manifested in all their religious beliefs. The destructive activity of the people on forests for shifting cultivation is of course making some imbalance between the human and the ecological needs.

The Kuttia kondhs' relation with the forests is therefore multi-dimensional. Both constructive and destructive dependence on forests, of the tribe goes side by side. Yet their judgement about the maximum sustainability of this social resource is not out of order. For material availability sometimes these tribal people go a long way where they collect specific materials of their choice. It is not that such materials are not available near at hand. But they choose their desirable quality of materials. Therefore long distance travel does not matter to them much. What matters to them is the quality of material. It is seen with this tribe that they collect many household materials from places where there is little human interference. Collection of materials from such a long distance does not imbalance the human beings and the ecosystem. Kuttia Kondhs care a lot about their forms of social resources in which are included plants, trees, animals and forests as the front line resources.

LIVELIHOOD PATTERN AND THE RESOURCE USE

It has been discussed earlier that this tribe is an agricultural society with casual hunting and gathering. But with regards to their resource use, specific discussion on their various practices of earning a livelihood and application of their intellect, understanding and traditional indigenous knowledge on a perfect resource use, is necessary.

It begins with the slash and burn cultivation, often called shifting cultivation which is their main occupation. The practice is done on hill lands. It begins with slashing followed by burning of vegetations in a particular patch, somewhere in a forested patch, mostly on hill slopes. This is a rainfed cultivation practice. The slashing and burning of vegetation is destructive whereas the cropping is constructive. What matters here are important? Slashing and burning of vegetation or a cropping in that place? The standing vegetation on the place is of no use to the Kuttia Kondhs as their material needs unless the entire patch is in use. Further, such parts where a natural vegetation stood for long is replaced by a multiple cropping. Then the cropping becomes more important than the vegetation there, for otherwise the tribe can not earn its livelihood. The slashes are not burnt totally. Most out of the slashes are taken by them to their villages to be used as fuel wood. At the time of slashing they greatly value the old trees, on which they make lofts

for watching and guarding the crops against the herbivorous beasts. In a multiple cropping system, crops mature at various intervals of time. With the crops maturing, the cut parts of the trees regenerate. Maturing of crops and regeneration of indigenous vegetations go on side by side. With the total harvesting of crops new shoots from the cut parts of the trees come up. The next year the Kuttia Kondhs shift to a new place and continue the same practice. Up to three four years they shift from one place to another. Thus in four years interval they slash and burn four patches of forests. After the fourth plot is cultivated they again return to the first plot. The first plot by that time looks like a *Bati* forest i.e. a bushy forest. This interval between two successive cultivations of one plot at about three or four years interval of time is called fallow period.

Kuttia Kondhs advocate that they are not doing that much of a harmful practice that damages the forests. Shifting cultivation is a way of their life. They do not like to decrease the productivity of a plot by continuous cultivation for years together. Because, they feel that with continuous cultivation on a plot not only its fertility decreases, but also the regeneration of natural vegetation is hampered. When fertility is related to productivity, vegetation is related to the life of the forest. So they take care for both i.e. fertility - productivity and vegetation - forest life. Therefore they feel that they are utilizing the resource as best as they can do. They never like to make a *Bati* or *Kambani* (forests) turn into *Agari* (barren land).

Kuttia Kondhs also maintain that forest is existing for their practice of shifting cultivation. The existence of the forest is judged from its ability of regeneration. Faster growth of vegetation and regeneration of slashed vegetation is taken as an indicator of the living existence of the forests.

Kuttia kondhs are pretty sure that their land use pattern on the hilly lands is very scientific. They do not plough up the hilly floor after debushing. Because they feel, ploughing after debushing would cause severe damage to top soil. For, with the heavy showers of rain the top soil will be washed off. Therefore they dibble the forest floor and put seeds in the dibbled holes and other crops they cast after a heavy shower of rain. Therefore it is a scientific land use pattern understood by them. On the hill slopes crops are also better secured from the cattle.

Kuttia kondhs do not cut such patches of forests which have large trees to a greater number. They have a different view about such forests. They leave the patch and do not cut such trees which produce minor forest produces. Various types of minor forest produces like Sal seeds, Sal dust resin, honey, Mahua flowers and seeds, Chara seeds, Myrobolans, Mango, Tamarind, Siali leaves, Broom sticks, Bamboo .. etc. are collected. Besides the fruits like Kendu (*Diospyras melanoxylon*), Jamu (*Syzigium cuminii*), Sitaphal (*Annona synamosa*), Siali fruits, tubers are collected for household consumption. The collection, processing and

marketing of minor forest produces are traditionally revolved round the forest.

The bamboo forests are given utmost importance from the point of view of food pattern. Bamboo is the boon to the Kuttia kondhs during their lean period which usually starts from May to July or upto mid August when the maize mature. During the period the young bamboo shoots, that usually come up by June-July are collected. This becomes the staple food item of Kuttia kondhs. During the rain spinach and mushrooms are also collected for their consumption.

Thus the forests have manifold utilities for Kuttia Kondhs in their everyday life. It stands as a production base for Kuttia kondhs the whole year round. The productivity from shifting cultivation, from minor forest producing trees, for other major and minor needs of the tribal people forest is considered as the main resource. The effective utilisation of the resource in terms of productivity from shifting cultivation. the resource in terms of productivity from shifting cultivation, collection from minor forest produces and major forest produces make the Kuttia Kondhs very much friendly with the forests.

When forests provide the subsistence crops the agriculture in plain lands practised by Kuttia kondhs stands as their cash crops. With the cash crops in plain lands minor forest produces adds substantially. Paddy cropping in the plain lands adds the subsistence crops from shifting cultivation. For the source of livelihood of Kuttia Kondhs, forest and plain lands are very important resource bases. In the plain land cultivation the Kuttia Kondhs also show a very scientific land use pattern. The plain lands are mostly at the foot hills and near perennial water streams. The Kuttia Kondhs harvest water by making small embankments at the perennial water streams to irrigate their paddy fields. Where there is no water source they cultivate paddy during rainy season only and cultivate mustard and niger in winter when irrigation is not necessary.

Going to the other side of their livelihood pattern, they are partly hunters and gatherers. The forests are kept preserved for animals. For, during the warm seasons the Kuttia Kondhs go into the forests for group hunting. The hunting of animals partly provides to their food pattern. Sometimes the Kuttia Kondhs cultivate the near hills. For, they feel that if the vegetation near the village settlement is made thinner the fear of wild animals attacking the domesticated animals will be decreased. Side by side the crops in the fields near the village will attract the animals who can be killed there easily compared to the mass encircling of forests for hunting animals.

For the maintenance of a livelihood, some common materials at the household level are very necessary. For example, the agricultural implements, the hand weapons, the house constructing materials.. etc. In these aspects Kuttia

Kondhs are extremely choosy in selecting materials for such use. They keep an eye on the durability and working capacity of such materials. The materials that are required for the household needs are described in the Material culture of 'Society and culture-I'. In those cases Kuttia Kondhs selection of materials justifies their use of wooden resources. A wood is preferred depending upon the type of the material to be made. A plough has to be made with heavy wood for which Sal is preferred. A cot has to be made light for which *Daman* (*Grewia tiliaefolia*) and *Gambar* (*Gmelina arborea*) woods are preferred. But in each case the durability of the wood is taken into consideration first.

HUMAN RESOURCES AND/IN PRODUCTION PROCESS

Production processes in the Kuttia Kondh societies mainly refer to the production from agriculture besides the small quantity collection of minor forest produces. However, in a production process input of labour for maximization of productions is mainly considered. The statement that in tribal societies women are producers and men are dependants, is more or less applicable to the Kuttia Kondhs. Women are labourious and hardworking. They are the chief input of labour in the process of agricultural production and household works. Men are obviously there who assist the women in most of the cases. In a shifting cultivation process men cut large trees and women cut small trees. Men remove large rocks, women remove small rocks. Men carry large poles for house making and women carry head loads of fuel wood for household use. In the collection of minor forest produces men climb the tree to shake its branches and the fruits that fall down are collected and gathered by women. In a plain land agriculture, men plough up the land and women make it levelled. In all these works men share with women in almost all works. But in fact, men being physically stronger than women have to do the hard work. But most of the works in all fields are taken up by women. It will not be an exaggerationto state that the agriculture and production starting from the field preparation, field operations till harvesting are done mainly by the women. Therefore the agriculture in Kuttia Kondh society seems to be a women oriented system.

In terms of a production process timely labour input is an important factor. In this case co-operative labour use is very much marked in Kuttia Kondh society. With the process of co-operative labour system a production process becomes easier and worth while. Therefore an effective labour input system through co-operative labour is a sound manner of maximizing the productions. With the population increase in the family level the maximization in production is observed. Though it considerably decreases the man to land ratio, with increase in population, it helps in maximizing production at a family level of Kuttia Kondhs. The more of labour in a family depends upon the number of its able bodied workers. The Kuttia Kondhs' way of production process never decrease with increase in population, as

has been marked in almost all villages. Of course the population explosion has both positive and negative consequences in all societies. In an agriculture dependent society the population increase goes against the man to land ratio, Kuttia Kondhs are also confronted with such problems about which we will discuss lateron.

Human resources in terms of labour input in Kuttia Kondh societies usually give priority to women, who are therefore felt to be more skillful and knowledgeable about their indigenous knowledge of production. Thus the human resource in Kuttia Kondh villages mainly refers to women resource. Women irrespective of their age and situations are found working in agricultural work.

At the house level women do several types of work. They fetch water, pound rice, cook food for all, take care of babies and do so many other works. Thus women can be regarded as inexhaustible human resource, in the Kuttia Kondh society..

MANAGEMENT OF RESOURCE

"Management is a process of planning, organizing, co-ordinating and directing the productive process in an economic enterprise". The term is also applied to those persons, organized in a hierarchy, who carry out the management process, that is, who perform these tasks. This is what the term management generally means. But the applicability of this idea for the management of a resource is partly correct. For, resource is not an economic enterprise here. Nor is it only a production process. Because, resource is never confused with production. Production refers to the resource use. Further, a good production refers to a perfect utilization of the available resource.

In the context of Kuttia Kondhs, a management process does not operate through a set of persons organized in a hierarchy. To their understanding, management and manufacture or production are two different processes. A manufacturing process or processes included in a production process takes into account a great number of factors. Kuttia Kondhs explain that for manufacturing goods, man power, raw materials, money power, a management system, are the essential requirements. Further, it depends upon the persons who operate the system for a better production. The utilization of all those factors which may be regarded here as a resource determine the production as the effective and scientific utilization of resource. Thus in a production process co-ordination of all the factors is very important. For a perfect resource use considerable knowledge and wisdom about the manufacturing process is a very important factor. This application of wisdom and traditional technological know-how is the indigenous knowledge. Therefore at this instance, about the management of resources, the indigenous knowledge plays the most important role.

Kuttia Kondhs know their resources in two main ways.One is described in their cultural meaning of resource and the other in the context of social meaning. In these two ways meaning of a resource i.e. through the cultural and religious attributes and through the social use of materials, there lies little distinction. That the two meanings differ at a point that the cultural meaning of resource emphasizes more upon the natural resource (which is known to the Kuttia Kondhs in terms of Penu). The social meaning of a resource refers to the forms of resource that come in use in their social life, particularly in their day to day activities and needs and demands. In fact, both the meanings of resource, in forms of resource are equally important to the Kuttia Kondhs, but one is visible and the other is invisible. The co-ordination between these two is made by cultural pattern, which is also the source of indigenous knowledge, *budhi* of Kuttia Kondhs. Further, in a Kuttia Kondh society all people are aware about their social resource, but awareness about their cultural resource, is restricted to certain people only. To make it simple, social resources are known for specific use in daily life, but the natural resource which is symbolically known in terms of penu, is known in general by all is experienced by few who are regarded as the religious heads or those who are associated with religious functions.

The management of social resources and natural resources depends upon the indigenous knowledge. This indigenous knowledge, the Kuttia Kondhs inherited from their ancestors through generations. The indigenous knowledge stands as the main source of management of resources. Certain terms are associated with this management practice. Indigenous knowledge is not a self centred knowledge. Rather it is a collective knowledge, a collection of phenomena and experiences which the older people had got by their long association with the living space around. The self centred knowledge cannot be acquired by all, but is confined to a few people who are the masters of such knowledge. The knowledge is imparted by others, so to say theoritically but the practical use of such knowledge is restricted to such people who are held as masters of it. On the otherhand, the knowledge that is regarded as collective is imparted equally by all, in the society. In Kuttia Kondh society *Jani* is the master of all religious ideas and practices. Other people generally know about the names of gods and goddesses that are being worshipped by *Jani* for individual welfare or welfare of the commons. The general people have some idea of how the worship is organized, the processes involved, the cause of the worship which they know from hearing and observing the events. But they cannot talk about what is right and what is wrong, what has to be and what has not to be done about a religious performance for, they are not masters of it. In the same way a medicine man, an astrologer or wizard called Kutạka's knowledge can be adjudged. This knowledge is regarded here as self centered which is acquired by personal perseverance and often believed as god's gift. On the otherside the common's knowledge is about the general livelihood pattern of the tribe which is

known more or less to all in the society irrespective of age and sex. Those are very practical knowledge without acquiring which a man would become disabled to maintain his livelihood and to earn for him and his family. The making of house, household artifacts. knowledge about cultivation especially the shifting cultivation are the major arena of the common's knowledge.

In the case of management of resources both the self-centered or self acquired knowledge and the common's knowledge or collectively acquired knowledge play a greater role. For, the very wise practice of the indigenous knowledge assures a good result in a management practice and production process.

Thus the management of a production process or a perfect resource use starts from the indigenous knowledge that gives idea about the ongoing process. As it has been mentioned earlier, for the best result in a production process a perfectly framed management principle is the first and foremost factor. Management principles are framed out with use of indigenous knowledge; both theoritically and practically. It then decides about the managerial head. A managerial head is he, who is regarded as the master of that particular process. He must be skillful, wise and a master on that knowledge. For, it is regarded that without a perfect and skillful managerial head, the whole management principles, procedures and the production process will be a failure. Further needs depend upon the availability of raw materials, processing of raw materials, which mainly depend upon the natural and social resources as well as on human resources for, human resources are the chief input of labour in the production process. Then is the matter of economy to be made available to the production process. When in the higher societies economy is the first factor to be thought about, in Kuttia Kondh societies economy in terms of money is thought about as a last factor for a production process.

Why economy in terms of financial input is given least priority in a production process of Kuttia Kondhs has many reasons. The first is the type of resource they use and the type of production they desire. Here if it is a type of social resource, then it can be used from the place where it is available. Only man power is needed. When man power is not made available or if the production process or getting raw materials is not a job which man power can do, then a machine power has to be used for which financial input may be an important factor. But the Kuttia Kondhs do not have such needs. The Kuttia Kondhs conservative aspect is that, their wants are very much limited and all that they need are found available in their environment. Hence money power is given the least priority.

Man power is given the highest priority in Kuttia Kondh society. For man power is the chief input in their production process. Therefore a family which has more of man power takes part in production processes and get more yield. Similarly a family which has less man power produces little and the arena of its production

process is very small. The effective utilization of man power, more particularly the skilled man power is fairly a practical approach and the practice is rather scientific. So skilled man power utilization would show better efficiency in the production process with a time saving manner, to produce large scale or desired output. Kuttia Kondhs being skillful with their traditional technology and indigenous knowledge make a production process easier.

Priority is obviously given to the managerial heads for they operate the entire process and co-ordinate with all the factors or in the production process. Every work or every management practice in Kuttia Kondh society is done by a managerial head. The managerial head may function through a hierarchial system. Hierarchial system in management here refers to a group of people who function at different levels in the management. Examples may be cited here about this hierarchial management system which is seen in a household management system of Kuttia Kondhs. The hierarchy goes down from father being the head, the mother the next and then to the children with respect to their age, skilled ability and wisdom. To make this clear father in a family is regarded as the sole managerial head and the family members are regarded sub-ordinate to him as far as the household management is concerned. Further all members in the family are the man powers who work for the production process. In a religious performance this hierarchy is sometimes observed. In most cases a religious performance is organized by one priest, if the performance is not a bigger festival or ritual. If the performance is bigger there can be more than one priest, among which the seniormost is the chief and others sub-ordinate to him.

Kuttia kondh society show a very co-ordinated way of management pattern. Management, raw materials, man power are mostly given importance in which are included the tools, implements and objects that are the essential requirements in a manufacturing or production or maintenance process. They do not have a similar term comparable to the western term 'management'. However, they have certain terms which are directly or indirectly used in various meanings and various aspects of 'management'. Some of such terms are '*Dapakandi*', *Itautimena*, '*nehisapa itina*', '*ninipani*', or '*nipandi*', .. etc. Which will be described with various production and maintenance practices of Kuttia kondhs.

PRODUCTION PROCESSES AND MAINTENANCE OF PRODUCTS

The previous section dealt with the general understanding of the Kuttia Kondhs management of, a resource. The production process here refers to inputs and outputs. For a perfect resource use and for a better productivity the inputs that are required in general is discussed with the management. Management in terms of a better productivity or a perfect management refers to the processes that are done and the know-how that are implemented for maximization of outputs with

minimal inputs. Besides the proper management, the maintenance of the resource as input and the product as output has to be done in a perfect manner. Because, Kuttia Kondhs feel that without a prior maintenance of inputs and later maintenances of outputs there is no meaning of a resource use. This understanding is made clear by the Kuttia Kondhs with the examples of a production process that is shifting cultivation.

In a shifting cultivation practice the production base is the hill slopes. Inputs of the production process are seeds (*Bicha*), man power (*Maane*) and use of knowledge of the practice, skill, tools and implements. The managerial head is the person who cultivates. In the process, seed (*bicha*) is sown to produce crops. Here *bicha* becomes the main raw material which is processed for a production. The produce is crops and grains. The input raw material *bicha* (seeds) produce *penka* (seeds) from fruits (*Padasi*). The input is a seed and the output consists of many seeds. The input and output are distinguished by two different terms i.e. *bicha* and *penka*. In between the conversion of *bicha* to *penka* works the total management system. The production process is meant to derive *Penka* out of *Bicha*. *Bicha* is both singular and plural but *Penka* is plural, its singular being '*Pan-no*'. *Bicha* is a '*Pan-no*' if it is not used to sow in fields for cropping. Again '*Pan-no*' is a bicha when it is sown in the field. Here the management makes sense that the production depends upon how scientifically *bicha* is used as the input in the production process. *Bicha* needs some sort of maintenance (*ita utimena*) before it is sown. Here the indigenous knowledge works. The *ita utimena* depends upon how carefully it was preserved (*Sapa itina* or *nehisapa itina*). The *nehisapa itina* literally means 'well preservation'. So *Sapa-itina* stands as the term for preservation and *nehi* added to it makes the term understood as better way of preservation. The maintenance of the *bicha* therefore refers to a better preservation for the production process. Kuttia Kondhs keep those seeds in containers made by hay, bamboo containers in which they put leaves of *Began mara* (*Vitex nigundo*) which act as insect repellants and so do not allow insects to eat up the seeds. Further the seeds are kept at places where humidity (known in terms of *Eju* i.e. water) is less or the place is not a water logged one. This avoids the germination of seeds before cropping. Before the seeds are taken to the field, processing is done. Here the input is man power. Then the seeds are taken to field, sown to germinate and grow. The mid-term field practices are done by people. The input in terms of man power and for the processes tools and implements are used. Besides the human resources, animals resources like work animals are also taken as inputs, for they also contribute substantial quantity of labour. Then the crops mature and are harvested, indicating the end of the production process.

Further maintenance is needed when the crops mature in the fields. They need to be collected before the seeds and fruits dry up and fall down on the ground.

Again for this there is involvement of man power. The crops are transported from fields to the houses by the family members. In the house the crops are to be stored properly. Further maintenance is required for better preservation (*nehi sapa itina*) and conservation (*ninipani* or *nipandi*) in the houses. *Dapkandi* is used for management in house level.

In this type of production process Kuttia Kondhs' management depends upon one more factor which is very important in crop production. It is timeliness. Which can be understood from various dimensions. The first is, in a cultivation practice, particularly in case of shifting cultivation and non-irrigated land cultivation people depend upon the rain for the germination, survival and growth of crops. If the cultivation practice is not started right in time when it should then the entire cropping becomes a failure. With the failure of cropping, the well-being of the people is totally lost. For, cultivation is the main source of their livelihood. Therefore Kuttia Kondhs always do a timely management of crops to make sure the production and yield to the desired level. If one has more lands to be cultivated he takes help of co-operative labour systems. If somebody does not have enough of able bodied members in the family, he takes the help of co-operative labour to finish the work in time.

The managerial head is itself a worker in the field. In a cropping pattern, the chief of the household i.e. father is the managerial head. He uses all his skills, knowledge in prediction of the cropping. He organizes the whole work on a timely manner and with proper utilization of inputs and looks for or predicts a huge output based upon his managerial ability.

Therefore in the Kuttia Kondh society, the production process involves with it the management, maintenance, preservation and conservation which mainly depend on man power. Therefore it is the greatest social resource which is mobilized for a sustainable yield from the resource base.

In the manufacturing process of house, household artifacts, agricultural implements and other wooden, non-wooden materials Kuttia Kondhs usually utilize their skill, knowledge and labour for a proper output. As pointed out earlier they are extremely choosy about the materials required for the purpose. Therefore they donot mind to go a long way to collect materials of durable nature.

Inside the house women show better managerial skill and so make a proper management of resource. Women in comparison to men are very much wise about resource use and are also more or less equally skillful as men. The harvested crops are managed by women at house level. They calculate the normal consumption need of the house and the quantity to be used as seeds for further cropping. The buffer stock is sold away. The moderate earning families do not find excess of

surplus quantity or buffer stocks after the household consumption need is met. Sometimes the crops harvested are not even to the mark of household needs. Still they are bound to make a compulsory buffer-stock, or selling of which they meet their other needs.

In any case, the Kuttia Kondhs management is ordered to make a maximization of output with minimized input.

RATIONALITY OF MANAGEMENT

Rationality of a management is generally meant as to make use of logic or benefits to sustain the life of people in a particular area. Here the people in discussion is Kuttia Kondhs. From their ideas and perceptions about their land use management and management of resources at a household level it clearly relates that they are quite rational in resource use, production process, maintenance, management and mobilization of resource. Being known as a shifting cultivation practising people, they are regarded as forest destroyers. But their land use pattern and process of shifting cultivation do not seem to be so much harmful. Their logic holds that they have been hill cultivators traditionally since time immemorial. The cultivation has become more or less a way of their life. They feel that without shifting cultivation they do not have any other means for survival. Therefore shifting cultivation is the only means to sustain their life.

Kuttia Kondhs believe that they are the preservers of the present forests and hilly forest since time immemorial. They are living and the forest is living. They were then and are now living inside the forests. Kuttia Kondhs argue that if they are destroying forests by shifting from place to place for cultivation, every year then the forest would not have existed till today. Because their ancestors were doing the same as they are continuing doing. But at present they are quite rational in use of the forest landscape, for shifting cultivation, minor and major household needs and are burdened with too much of crises which their forefathers did not experience at all.

The shifting cultivation itself is a maximizing process. Here the Kuttia Kondhs hold that they are doing a multiple cropping on the hill slopes which provide different items of food for the whole year at various intervals. They cultivate limited patches and leave fallow periods between two successive cultivations on one plot. The fallow period helps the cut forest patch to fast regenerate. The regenerated forest is slashed further with every three four years interval. Therefore they are limited to certain patches only. Again a specified man to land ratio is maintained. That, the area that is cultivated depends upon the number of members in a family. They cut patches of forests which they can cultivate to their capacity. They never cut more which cannot be cultivated by them. They cut their need and cultivate to their ability. They cultivate on hill slopes to acquire more benefits in terms of

productivity. They are of opinion that this sound production is maintained throughout for the fertility of the soil on the hill slopes. They take care of soil fertility and soil conservation by maintaining fallow periods. Therefore always it yields maximum if the weather constraints are not there. The cultivation on hill slopes are preferred for the crops remain secured from the cattle. Besides they do not clear forest patches here and there without a purpose.

The Kuttia Kondhs have also maintained a rationality of management in their livestock resources. They domesticate cattle, buffaloes, goats, poultry, pigs... etc. Besides the cattle and buffaloes who are regarded as work animals the other animals have ecological, social and cultural significance. In terms of resource, such animals breed at shorter intervals of time and their population grow quickly. Such animals are the major source of animal protein in their food pattern. The animals have to be domesticated and managed properly, for a good proportion of their number is used as gifts in cultural traditions, as sacrificial animals in religious traditions, in social traditions and as a resource in terms of money received by selling them. Again such animals need little maintenance but give high return in terms of resources.

The management of space inside their houses needs little discussion here. For, Kuttia Kondh's house though small is very beautiful. In a small house, they manage the space in a very economic way so that there is space available for storage of goods and crops. They have specific places for specific articles which are never displaced. This indicates one very important style of management of household goods and articles.

RESOURCE TO ECONOMY

The dominant form of economy characterizing the Kuttia Kondh society is settled agricultural economy. The hunting and collecting economy also adds to the settled agricultural economy in their society. The resource use generate economy. The forests, hilly and plain lands generate the economy for them. The economy in Kuttia Kondhs' understanding is that which can be sold for money. The major source that is with them to sell is crop produces. Therefore, the crop produces are the economy for them. The production process ceases with the output. The output here is the crop produces, a major part of which is kept for household consumption and a small part is sold as commodities for cash. The sale of these commodities in the market and the market price at which such commodities are sold gives them the idea of crop resources. Kuttia Kondhs know that there is a good market for seeds of cow pea, black gram, pigeon pea, caster seeds, that are produced in shifting cultivation and seeds of mustard, Niger that are cultivated on plain lands. They feel those crops as important crop resources that generate economy from the market. So those crops are regarded as economic crops.

Besides, the crops like little millet, finger millet, bajra, maize, cow-pea, pigeon pea, tubers, tapioca etc. are economy for household consumptions.

The non-cultivable economic crops for market includes the minor produces gathered from the forests and among the non-cultivated forest crops for household economy are a lot, amongst which bamboo shoots make the major economy of household consumption in lean periods. The hunted animals are rarely sold in the market, for there are restrictions imposed by the Forest Department on killing animals.

The buffer stocks from crop economy are taken to the market where it is sold at market price. But most of the businessmen collect such crops from Kuttia Kondh villages in weekly market days or by opening collection centers in Kuttia villages. Sometimes such traders are seen to have appointed agents for collection of the economic crops of Kuttia Kondhs directly from them in the villages. But the Kuttia Kondhs are subjected to large scale exploitation by those traders who pay them in advance and collect their crops at the time of harvesting at a throw away price. Though they produce a lot, they derive little of market economy for they are never out of the clutches of those traders who use this inhuman practice of paying in advance and collecting from them at a cost far lower than the market price. This makes their economy disrupted.

Minor forest produces collected by Kuttia Kondhs pay them negligible amount compared to their need. Sal seeds and Mahua flowers and seeds, broom grasses are the main minor forest produces they gather from forest, though many other items are still there, and sold to local traders or at the collection centres of Tribal Development Co-operative Corporation and Agency Marketing Co-operative Society.

DEVELOPMENTAL PROGRAMMES AND RESOURCE

Kuttia Kondhs being one of the primitive tribes of Orissa draws attention from the Governmental concerns through Kuttia Kondh Development Agency (KKDA) and other departments who work in the said area. The KKDA has come up with developmental programmes like horticulture, apiculture, seasonal agriculture, economic cropping etc., for the up-gradation of Kuttia Kondhs standard of living and economy. The KKDA attempts to educate the tribe about the economic generation from the resources like horticulture, seasonal vegetable cultivation, seasonal agriculture, apiculture etc. But Kuttia keep silent towards such aspects of resource. The tribe is provided by hybrid, high yielding seeds of different crops, vegetables and fruit trees to which they give little attention despite of hard efforts by the development agency. They are reluctant to sow the hybrid high yielding seeds on the hill slopes, though they do not deny to sow such seeds on plain land

cultivation of paddy, mustard, Niger .. etc. Some of the Kuttia Kondhs have taken interest towards horticulture. The attempt for ramification of apiculture programme by KKDA has got no result.

KKDA has taken strong steps to educate the Kuttia Kondhs on perfect land use. It has provided them with irrigation facilities by making drainage canals, culverts etc. at several places to benefit people in agricultural productions and for a sustainable yield out of such provisions. However, these types of resource revivification have got little response. They are clinging to their traditional pattern of hill cultivation and it is very hard to remove them out of it.

Besides, the attempts made by Soil Conservation Department and Podu Prevention Scheme have faced damn failure in the Kuttia Kondh area. The agricultural department is also equally trying to get the Kuttias stuck to plain land cultivation, but due to nonavailability of sufficient plain lands and irrigation facilities they are keeping silent towards such motivations.

THE PRESENT CRISES WITH RESOURCE

INACCESSIBILITY INTO FORESTS

Kuttia Kondhs regard forests as their main resource base. But the forest legislation is in a way depriving them to use the forests as their prime resources and resource base. The compartmentalization of forests into reserve, protected and village forests has imposed much rules and regulations on this forest dwelling community. The Kuttia Kondhs are given limited access into forests around Belghar area out of which a larger part has been declared as protected forests. The Kuttia Kondhs or the general people have full rights only on village forests. Since, much of the forests around Belghar are declared protected, Kuttia kondhs are squeezed from their freedom of doing shifting cultivation on hill slopes. This has considerably decreased the man to land ratio and the production from limited parts of forests being used for shifting cultivation is very inadequate. They indicate that because they are prohibited into the forests, a large part of it being inaccessible to them due to the forest legislation. They are limited to certain patches of forests on which they are cultivating continuously. The four to five year fallowing has decreased to one to two year fallowing. So the production from hill land decreases a lot.

Further, the tribal people are also restricted in use of timbers and bamboos. Also they are restricted for getting fuel wood from the forests. Of course, there are some concessions given to them as they are the first inhabitants of forests. But the limited concession given to them is not adequate for their household needs. They have now developed a strong conviction that the time will come when they will be imposed with restriction to collect mushrooms and spinach from forests.

Legal prosecutions are imposed for clearing the patches of forests. This gave a chance to the lawyers and advocates to suck their blood giving them assurance that they will free them from Government cases.

Recently one Forest department official pointed out that women are now more engaged in slashing the forests. They are not afraid of the forest officials and guards. They start slashing the forest vegetation from early in the morning. They keep themselves nude and the forest officials cannot reach them on seeing the women nude. The women now give warning that they will file case in local police station allegating the forest officials for their mis-conduct with the women if the forest officials oppose them from cutting the trees. The Kuttia Kondhs are now growing with a motivation, campaigned by the same community that the forest is their property and so they can clear forest patches for cultivation.

The forest department has taken a decision to impose penalties on Kuttia Kondhs if they cut new patches of forests for cultivation. There is also a provision that the Kuttias can take forest patches from the Forest Department on lease basis by paying an amount fixed per measure of the lands. They have started taking its benefit.

DEFORESTATION

Deforestation has set in motion a process of transition of the Kuttia kondhs from the traditional communities to new cultural, social economic and commercial structure. Kuttia Kondhs admit that their practice of shifting cultivation is one of the causes of deforestation. But at the same time they argue that the cutting of small trees bushes is negligible compared to the mass felling of large trees by the Forest Department. In fact they feel reluctant to cut big trees, because they propitiate them as gods and goddesses. They feel the presence of penu in every tree. They feel sad while they are paid wages by the Forest Department for cutting the large trees. They strongly argue that the Forest Department is snatching away their greater resources and penalising their minor household and subsistence needs. Some young Kuttia Kondhs do not like to continue shifting cultivation, for, it is the cause of long running feud between their community and the Forest Department. They are leaving forests for cities. Therefore, deforestation has de-forested many Kuttia Kondhs. And to Kuttia Kondhs understanding deforestation means cutting of large trees to satisfy commercial needs, not the cutting of bushy forests to do shifting cultivation.

HIKE IN MARKET PRICE

The crises to which Kuttia Kondhs are highly exposed now-a-days is the rise of market price of commodities. The price of daily use materials which the

Kuttia Kondhs were purchasing from markets, have gone up exorbitantly. They are depending on a crop to cash earning. When market rate of crops are minimal, the rate of daily use goods is too high. They feel their resource has become meaningless. They are unable to generate a sound economic output in terms of cash by selling away their labour in terms of crops. They are turning to be landless labourers which they dislike. But the present circumstances demand them to do such work.

This is not crises, rather erosion of resources, socially, culturally, and morally.

7

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ASPECT OF PLANTS AND TREES OF KUTTIA KONDHS

The relationship of vegetation to the other forms of life viz; animals including human beings is immense. Plants and trees have served to the human need since primordial times. Plants and trees are being used in all aspects of human life. To sum up, it would mean that plants and trees provide, for food, clothing, and shelter, which are the very important needs of human beings. Plants and trees are being used in worships, rituals, ceremonies, witchcrafts, sorcery, and in many aspects of human culture. The information on the uses of plants are scattered among the various ethnic groups of human societies.

Kuttia Kondhs are one among many tribal communities in Orissa. They are also one out of the dominant tribes in its size of population. It is one of the sub-groups of the Kondh tribe. Kuttia Kondhs are staying in some parts of the agencies area of Southern Orissa. Particularly they are found densely in the Phulbani District of Orissa which is one of the thickest populated tribal belts of Orissa, this embrace, about 40.31 percent of the total tribal population.

According to Senapati and Kunar (1983) Kondhs, Gonds, Saora are the dominant tribes in Phulbani out of 29 tribes of the district as enumerated in the district gazetteer. The district Phulbani is bounded on the east by Ganjam and Puri, on the west by Kalahandi. Bolangir and Dhenkanal. The forest coverage of this district is about 7,336 kms. which is about 66 percent of the total geographical area. As per the report given by Champion & Seth (1968) , the forest of Phulbani is of two categories i.e. tropical moist deciduous and tropical dry deciduous type.

The Kuttia Kondhs lives in remote pockets of the district on the lap of hills and mountains surrounded by dense forests. Kuttia Kondhs alongwith other inmate tribals of the forest get, their food clothing, medicine, shelter . . etc., from it. They

also live within it with their high traditional, social and cultural activities and with their century-old experience and association with plant communities. Their association with the forest and plant world has made them to be recognised as the eco-system people who immediately inter-act with the lush green forests around them.

Their age-old interaction with the forest world particularly with the prime component of the forest which refers to the plants and trees have formed the base of their culture. Their perception, feeling about the plant world have made them to accept the plants and trees as the living units of the nature alike the animal world. They have their myths and beliefs associated with the plant world. As a phenomenon, by staying around forests and plant world, they have developed an intimate relationship with it. More appropriately they have developed symbiotic associations with the plant world. The plants and trees have significant contribution to their material culture ,religious culture, and medical practice. They say that they know the plant world, firstly as food yielding things and secondly as material objects. So agriculture is followed by material, religious and medicinal cultures, as the Kuttia Kondhs trace and predict the history of their social attachment with plant world.

The attempt to know the admission of plants and trees in their socio-cultural life thus becomes broad. Their knowledge about the plant world if it would be explored on the materialistic grounds, would look very poor. But their inter action with the plant world and exploitation of the same shows their crude method of subsistence depending upon the vegetation around them. Again the knowledge of plants and trees and their utilitarian value are embedded in their social processes.

If however, one thinks of the use of plants along the use of plants and trees in their day to day life, only some specific plant and tree species come out numbered as important species. But if one thinks of the tribes interaction with the plant world, it would appear as if the tribe is very much socialised with the plant world around it. And so a vast number of plants and trees are associated with their day to day life. Thus it appears that their culture is a social and cultural interlink among the different components and communities of nature which refers to plant community, animal community and the human community simultaneously interacting in a particular space over a particular time. Thus the problem becomes too broad and demands a multi dimensional approach to the tribes social and cultural life to know about what do they think of a plant and tree, how do they know the life of a plant and tree. The study with little elaboration demands to know in how many ways tribe knows the plant and in how many ways they use it, to be considered on both utilitarian and spiritual significance.

Exploration into the tribes social and cultural life in relation to plants and trees reveals the exact manners of utilizing plants and trees in social customs.

taboos, rituals and ceremonies. Apart from this on religious grounds, their use and understanding of plants and trees looks spiritual and philosophical. Their religion is based on their myth. So to justify their myth, they are using plants and trees in religious affairs in the same way as their mythical ancestors were doing. It is therefore, that their myth is important and must be explored to know the exact details of their understanding of plants and then their use and value.

By virtue of the long association of the tribes with the plant world around it, various beliefs about plants and trees germinated in their mind. The beliefs, metaphors and philosophical interpretations of the tribe is based on their perception and long experience with vegetation. Certainly it makes sense that these sort of feelings about plant world has germinated from mind the tribes after perceiving the characteristic of plant life. No doubt this perception about the life of a plant, its pattern of growth, germination and association with other plant species have made a conviction to attribute a social life to plants. According to their foerception plants have a social life, they communicate with other plant species, they have intervarietal interactions, and this probably has made them to attribute gender to plants and trees. This becomes the base of their philosophical interpretation about a plant life. This idea of attributing gender to plants led them to classify the plant world in their convenient methods, both on utilitarian grounds and mythical grounds. Though it could not be practicable to get specific terminologies for the above descriptions, still their mode of explanation as it seems to be, keeps no communication gap between a scientific mind and a lay man .

To exactly determine or to accurately interprete the way of Kuttia Kondhs seeing the plant world becomes a major problem. The attempt to know their association with plant world on utilitarian grounds, however, remains far beyond the real concern of the problem. It seems so because the use of plants and trees in a society of a forest ecosystem people, which here refers to Kuttia Kondhs is multidimensional. On the utilitarian ground they are species - oriented, that is they exploit a particular plant or tree species for a particular purpose. But in most cases when this particularity could not be maintained, they go for a substitute. Running after substitute species for specific material items, they come accross various plant and tree species.

However, finding a substitute species for an item and determining the use value of the species depends upon the experience of the person who is going to use it. It means that if the person does not have sufficient knowledge on the background of that plant, the use remain far beyond the normal calculation. Therefore, the main theme of the problem becomes limited to a particular question "how do they know a plant and tree"?.

METHODOLOGY

This approach has been carried out to know about plants which are important social and cultural life to the tribes by keeping intimate contact with Kuttia Kondhs, developing friendship with them. To become a friend (*Michchu)* of a Kuttia, one has to participate in their social processes, developing faith in them. To make the friendship more communicative and familiar, picking up their language is very essential.

In the beginning the tribal language seems to be the major barrier in approaching the field of study. The Kuttia Kondh use the kui language. The Kui language used by Kuttia Kondhs differs from the original Kui language. It therefore becomes more important to pick up their language, otherwise facts take different shape due to improper bilingual interpretations. To pick up a tribal language in the first approach is no easy matter. In these circumstances, listing the informations in their language is a sound way. For, the basic idea about plants and trees are preserved in their oral tradition. The oral tradition follow descriptions in Kui language. Again much about plants and trees are preserved in form of songs (*Gaani*) like "*Kui gaani*", "*Kapka Gaani* ", "*Basa Gaani*", *Enda Gaani* ... etc.

A formal approach with selected informants was not found to be so useful. It is because in the formal approach, informants sometimes come ahead to speak out information, to justify themselves as wise and knowledgeable. In the formal approach many confusing data with misconceptions are marked out. Informal approach in this regard is a sound practice. In an informal approach informants give their practical knowledge. They take care not to confuse the investigator. In this way the approach to correct information becomes easier but the main enquiry is confused with various types of information. By becoming a friend *(michchu)* of a person through a ritual, other people of the society accept him as one among themselves. By this, one can easily participate in their social occasions, and by that can acquire sufficient knowledge about their social processes and use of plants in them. So by participating in their social process, it becomes easier to categorize the same information in another language medium (communicative). So a systematic approach to understand Kuttia Kondhs language is necessary to interprete the role of plants and trees used in their social and cultural life more precisely.

Inspite of the informal approach and friendship with Kuttia Kondhs it is sometimes felt that many informations are there which they do not want to part with outsiders. It is a matter of reciprocal faith between the informant and the investigator. If the informant is wise and he is convinced about what the investigator really wants then the former takes interest in disclosing his knowledge immediately. The informant may also ask about the reason of the interest of the investigator. In this case if the informant is convinced about the goodness of the

investigator's interest, very helpfully he discloses his knowledge. As it is observed in Kuttia Kondhs they like to part with such knowledge which is useful to their society at large. But in many cases it is argued generally that, the tribal people do not like to part with their knowledge with other people because of their angularities and conservativeness. But in the actual scene, they remain conservative and do not like to share their knowledge unless they rely upon the outsider. However, the youth of such tribe who are a bit educated in formal school education also extend some help to record information.

This piece of work emphasizes upon the Kuttia Kondhs knowledge of plants with regards to their ethnicity and sociability with plants. Following the above mentioned methods, the events which are important in their socio-cultural pattern were listed out. From such social process it emerged out how they are using plant species in it.

MASS PARTICIPATION DURING DATA COLLECTION

Mass participation of Kuttia Kondhs at the time of enquiry holds to be a suitable method to justify the information collected. Mass participation also helps the investigator to know varied types of informations, true or false. The authenticity of informants are clearly adjudged at the time of mass participation. Sometimes, it so happens that young informants keep silent and do not protest or argue with the information being given by an old and experienced informant.

In some particular places of socio-cultural interest this mass participation and information exchange, debates and arguments make the data collection easier. When people sit together for a drink or at their leisure time in the forest, the above methods can be easily followed.

We come across a great number of difference or confusions or missing links, many contradictions also when information obtained from individual informants are verified. To avoid those, to make the information comprehensive and authentic mass participation for information exchange is a sound idea.

PRESENTATION OF DATA

Many reports on the indigenous use of plants by forest dwelling tribes and non tribal forest dwellers have been published in different journals of the state of Orissa. But after a review of their methodology of collecting data and its presentation, it is felt that quite inadequate work has been done sometimes in which social and cultural aspects of plants have been mentioned. Further more the authors have given emphasis on medicinal plants and other economic uses of plant and tree species. Findings of Jain (1971), Saxena & Datta (1975), Choudhuri (1985) Sahu (1986) Subudhi, Choudhury and Acharya (1988), Thothathri, Sen, Pal (1990)

Satapathy (1980-81) Pal, Banarjee (1973-74) Ghosh, Basu (1982-83), Safui, Bhattacharya (1982-83),Acharya et.al.. (1988) Ratha et.al.. (1988), however, emphasise the medicinal and economic uses of plants and trees. But none of the previous workers has attempted to study the contribution of the folklore and folk literatures in the study of ethno-botany of tribal people. However, Kar & Patnaik (1978) in their finding put forth certain documentations in their paper "Plant in folk lore and literature". The paper deals with (a) tree worship in other parts of the world (b) Tree marriage (c) Tree as symbol of sex and fertility (d) Magico celigious beliefs (e) Source of medicinal herbalism (f) Role of scientists in folklore.

Though Kar & Patnaik (1978) dragged the folklore and folk literatures in to the study of ethno-botany, they are not specific to a particular tribe and community.

After obtaining information about the use of plants and trees in various spheres of Kuttia Kondh society, many linguistic correlations are found with the plant world. Since such primitive concepts about the plants and trees demand elaboration, the presentation of data is not practicable by using the format of the earlier workers. For this a brief particular of Kuttia Kondhs social events in which plants and trees have a special role deserves special mentioning here.

SOCIO-CULTURAL EVENTS WITH TREES / PLANTS

Plants and trees have been enacting their benign role in the drama of Kuttia Kondhs life. In the physical plane, plants and trees have conferred benefits in many folds if considered from the utility point of view. At the spiritual level, plants and trees have contributed a lot to human life styles in either ways ; from simple to complex and from complex to simple. The veil of sanctity the plants and trees are wrapped in, if desclosed, will impel us to own the value of cultural and scientific observations not simply of myths and legends.

The relationship between Kuttia Kondhs and trees is based on religion. They feel that plants and trees are the oldest and longest living things on the earth. They are believed to be the sanctuary and asylum of images of gods and goddesses.

That trees are possessed by spirits, both good and bad is an old belief of the Kuttia Kondhs. A tree is an abode of deities and spirits, both angelic and satanic, who love to stay in large trees. Satanic or bad spirits are the cause of diseases and disasters.

Taboos, beliefs, superstitions, medicinal importance associated with plants and trees are culturally interwined in Kuttia Kondhs societies. Trees and plants thus are considered as the givers from whom Kuttia societies avail the basis of living. Trees are thus regarded as natural representatives of god who looks after the

welfare of their societies. The philosophical interpretations of the man-plant relation, including in it all the taboo, beliefs and superstitions of different culturally intrigued societies are the background of the tree worship cult. The belief in the presence of spirits in trees is ethnic. Different ethnic groups perceive this tree spirit interplay differently. Kuttia Kondhs are never out of such a belief. It is believed by Kuttia Kondhs that either the spirits stay in trees or the trees are representatives of spirits. To sum up these ideas it may suffice to say that both trees and spirits are parts of nature. The nature is the creation of god. So god is in trees and sometimes believed by them that trees are gods. As per the philosophical and spiritual thoughts of Kuttia Kondhs trees are the representatives of god.

SYMBOLIC STAGES OF PLANTS AND TREES

Hastings (1954) mentions in the earliest stage, the sacred tree is more than a symbol. It is the instinct with divine life glow with divine light. It is at once the tree of life and tree of knowledge; good and evil. This animastic stage can be noticed and observed in folklore and myth, in rituals, traditions and in more recent and even modern times.

In Kuttia Kondh societies, to observe certain form of worshiping rituals and ceremonies, symbols of trees and plants are used. Usually parts of trees are used as symbols. Wooden pillars or any post represent the living tree which is considered as the abode of deities. So in a worship, the deities are invoked to accept the worship by staying in such symbolic trees. So the symbolic trees are considered as a token of the deities presence or as a magnet for attracting supernatural powers.

The tree stumps are sometimes designed in different shapes. Such wooden figures are believed as the iconic representation of tree god. Images of gods are made out of wood. The worship offered to such wooden statures are for the act of fellowship and communication with deities, as the Kuttia Kondhs believe.

So in these cases of worshipping symbolic trees it may be assumed that trees, plants or parts of them which are often used in worshiping are the connecting link between man and the deities or supernatural powers. Trees and plants thus bridge over the communication gap between Man and god. The tree stumps are regarded as conventional substitutes for the trees and tree gods.

Tree cults are also found associated with the worship of the ancestors of the Kuttia Kondhs. Sometimes particular trees are worshiped under which one's ancestor was buried or burnt. This is done with a belief that the spirit of their ancestors stays in such trees under which their dead bodies were once buried or burnt. Trees are planted in the memory of dead people. Also trees are planted by Kuttia Kondhs in the memory of their living kins.

Thus it is evident that trees and plants are attached to religion and religious affairs in Kuttia Kondh societies. For, it is not hard to say that trees and plants are the living basis of a Kuttia Kondh society who use them for food, medicine, clothes, ornaments.... etc. Nature, if it is considered to be a coin, then one part of it would be plants and trees and the other part animals including human beings. So to know the nature in its real meaning human beings have developed interrelation among plants and animals by interacting with them. The relationship of man and plants is very close, never fragile and so this relation keeps an integrity in the cultural pattern of a society like Kuttia Kondhs.

PLANTS AND TREES IN THE EYES OF KUTTIA KONDHS

Before coming down to discuss the role of different plants and trees important in the social and cultural life of Kuttia Kondhs, it is necessary to know about their oral lore and myth. It is because plants are believed differently; as decoratives of nature, as an element or component of nature. A tree is known as '*mara*'. Trees have evolutionary myths as the Kuttia society has. Large sized trees which refer to timber species are known as '*Dera Mara*. Smaller trees', large shrubs are known as '*Lika mara*'. Grass is known as '*randa*',bushes as '*bati*' and creeper as '*Tula*'. The evolution of plants and trees on the earth is described in the *Kui Gaani*-the song describing the myth of origin of Kuttia Kondhs. The origin and evolution of plants and trees are from two different stocks. As it is mentioned in *Kui Gaani*, the plants and trees have been born out of a Sambar body. With reference to Kui Gaani the first crop grown by Kuttia Kondhs was from the seeds which the Kuttias carried with them when they emerged out from Sapangada-the place where Kuttia Kondhs were born. Therefore, the plants and trees are divided in two sets. One set being evolved from Sambar body and the other set was carried from the under ground of Sapangada by Kuttia Kondhs.

Whether the seeds are first on the plants and trees are first is an all time puzzle. To find the answer to this puzzle, the *Kui Gaani* is always to be referred. According to the myth, the first set of plant species on earth are crop species. Seeds of crop species were brought by Kuttia Kondhs when they emerged out of Sapangada, for their subsistence. By sowing the seeds the Kuttias could improve the crops and subsist on it. This shows their foresightedness in finding food after coming on earth.

The second set of plants which are evolved from a Sambar's (*Cervus unicolor*) body include timber species, under trees, shrubs, herbs, creepers and grasses. However, bamboo has not been included among other plant species which grew from the Samber body. As the myth describes,bamboo sprang from coarse turmeric powder and the hair of Nerandali. Nerandali is a mythical woman to whom the Kuttia Kondhs were born.

So from the very beginning of life of the Kuttia Kondhs on earth they have classified plant groups according to their myth of origin. This grouping makes a distinction between domesticated plants and wild plants. This classification gives a meaning to the Kuttia Kondhs attachment to the plant world. Because they knew the crops prior to knowing other plant species, they may be regarded as agricultural people.

UNDERSTANDING THE LIFE CYCLE OF PLANTS AND TREES

The life cycle of a tree is known to them from the different changes observed in the plant / tree in its growth. The growth of plants and trees from germination to ageing and death are described as a sequential happening. At the time of birth, plants do not possess a regular shape like human beings and other animals. This is to say, at the time of birth all plants were almost alike as the human beings and other animals. But in the latter stages of growth, new structures (organs) of plants / trees arise. But animals including man have structural (organ) limitation, which at the latter phase of growth of the organism does not change but grows. In this connection, by birth the plants are all alike, but at stages of further growth they look different. The phenomena of birth of plants are known as *sate (emerging out of earth*) and the same for animals and human beings is *pdite* (coming out of genital organs).

However the changes observed in the span of plant life is identified with certain terms in the Kui language. Putting or dibbling a seed in the earth is known as '*Penka Mete*', After the seed germinates it bursts the upper soil layer and the seed comes out which is known as '*Tana Genjite*'. When the seedling comes out , it is known as '*Kana aate*'. The stage when foliar leaves come out, it is known as '*Aaku Gate*'. Growth of shoots (*Peda late*), emerging of inflorescence* is termed as '*Tula parite*' The flowering stage is '*Punga pute*' shedding of petals is known as '*Punge Dumbite*'. '*Padasi Kadgai ate*' means young fruiting stage, '*padasi juri ate*' means fruit maturing stage. Finally comes the fruit drying stage which is known as '*Padasi Bachite*' and the bursting of fruit to scatter seeds is known as '*Penka ate*'

The different stages from '*penka mete*' to 'Penka ate' is described as the life cycle of a plant - tree by Kuttia Kondhs. Hence refers to the changes of a tree-plant from the post germination phase of seed to the pre-germination phase of the same. It follows that, in tree species seeds are formed more than once within the entire life cycle of the tree. So a tree maintains more than one life cycle during its span of living in the kuttias conception.

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* *Inflorescence - Arrangement of flowers on floral exis*

JELLA AND PALLA : UNIVERSAL VIEW

The life cycle of a plant / tree is always dependant upon water. Water is needed by all types of living organisms on earth. The Kuttia Kondhs also attribute that water is the first and foremost need of a plant and tree to survive and stand.

In a plant / tree , *palla* i. e. bark is believed as its skin. *Palla* has direct relation with water relations of the plant body. It is held by Kuttia Kondhs that '*Lenja*' is responsible for water transport into the plant body. *Lenja* refers to the conducting vessels of plants for water transport. But the *Lenja* can not keep the continuity of water absorption into the plant body without *palla*. Therefore, Kuttia Kondhs feel that any abnormality in the plant life is due to malfunctioning of water transport system. They also attribute the water relations of the tree/plant for all types of diseases occurring in plants. Drying of parts of a tree or drying of the whole tree are regarded as diseases caused due to malfunctioning of water absorption. The diseases are like : *paskadi*-irregular swelling of plant parts due to blockage in water supply to the respective areas. *Bachine*, i . e. drying up is due to no water supply from the roots. *Kita bachine* is the drying of one part of the plant/tree and '*pakodake bachine pakodake silali*' means drying of one lateral half of the tree/ plant when the other lateral part is living.

If *lenja* is found absent, *palla* can also absorb water. But if *palla* is absent , water absorbed by *lenja* gets evaporated. Without a *palla* the tree would dry and die. The same idea of drying and death also holds for animal beings who without a skin perish. The skin of animal is known as *panda*. This understanding of water and *palla* relation has led the Kuttia Kondhs to carry out some harmful practice with plants. The Kuttias do not fell large trees. They remove the bark of trees at the base which appears like a ring at the basal part of the tree. In the language of Forest Department this ring shaped removal of bark from the tree is known as girdling. By girdling the Kuttias use very little labour to kill a tree. The girdled tree dries after a couple of days of the practice. '*Eju*' i.e. water '*Daki*' i.e. root base, '*palla*' i.e. bark have given the plants and trees the *jella* meaning life force. *Eju* is understood as a metaphor of *jella* which moves up and down in the infant stage of plants and trees and *eju* becomes stationary at *Daki* when the plants and trees attain maturity. It is thus conceived that '*palla and jella*' are made for each other in which, one can not survive without the other. The tree / plant may survive or perish depending upon the relationship between *jella* and *palla*. Trees and plants die when *palla* is removed and the stage is known as '*Mara Grudu Sate*', literally meaning "tree full dead".

GOCHCHI : THE MEANING OF DISEASE IN PLANTS

Gochchi has several meanings. Literally it means diseases in plants and

trees. Again it refers to the orchids, epiphytic and parasitic plants that grows over tree species. It also means leprosy which in their perception means having whitish or reddish patches on the body of a plant or a human being. But to explain the *Gochchi* in case of plants, it mainly refers to the growth of epiphytic and parasitic plants on tree species, as a consequence of which trees suffer from diseases. *Gochchi* when developed over a tree , assimilates its food from the host plant by affecting their barks. The Kuttia Kondhs hold that, if whitish patches are observed on parts of trees on which Gochchi is/was developed, it means that such whitish patches are mouth (*Guti*) of *Gochchi* through which it collects food from host plants. *Gochchi* (orchids) never grow over a healthy tree , but on weak trees and plants. The trees which are affected by *Gochchi* are never useful for medicinal purposes though the *Gochchi* (orchid) is being used for medicine.

If all the meanings of *Gochchi* are summed up, it would refer to the disease in plants primarily and secondly, it is attributed that the disease is caused by epiphytic and parasitic plants. The symptoms of *Gochchi* (leprosy) in plants and animals are the same. The development of the disease in either plants or animals leads to the decay of organs. the Kuttia Kondhs attest.

MARA & MRAKA

It is described earlier that *mara* means trees. *Mraka* however, is derived from the term *mara*. *Mraka* refers to the wood-made materials used by the Kuttia Kondhs. *Mraka* thus means to the utilisation value of plants and trees. Furnitures, designed poles and beams for house building, cot frames, combs, brooms etc are first identified as *mraka* and then specific names to such items are given. The economic meaning of plants and trees are known in the terms of the *Mraka*. Thus *mara* stands as a living object and *mraka* is the transformation of the object.

Mara has also a social meaning in the culture of Kuttia Kondhs. *Mara,* used as a suffix means to a manner of courtesy. To give an example when the Kuttia Kondhs sit together to drink toddy or fermented liquor made from crops or liquor prepared from flowers of *Madhuka longifolia*, liquor is equally distributed among all participants. But sometimes an extra cup / glass is offered to new comers or guests who do not regularly sit with the Kuttias. This extra cup / glass of liquor is offered to guests or new comers as a manner of their courtesy and hospitality. This curtesy cup of liquor is called *Sira Mara.*

DAKA : DAKI : DAKINA

Daki is a term that refers to the root base of plants and trees. *Daka-Daki-Dakina* gives a philosophical interpretation to the spiritual nature of plants and trees. *Daka-Daki-Dakina* are their inter related terms. In the idea of the Kuttia

Kondhs the root term is *Daka*. *Daka* means sleep, *Daki* means root base (root stem transition point) and *Dakina* means worship. Making an interrelation of the above three terms, it would mean a sub-conscious state. As the Kuttia Kondhs explanation says, the *Daki* is always asleep but remains conscious for the water transport in the plant body. *Daki* is the very stable part of the plant body which has the main responsibility of water transport. *Daki* so is understood as 'stability '. Because *Daki* is always stable, it holds the *Jella* (life force) of plants and trees. *Jella* in form of water always moves up and down in young plants and sits idle at *Daki* in old plants and trees. Therefore, *Daki* stabilizes the *Jella* after a certain stage of growth but maintains the physiological process in plants, using its internal force of action.

Further, when the Kutaka is possessed by a deity (*penu*) he forgets himself. The Kuttia is possessed at the time of worship. (*Dakina*). During a *Dakina* the Kuttia concentrates on the process and forgets himself in the same manner as one forgets himself in deep sleep. For his concentration in worship he is able to see the deity. This is like one experiencing a dream in deep sleep. So *Daka* (Sleep) is related to *Dakina* (worship) in which the mind remains conscious when the body remains in an unconscious state.

Kuttia Kondhas believe that a kutaka* can convert himself into a tiger. This phenomenon is known as '*Mniba Kdani* '*. But this happens when the kutaka is in deep sleep. In deep sleep, the *Jella* of Kuttia faces an accident with the *jella* of some other being, may be plant or animal or human being which establishes a relation between the two beings. Then the *Jella* from the human body goes out and joins the *jella* of the animal. After the merger of the two '*jella* ' the man forgets his humanity and turns into an animal. This happens when the man is in deep sleep. If the man opts to turn into a tiger, then the *jella* of that man roams in search of the *jella* of the tiger and after the meeting of the two *Jella*, the complete metamorphoses takes place.

The Kuttia Kondhs word for metamorphosis is '*Mniba* '. After the complete metamorphosis ,half of the life of the man remains in its host body which is in deep sleep, and the other half of his life goes to the metamorphosed form. At the time of the metamorphosis, if the plant or animal, in which the man's *jella* is merged is killed then the man also dies.

Daki is also compared to Kamba; meaning the navel of human body. Kuttia Kondhs explain that *Daki* in plants and trees is functionally similar to kamba of beings. It is held by them that the abode of *Jella* i. e. life force is *Daki* in plant beings and *kamba* in human beings. However, both *Daki* & *Kamba* are also similar so far

* *Kutaka* *Witchman, Astrologer*
* *Kdani* *Tiger*

as their placement in the plant body and human body are concerned. This makes sense that, if *Daki* or *kamba* is regarded as the centre of plants and animals, then the lower and upper part of plants and human beings are also similar in origin and development. It is so, because roots of trees are compared to legs of human beings, branches of trees are compared to hands of human beings.

The philosophy of *Jella* held by Kuttia Kondhs is that a human tendency is found in animals and animal tendency is also found in human beings. This idea is directly reflected in the case of *Mniba Kdani*. That, the metamorphosis of a man to a tiger or any other plant or animal is not only the analysis of their dream mechanics but also it is an environmental feeling. As their explanation in this regard is that every person has a desire and it is sometimes reflected in dreams. One may observe in a dream that he is out of his body, out of his mind. One may feel that he has become an animal or something other than a human being, if such a thought prevailed in his mind before going to bed. In deep sleep, such a subconscious thought becomes more concentrated and comes out in dream. Kuttia Kondhs say that they sometimes think of the environment around (*gunjare*) them. Thoughtful people many times think of the nature of a plant or animal around them as such things are very commonly reflected in their eyes and heart. They are living in a natural abode and advent of such thoughts to their mind is natural. As they cite the example, if somebody feels a strong desire of eating meat, in the same manner as the tiger is doing in the jungle, then the same desire becomes activated in a dream. And finally the sleeping human being runs to materialise his desire for meat of jungle beasts and then his human nature is masked by the tiger's nature. Finally if no meat is available, he may kill domestic animals like cattles, goats, pigs, etc. However, all Kuttias are not capable of performing it as they think that such an unsaturated mind and concentrated desire can be only exhibited by Kuttia or persons who are able to clutch their thought and mind. In this regard, the metamorphosis of a man into a tiger stands as an example of how they see life in plants and animals which constitute their environment around them.

SARU : SIRU : SORU : CO-RELATIONS

Saru, Siru, Soru are the primitive components of nature. It is because, these three Kuttia terms refer to the existing form of life and landscape around them. *Saru* refers to man or woman whom the Kuttia Kondhs kill as a sacrificial object to offer blood to *Dharni penu*. But generally the Kuttia Kondhs word for human beings is '*Maane*'. Therefore *Maane* and *saru* are two different words in which '*Maane*' refers to any human being in their society and '*Saru*' refers to that human being who is sent by god to be sacrificed. It indicates that though *Maane* and *saru* are physically the same, they are used in two different contexts. With regard to the Kuttia Kondhs myth of origin, the human being were the first to come to live on

earth. The first life on earth thus refers to the Kuttia Kondhs before the trees, animals and hills were there. Another line of the myth goes that after Kuttia Kondhs came to earth, they planted the plants, though there is another view about the origin of the plants. That the plants originated from a Sambar (*Maju*) body, which is an animal. But in the myth there is no description of animal birth. However, after the plant world except the crops originated from a Sambar body, the plant anchored in the soil by the help of *Siru* (roots). So *Siru* is first and then comes *mara* (tree). Hence, in there Dharni (earth) the *siru* presented the life of plants and plants came into being as a component of nature, acquired space and developed their sphere. This is described as *Mara* i.e. trees around trees. Taking another line from the myth trees were brought by Nerandali to decorate nature. Thus Dharni (Earth) made a division of space for *Saru* and *Siru*, that human beings will colect food from the earth's cover and roots will get food from earth's crust.

Soru refers to the hills. In the myth, Nerandali developed hills to beautify nature. This is with a view that the Soru will help the Kuttia Kondhs in the denomination of different patches of earth. Further, *Soru* , the visible component of nature will provide a habitat for the plants and the Kuttia Kondhs.

Ultimately, the Kuttia Kondhs world started with three main components i.e. human beings,plants and hills. Dharni penu (earth Goddess) who brought the above components into the picture, can get its food directly from human blood. The human being will survive on vegetation and animals.Vegetation,wild animals and human beings can share their abode on the hills.

This makes a connection between the three terms *Saru*, *Siru* and *Soru*. This also shows how the three words interplay with each other to define the nature as a whole made by Nerandali in the constituency of Dharni penu (Earth Goddess).

SACRIFICE : THE MEANS TO SATISFY PENU

Sacrifice of animals and plants is not very uncommon to tribal and non-tribal religions. Sacrifice happens to be a very important phenomenon, performed by Kuttia Kondhs to maintain their indigenous culture and religion. The Kuttia Kondhs were sacrificing certain plants,trees and vegetables to satisfy their penu (Gods). They inform that that the plant materials were being used for sacrifice before the sacrifice of human beings started. So the plant materials were being used as substitutes for human and animal sacrifice. It is because, plant is compared to a man as *Siru* (root), *Aaku* (leaves) *Kena* (Branches), *Daki* (root base) *Palla* (bark) represents legs, body hairs, hands, waist, skin of human beings respectively.

As it is held by Kuttia Kondhs,in the history of their 'Meria festival' (Biakatina) a human sacrifice was not given to penu in the begining. In the begining of the Meria festival,plant materials were being sacrificed for blood to satisfy penu.

Such plant species include pumpkin (Kumda - *Cucurbita maxima*) yam (Nangal kanda - *Dioscorea sps*). Banana plant (Tade mara - *Musa paradisica*) Piasal (Bengeri mara - *Pterocarpus marsupium*). The need of sacrificing plants was to offer blood to penu . To add to it, the exudation of *Pterocarpus marsupium* is blood red in colour which they say ;Neri' (blood)'. But after they felt that the god is not satisfied with this offer, they started sacrificing human beings.

But the idea of human sacrifice to satisfy the penu was accidental. There is a small tale that tells the God's affinity for human blood. The tale goes like "in Meria festival, performed by Kuttia Kondhs, the maternal nephews play an important role. It is too traditional that, the maternal nephews attend their uncles festival. Once such a maternal nephew was making a bamboo fence around the Meria pole. While working with bamboo slices and blades, the nephew's finger was cut and blood oozed out. The oozing blood fell drop by drop on the *Dharni vali* (Three stones being worshiped as *Dharni penu* is placed under the Meria pole).He immediately fell dead. The priest *(Jani)* and the witch man *(kutaka)* could understand that the penu wants human blood".

The moment when the boy fell dead, his mother was away. She was sent to bring water from *Jholla* (stream) in a porous pitcher. The pitcher had seven pores. When she returned she could not find her son. She asked all the people who were present there. But she could get her son no where. She became almost mad. She collected corn (*bicha)* from the villagers and set out to search her son. Since then she is searching her son. She is known as *Kamati penu*, who causes small pox, chicken pox,measles like bodily maifestations and she does not get food otherwise.

So Kamati penu is the goddess who is causing the different ailments like pox diseases and Measles. The Kuttia Kondhs believe that the Kamati penu took *bicha* from the villagers for food when she set out in search of her son. Still she is searching. But when her food *(bicha)* gets exhausted. She causes pox(*bicha)* in human beings to get her food. Hence *bicha* has a dual meaning. One, it refers to seed of crops and second, it refers to pox which is a bodily manifestation.

EVOLUTION OF PLANTS AND TREES : LEGENDARY HISTORY

The primordial song Kui Gaani of Kuttia Kondhs gives an account of the evolution of plants and trees. In the song it is described that, the plants and trees were born after the human beings. Nerandali is the name of the lady who has given birth to the Kuttia Kondhs. All Kuttia Kondhs were born under Sapangada padar - a field and when they came out of the earth they brought crop seeds with them. But after they came up to the earth, Nerandali thought of the need of plants on earth.

Among the plants, bamboo was first to grow on earth from coarse turmeric

paste and hair of Nerandali when she was taking a bath with turmeric paste polished on her body.

In the song Nerandali's thought of bringing out plants and trees to earth is based on the utilization value of plants for nature and for the animal beings including human beings.

As the myth describes, in the begining the entire landscape was barren. Hills were bald and the nature was not crowded as there were neither plants and trees nor animals. For a permanent coverage of the nude earth, the need of growing plants and trees was conceived in the mind of Nerandali.

Further, when a large mass of people came up to the earth there was nothing which could provide shelter to the mass. So Nerandali thought that only trees can provide them shelter. By using wood of different plants and trees people can build their houses. So Nerandali asked Betamangera (who was born after Nerandali and is believed to be the husband of Nerandali) to grow plants on earth.

Betamangera set out for hunting. He was followed by a mass of people who were the relatives of the Kuttia Kondhs. He explored and covered a ,large part of the earth passing through mountains, hills and plains in search of an animal to hunt. He searched all caves, hill slopes *(Ana)* and also searched water ghats where animals often come. Finally, he was successful in his expedition for caught an animal. Betamangera killed it. After offering a worshipping to Dharni penu i.e. earth goddess, he started to slice the Sambar. While worship to goddess earth he requested her toprovide more and more animals for their food. The blood flown from the animal body turned to water. Then he sliced the Sambars body. The sliced pieces and the cut fleshes of the Sambar metamorphosed in to plants.

Different parts of the Sambar metamorphosed into plants. The ear pinna (kirusiri) of the animal metamorphosed to Rael mara (*Dillenia pentagyna*) intestine *(wahinga)* gave birth to creepers, body hair (*Burka*) and moustache (*sadonga)* metamorphosed to grasses and herbs. Skull *(kapda)*, limbs *(kalka)* and teeth (*paika)* of the animal metamorphosed to large hills, small hills and stones respectively. But this metamorphosis process is not universally accepted by Kuttia Kondhs. People of Rangaparu village, near Belghar hold a different view in this regard. According to them the limbs of the animal metamorphosed to fertile plain lands,the bones to stony lands,stomach and intestines to water side paddy lands. The backbone of the animal gave shape to the top edges of hills, the head turned to large srones and the testes got converted to a large stone called Bichabali, a hill.

The Kuttia Kondhs of Rangaparu also hold that from the lungs of the Sambar came out urla bada (*Barleria cristata*) belonging to the family acanthaceae. From liver took birth Dhuan bada (*Nicotiana sps*). The skin (*panda)* of the animal

gave birth to other trees, climbers and grasses,on earth.

The origin of plants and trees is a mythical tale. Sometimes it contradicts when the information is got from two villages. But commonly Kuttia Koudhs admit that the plants and trees originate from the Sambar body.

AS THE LINES IN THE SONG GO :-

Soru Sispinjane gada sispinjane
Hill not crowded hole not crowded.
Tangana eji mundani eji deali,
Looking like barren lands.
Jin jin wango wango deali
Looking like fields and fields.

means that the hills and holes were silent,they are not looking crowded. Everywhere there is nothing but barren fields. Then Nerandali thought (*Edu itere)* and wisdom came (*Budhi itere*) She thought what to do (*inissatisi adine)* how it will fit *(inisatisi ranjine)*. Finally, for hills and holes to look crowded *(soru usumgaisi gada usumgaisi)*, trees and leaves were born *(Mara dadi lingainjane*) on the hills. Then the myth describes the sequence of origin of different trees and plants from the Sambar body.

Among the different tree species evolved from the Sambar flesh, the *Kara mara* (onlythe priest can locate it is directed by God). As a *mara* (medicinal plants) *Rael mara* (*Dillenia pentagyna*), *Mniamara, Makumara, Bade mara* (*Ficus benghalensis*).etc. are the trees described in the fontline of the myth. But the further species evolved from the animal followed a sequence. They are :-

TABLE NO - II

NAME OF THE TREE / PLANT.

Sl. No.	Binomial Nomenclature Botanical	Kui Language of Kuttia Kondhs.	Local language.	English	Family
1.	*Shorea robusta*, Gaertn. F.	Sargimara	Sal	Sal	Dipteroc-arpaceae
2.	*Bombax malbaricum* DC *Beceiba*	Laka, Mara	Simili	Semul	Bombac-aceae
3	*Pterocarpus marsupium Roxb*	Bengeri	Piasay Bija	Indian Kino tree	Fabaceae

Sl. No.	Binomial Nomenclature Botanical	Kui Language of Kuttia Kondhs.	Local language.	English	Family
4.	*Terminalia tomentosa* (D.C) W&A.	Mardimara	Asan	Sain	Combre-taceae
5.	*Syzygium cumini (L)* Skeels	Jambumara	Jamu	Black-berry	Myrtaceae
6.	*Emblica officinalis* Gaertn	Surga	Amla	Indian Goose-berry	Euphor-biaceae
7.	Mangifera indica L.	Maskamara	Amba	Mango	Anacard-iaceae.
8.	*Xylia xylocarpa*(Roxb) Jaub	Dengen	Tangan		
9.	*Terminalia belerica* (Gaertn) Roxb.	Baena mara	Bahada	Myro bolan	Combre-taceace
10.	*Woodfordia fruticosa* Kurz	Jatru mara	Dhatuki	?	Lythra ceae
11.	*Gmeline arborea* Roxb	Gambar mara	Gambhari	Coomb tree	Verben-aceae
12.	*Grewia tiliaefolia* Vahi.	Daman mara.	Dhaman	?	Tiliaceae
13.	*Linnea coromondalia*	Mane mara	Mahi	?	?
14.	*Ficus scandens*	Pipadamara	Jari		Moraceae

The above plant species evolved sequentially from the Samber flesh. This is also described in the *Kui Gaani*, the song which they recite on ceremonial occasions. On such occasions when the song is sung sometimes singers jumble up the sequence. Therefore, the sequence may contradict if different persons are taken into account. But to avoid contradictions, in every village one person is recognised as to be the authentic singer who is followed by villagers during recitation. But in any case, contradictions are commonly seen. Sometimes it happens that casual singers or those who are not recognised singers of Kuttia society go on reciting the name of any plant / tree which are found around them. It is also a case that the plants and trees which are useful in there social life are more often dragged into the

recitation by any common folk.

To justify the need of plants and trees on earth again the Kui Gaani is to be reffered to. As the song goes : *Tani Gadi ditali, pdibalinga ajate* means that the body hairs fell and grasses grew out of it. *Tani bahe tani gaja igdali, tula linga ajata* : the intestine of the animal was thrown and creepers were born out of it.

SOME QUOTES FROM KUI GAANI GO LIKE THIS :-

Mara dadi usum gaisi,	For trees &branches to look crowded.
Tula mala linga ajate,	Creepers were born.
Maranjapa dadinjapa ajate,	Coiled around trees.
Maradadi besumgaisi,	For trees to look beautiful.
Soru wespa gada wespa gaisi,	For hills and holes to be beautiful.
Kanjamusu gaina,	For monkeys to hide.
Tula genes maka genes gaisi patakira gaisi,	For mice & birds to live.
Tula mala praginjane,	Creepers coiling around trees.
Mara dadi adite,	Ok for trees.
Tulanaka malanaka adite,	Ok for creepers.

The Kuttia Kondhs accept the plants according to their traditional thought and utilities. While describing the plants they jumbled up many plants together (may be herbs,shrubs , climbers , trees) available in their surroundings. Traditionally, they take into account a group of plants together for a purpose like food, clothing, drinks and beverages, performance of witchcraft, rituals, etc. In addition to that, they select plants from the plains, hilly places and mountains for their purposes which they have inherited from generation to generation.

From the myth of the origin of the plants, three different sets of plants are identified with regard to the sequence in which such plants are found on earth. The first set refers to the plants and trees which are food-yielding particularly, the crop plants. It is described in the myth that the Kuttia Kondhs brought such seeds from the underground during their change of abode. The second set of plants refers to the species originated from the Sambar body which are mostely tree species and included in the same set are grasse,s herbs shrubs and creepers.

The third catagory of plants arose from tree marriages. The plants and trees described in this third set is not completely different from the second set. In this set, if two trees stand as the evolutionary parents then other trees are produced through genetic manipulation of the parent species and the process continued to produce a number of varieties. If it is assumed that the plants described in the second set is a function of tree marriage in the third set , then it would mean that trees and plants

which evolved from the Sambar body were not spontaneous rather a slow and steady process of evolution through inter and intravarietal mixing of character. Still it is in a confusion.

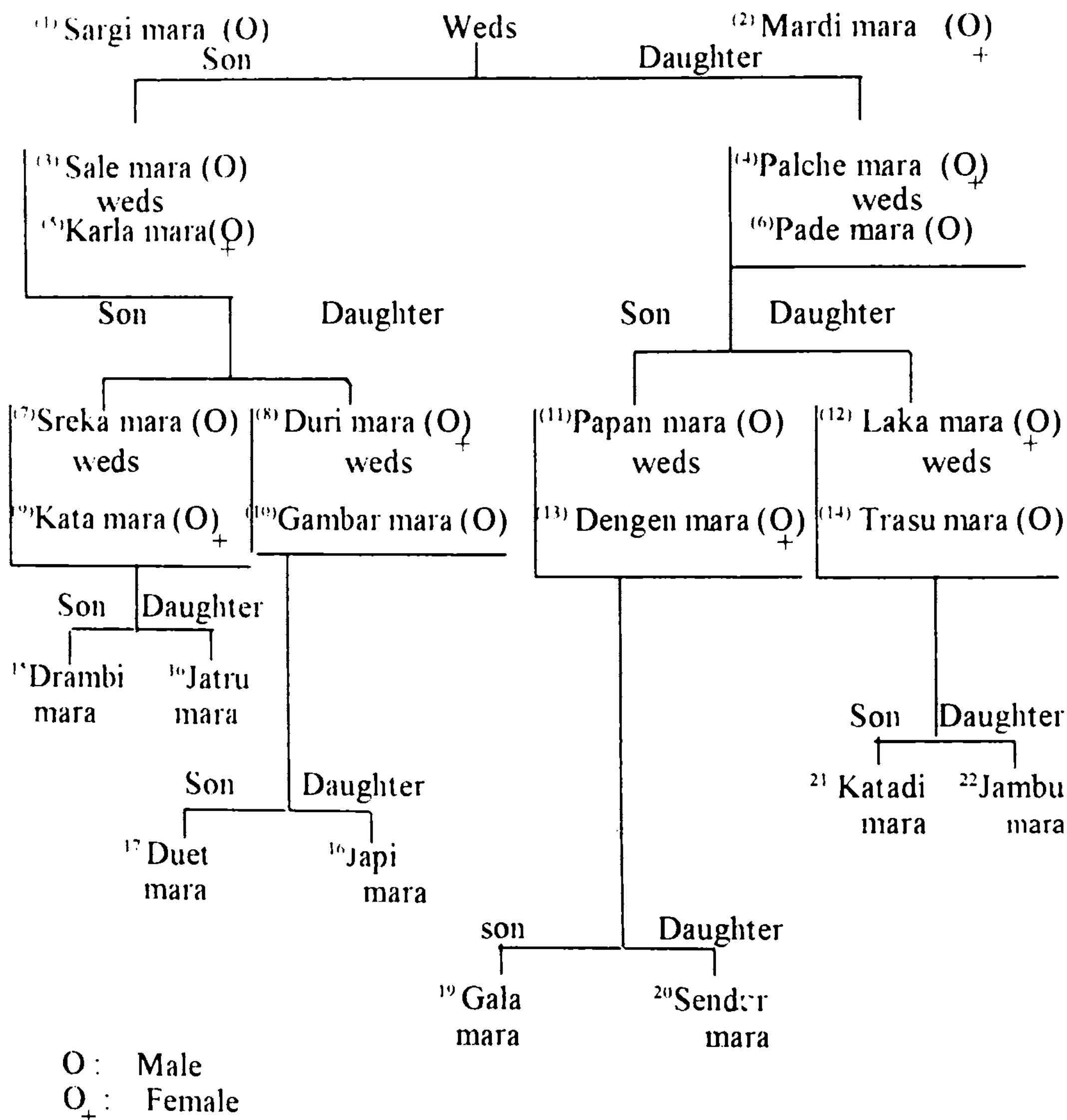
SEX IS NOT THE MONOPOLY OF ANIMALS AND HUMANS : GENDER IN PLANTS

Ordinarily, sex is of common occurance with animals beings or human beings. Sex being present in plants is a scientific idea which implies that plants and trees have a sexual life,and they reproduce their types through sexual union. This idea of attributing sex to plants and trees is believed by many primitive societies. The Kuttia Kondhs also believe in the presence of sex in plant life and they also hold the notion of tree births. Two different plant-species acting as the parental generation may sometimes produce a complitely new type which in no way is found similar to the parental types. From the evolutionary point of view, the interspecific and intraspecific hybridisation process in natural vegetation forms has brought out diversity in plants. The Kuttia Kondhs believe it in their own view based on their myths and legends.

Penka, i.e. seeds are regarded as sex (*linga*) of plants and trees. Jana is the outer covering of seeds (seed coat). Thus *linga* is covered by *Jana*. *Linga* and *Jana* together refer to sex in plants. This idea contradicts with botanical theory of formation of seeds. It is because formation of seeds are achieved through pollination and fertilization. Pollination refers to the union of male and female gametes (sexual units). Hence, seeds are regarded as the offspring of parental types. But Kuttia Kondhs hold that seeds come from sex of plants and trees.

Trees and plants marry to produce a new species. So species have evolutionary affinities with other species. If the tree marriage system held by Kuttia Kondhs and the subsequent birth of plant species; dissimilar to parental types are taken into account, it would mean the manner of classification of plants and trees by Kuttia Kondhs. May be it can be interpreted as the folk taxonomy of Kuttia Kondhs.

An account of how the Kuttia Kondhs make a famaly relation between plants and trees is given below. Two religiously important plant species Sargi mara (*Shorea robusta*) and Mardi mara (*Terminalia tomentosa*) are regared as the first pair, as a result of whose marriage other species are evolved. So it is believed that the other tree species have descended from the above tree species.



NAME OF THE PLANTS

(1)	*Shorea Robusta.*	(2)	*Terminalia tomentosa.*
(7)	*Buchanania lanzan.*	(10)	*Gmelina arborea*
(12)	*Bombax malbaricum.*	(13)	*Xylia xylocarpa*
(18)	*Michaelia champaka*	(19)	*Barleria species*
(22)	*Syzygium cumini.*		

In the above graphical representation of the folk taxonomy twenty two tree names are mentioned. *Shorea robusta* and *Terminalia tomentosa* are religiously important species and they have descriptions in Kuttia Kondhs oral traditions. The above two tree species are some what similar in appearance and hence are regarded as a standard pair who have given birth to other plants and trees. Further, *Shorea robusta* because of its huge size is regarded as the male and the *Terminalia tomentosa* in the same way is regarded as female.

The Kuttia Kondhs describe, the above two tree species as their original plants. Their own offsprings are *Sale mara* and *Palche mara*. But the plants of opposite gender i.e. *Karla mara* and *Pademara*, to whom Sale mara and Palche mara married respectively are foreign species. After marriages between plants and trees new specis evolve which differ from the parental character. The character mixing is a function of the mixing of blood between the parental types is the Kuttia Kondhs idea. In some cases when Kuttia Kondhs observe that one tree species is growing over another tree species or if one tree appears to be clinging to another tree they attribute a family relation between the trees in terms of marriage. In such cases the robust tree is considered as male and the other as female.

ACHYRANTHES ASPERA, L.

Family — Amaranthaceae

Oriya-Apamaranga/Apmarg
K.K : Nakudipalu
(Nakudi-dog, palu-teeth)
Eng. Prickly chaff/ Rough
Chaff. flower.

Rough chaff is an erect and stiff annual herb which grows densely upto 50 cms. in length and has numerous branches; almost round and slightly ribbed stem, light green or pink in colour and covered with short, stiff and slightly rough hair. Its branches have thorns which are pointed down wards. The leaves of the plant are simple, egg shaped and green. The flowers are small and face downwards.Old flowers are found at the bottom and the fresh ones on the upper portion. Its seeds and the dried plant are available with grocers and dealers of raw drugs.

Stems of the plants are used as brush sticks by Kuttia Kondhs. A belief is also associated with the use of the stems as brush sticks that is, if a person brushes

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Foot notes *KK - Kuttia Kondh ; Eng. - English*

his teeth every day with this brush stick for as long as a year, all his desires get fulfilled. Women who use to brush their teeth with a stick of this plant are blessed with a son.

The entire plant is used in witchcraft for crop protection Kutra (Kateri/ Barking deer / *Muntiacus muntijack*) teeth, leaves of date palm *Phoenix sylvestris* and the plant are worshiped through a witch puja, tied to a bamboo stick and placed at the centre of the kitchen garden. It is believed that if crops or vegetables are stolen, then because of the action of the witch, the thief's cheeks will swell up. Yet there is a fear, which restricts people to steal agricultural products from kitchen gardens.

Root of the plant are given in pieces to the poultry in severe cases of diarrhoea. Local oriya people are using the plant in various witchcraft rituals.

ARUNDO DONAX, L.

Family - Poaceae / Gramineae	K.K - Mani Oriya-Baunsa Eng. - Bamboo.

Bamboo is a perennial grass species. Every year, between July and october, new shoots sprout at the base of the tree. Bamboo is always found in clusters. It grows wild through out especially in the hilly forests.

Stem of the plant is round, smooth and hollow. Nodes are swollen. It has no branches. It has simple, shiny, stiff, smooth and dark green leaves.

Distribution along ditches and streams. flowering in october.

Bamboo has a legendary tale known to the Kuttia Kondhs as it was born from coarse turmeric powder which 'Nerandali' - the supreme lady used to rub on her body at the time of bathing. It was born when every body who came with Nerandali to the earth were deeply asleep. It was '*Tudeka*' meaning midnight, when sounds like blowing a horn pipe, like the roaring of carnivorous beasts, like an elephant's and a horse's voice, like a collective crying for a dead man was heard. Nerandali and all others awakened and saw that bamboo is growing from the mini pond (*Ejumundi*) where Nerandali took her bath. They saw bamboo bushes coming up being chained (*sikulibandha, kada bandha*) on earth. It was giving a very bad smell. Nerandali felt angry for the hoarse 'Dre' Dre Gedra Gedre' sound of bamboos; for the interference of this hoarse sound in her sleep, in her decision making, as well as for its growing over a large space on the earth nearby her abode.

So she decided to root out the bamboo bushes from the place where it was grown and finally bamboo was driven away to Kandabada and Bakabada hills.

IN THE LEGENDARY SONG OF KUTTIA KONDHS IT IS REPRESENTED AS : -

ra tudeka ena ra neka rena	In the midnight
linganainjane jananainjane	Taking birth
tani ejumundi tani kudumundita	In that small water pond (Ejumundi)
Sikdibandha ajane kadabandha ajane	Chained bushes coming up
mani linga manjane dambi linga manjane	Bamboo taking birth
mera pala ditali sringa pala ditali	Coarse turmeric had fallen.
talapuju ditali banapuju ditali	Hairs had fallen
kamalega ajane tutu lega ajane	Sound like blowing a hornpipe heard.

SAWANDI LEGA NAWANDI LEGA AJANE	Sound like mass crying heard
RADU LEGA AJANE JUGA LEGA AJANE	Mass roaring of beasts heard
TANI IDANGA SUSUNGA MANAWA	When she was sleeping
DRE DRE INJANE GEDRE GEDRE INJANE	Dre dre, gedre gedre sound is heard
HATI LEGA AJANE GADA LEGA AJANE	Like elephant and horse voice.
TANU IDANGALI MANJANA SUSUNGALI MANJANA	She was awakened. She thought
IDANG NANDINAWA SUSUNG NANDINAWA	If any thing is wrong with the earth
SAWAN LEGA AJANE NAWANDI LEGA AJANE	If it was wrong to take birth there
EREK SAWAND AJATE EREK NAWAND AJATE	Why is such a sound
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI	She is Nerandali she is Kapandali
WAE AJI TENDALI WAE AJI MRANJALI	Calling to Tendali and Mranjali grand mothers
BAMU KANGARI BAMU BAMU SINADI BAMU	To come and see it
TANU TENDEL AJI TANU MRANJEL AJI	She is Tendali, Mranjali aji
TANI KANGARINAWA TANI SINADINAWS	She saw it
TANI EJUMUNDITA TANI KUDU MUNDITA	In the water pond
DRE NIJANJANE GEDRE NIJANJANE	That sounds dre, gedre (due to contact with each others)
ELEDELA NERANDI ELEDELA KAPANDI	Hellow Nerandi hellow Kapandali
SIKDIBANDHA AJATE KADABANDHA AJATE	Bamboos have come up.

This poetic description is a part of their 'Kui Gaani' which is said to be the original song of Kuttia culture which is sung for seven days and seven nights uninterruptedly. The lines of the Kui Gaani have pictured the first habitat of bamboo

and the humanly feeling of peoples who are in the proximity of the bamboo bushes.

In the latter parts of 'Kui Gaani', it is represented that the bamboo was born at the same time when the supreme man Betamangera was born. The surface of the earth on which the peoples were living was not levelled. So a 'Sareni' (a porous bamboo-made vessel) was needed in which soil was taken and dusted over the earth to make it levelled. Again 'manang' (a measure) was made out of bamboo in which soil was thrown to make hills. For details abstract of the Kui Gaani is to be followed in which social significance of bamboo is represented.

Bamboo is required for 'Dharni puja' (worship of godess earth) in the events like '*Masa juda gasnali*' (Harvesting) in '*Diwali lanju*' (November). Bamboo, associated with 'Dengen munda' - a pole of Dengen tree (*Xylia Xylocarpa*) is worshipped in 'Dharni puja'.

Bamboo grows both near 'Jadi' (meaning stream) and in 'agari' (meaning barren lands).

Material value of bamboo is immense in the Kuttia livelihood. Mats (*sella*), large reservoirs for keeping corns,(*Burda*), baskets (*kacha*), boxes (*kapa*), bird cages, *sareni* (porous vessel to separate husk from rice), *Manang* (a measure) etc. , are made out of bamboo and bamboo foils. People collect bent bamboo shoots to be used as hangers (*Mani Gadi*), bent bamboos are also used to make shelfs. Bamboo is also used in making music a instruments, bows and arrows. It is also used in making cot frames and cot legs.

Bamboo is a very useful food to the Kuttia Kondhs in their lean periods; which usually continues from April-May to July-August. In this period the Kuttias collect young bamboo shoots and seedlings for food. These young shoots of bamboos called '*Terka*' is ground to make a paste. It is then pressed to remove the water . Again the solid residual bamboo is ground and the paste is boiled in hot water to which rice is added. If the water is removed from cooked rice, then it is called '*Terka bidi*' (meaning *Terka* rice) otherwise it is called '*Terka jada*'. Those shoots are plentily available in Asadlanju (July). Kanji' is a delicious food preparation of bamboo shoots. The shoots are cut into thin chips which are Sun dried. Those dried chips are added to dal lenties or curry and the preparation is called *kanji*. Those chips are also preserved as a food stuff for the lean periods.

Bamboo pipe works as a hot air oven for meat to be burnt. Meat is kept inside bamboo pipe. The pipe is sealed with earth or leaves from either sides and the pipe is burnt. The burnt meat tastes better with such process.

BAUHINIA VAHLIA, wt. & Arn.

Family - Caesalpiniaceae

Oriya - Siali
K.K - Paeri

It is a perennial shrub, climbing to an immense extent. Leaves roundish, heart shaped at the base and obtuse, united to a little above the middle, 4-6 nerved. Fiowers longish and white. Flowers gradually become cream coloured. Long legumes, pendulous, compressed at the lines, 8-12, seeded.

It grows gregariously near water places and in moist forest floors. Shrubs growing in dry places produce small sized leaves, compared to the leaves of such plants in a moist habitat.

The plant species has wide use in the Kuttia Kondhs social and cultural life. It contributes a lot to their social life as household materials. Ropes (*Nanka*) are made from the bark of the climber which are used widely in making rope cots, bow strings, hangers, mats and many other rope made materials.

Various designs of cots are made out of bark of the plant. Cots are classified with regard to the weaving designs which are made out of bark of the plant. Usually 'Barpo' ,and 'Kandra' designs are made.

Leaves of the plant which are flattened and kidney shaped are being used for plates and packages. Corns are also stored in vessels made out of siali leaves. Kuttia Kondhs also make vessels of 'pumpkin size' and hang them from pumpkin creepers, with some mustard seeds (*Brassica campestris* ,veriety-*dichotoma*) in the vessel with the belief that pumpkin yield will be maximized by doing so.

Seeds of the plant are eaten raw and fried like cashew nuts. The admission of the plant to Kuttia culture and religion is immense. Leaves of the plant are being used in worships, festivals and ceremonies. '*Katul*' beverage is prepared in siali leaves. Seeds of Kueri (*Panicum* Species) rice are ground and wrapped with siali leaves, called '*kena*' and is hung over the fire for about 15 days. Rice powder in the leaves after developing a blood red colour is mixed with fresh rice powder and water to prepare *katual* beverage. *Katual* is important to celebrate the '*punikalu*' festival in January.

BOMBAX MALBARICUM, DC.
(= *Bombax ceiba*)

Family - Bombacaceae

K.K -Laka mara
Hindi - Simul
Oriya - Simuli
Eng. - Silk cottontree

It is a large tree with a prickly trunk and branches when young, 5-7 digitate leaves. Large scarlet flowers appear when the tree is leafless. It is a deciduous tree, flowers in Janary - March, fruiting March - May. Remains leafless from December - March or even to April.

The tree attains largest size in cool valleys . Bark,White,blaze thick, soft,dark, pink. Streaked with pale pink and white. The tree is very easily grown from seed and easily transplanted. Cosmopolitan in distribution.

From its trunk proceeds an exudation, much used by the local people in diarrhoea.

The Simul trees popularly known as *'Laka Mara'* is widely used in cultural and material uses of Kuttia Kondhs.

Branch of Simul tree is worshipped at the time of giving name to a child. The simul pole (*Laka munda*) is established facing towards the east, in front of the house of the person who celebrates the naming ceremony of his child. The ceremony is called *'Dukeli Dakina'* (meaning worship of the ghost). Usually a child is given a name after three years of his / her age. The child is named after his paternal grandfather who is invited to *'Dukeli Dakina'*. A hen or pig sacrifice is offered to the *Dukeli* (Ghost/ spirit) of the grandfather of the child. The puja is done facing East because Sapangada, the place from where the Kuttias were born faces the East.

The *Jani* (priest) and Kutaka *(Gunia*-astrologer/witchman) sits in the puja. The jani utters certain chants. It is understood that the Jani says "our fathers" , grandfathers were offering *laka munda* (Semul pole), in the same way as we are offering". This is addressed to the penu and to *Dukeli* of their ancestors. The Jani never takes the name of *Dukeli* as it is a taboo to take the name of dead persons. The worship is offered to the *'Elu penu'* meaning home deity. For *laka munda*, the main trunk of the tree is never cut, the side branches are cut. Main lines of the chants go :-

Sarikena sarimoru bamu	:	Come (deities) from four corners
Lakamunda Simda Munda Sina	:	We will offer you laka munda(semul pole)
La* adedhi La* apati bamu		Come la adedhi and La apati
Karamara bidimara bamu		"Come kara (?) tree and bidi (?) tree.
Nachadanga, ta adanga bamu		Come Nachadanga, ta adanga
Lakamunda Simuda munda gaisi		For Laka Munda.
Daru Padaṣi inji arapimaja		We are offering it to you.

* *La adedhi La apati are parts of a wooden structure regarded as 'Elu penu' (Ellu penu - Home duty)*

** *Those trees can only be located by Kutaka (shaman)*

Simul wood materials are also used in *'Dasera kandanga dakma'* in october (*Dasera Lanju*) which is celebrated during *Durga puja* and in *'Badbinere'* (farewell) festival celebrated during March-April *(Chaitra Lanju)*. Both the puja is offered to **Kama penu / Kamati penu*. *Kama penu* is worshipped only in the above two occasions. She causes small pox, chicken pox, measles and other bodily manifestations which are collectively known as *'Bicha'* - literally meaning seeds. *Laka Munda* is collected from the trunk of a virgin (before flowering) Simul tree and is designed to the shape of a horse. The legs of the horse called *'Kalka'* are made of Bamboo. Three pieces of simul wood are taken to make three swords *(Kanda)* which are kept on the back of the wooden horse. The horse is worshipped as it is the 'Bahana' (Literally means to vehicle) of the *Kama goddess.*

On Monday in *'Badbinere* festival,only' *Basni'* (invocation) to the deity is done . And on Wednes day the deity is given a farewell (*Badbinere*). After the penu is bade a farewell, peoples of the village take castor-oil in a Sal leaf pot (*Dana)* with some *kueri* (*Panicum species*) rice. Carrying those things in hand they pick of feathers from a chicken. The feathers are dipped in the oil and all Kutakas are given one feather. Then the village people offer *Mahuli* i.e. distilled liquor of *Madhuka longifolia* to the Jani and the Kutaka who attend the cerymony and escort then to their houses.

Besides Simul pole, oter plant parts like coconut plantains , rice , Ganjei leaves (*Cannabis sativa*) , afu (*Opium / Papaver somniferum*) are used for the Puja. Flowers of *Hibiscus rosasinensis*, flowers of *Holarrhena antidysenterica*, leaves of *Azadirachta indica*, and leaves of *Shorea robusta* are also used .

Seeds of Simul are boiled and eaten in their lean periods (Summer). The silk cotten is used for making pillows.

Sometimes,in the forest Simul wood works as a substitute for matches. A small piece of wood of Simul is bored and another piece of wood is inserted in the hole of the first and drilled. Dry leaves are kept aside it which catch fire from the sparks coming out by the drilling of the Simul wood. Leaves of the tree are also worn by the Jani during worship.

CASSIA FISTULA, L.

Family - Caesalpiniaceae

K.K. - pundeni mara
Oriya - sunari
Eng. - Indian laburnum

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* *For Kama penu, in the Dasaera Kandanga Dakma*

It is a small or moderate tree species. Deciduous, Flower bunches Pendent, fruit is a legume, long. Easily recognised for its flowers during summer season.

Wood of the tree is never burnt in houses. It is believed that the home deity leaves the house if wood of the tree is burnt as fire wood . Smoke comes from this fire wood, if burnt , which invites bugs into the house. It is also believed that if this wood is burnt in houses ,nephews (Sister's sons) fall sick. So using this tree as fire wood is a taboo.

The root bark of the tree is a good fermenting agent. Kuttia Kondhs put half burnt root barks in todday, collecting pitchers as a medicine to ferment toddy. Toddy treated with this medicine never causes loose motion.

A deep yellow coloured flower bunch of this tree is worn by Kuttia girls in the events of group dances.

***CARYOTA URENS*, L.**

Family - Arecaceae

K. K. - Mada mara
Oriya - Salapa
Eng. - Indian Sagopalm

The Salapa tree is just like a Coconut or Arecanut tree. It grows to a diameter of 4 ft. to 6 ft. and to a height of 20 ft. .The branches are long like that of a coconut tree and are more like those of an Arecanut tree. The leaves are bigger and broader than those of the other two palms. It is a stout and very beautiful palm.

Fairly common in some parts of the Agencies area of Orissa, sometimes planted. Flowering period April - August.

The fibre of the leaf sheathes is used . The pith yields a good sago. The inflorescence is tapped for toddy.

Salapa , well known as 'Mada mara' in the Kuttia Kondh land is one of the most important plant species which every Kuttia Kondh likes to preserve as it's honest admission to their social organisation and cultural patterns are well mentioned with 'Mada'- toddy of the plant . It is a tree which every individual of the Kuttia Kondhs would like to bring to his possession whether the tree be in forest or around the village. The juice of the tree is really delicious, with high starch content which can be regarded as the elixir vitae of Kuttia Kondhs. Following the descriptions of the said tribals it is the tree which takes about 15 - 20 years to grow to yeild its juice. Juice of this tree plays an important role in making a tribal socially, mentally and physically well 'being' wherever the 'being' may be : in the

cradle or approaching the grave-yard. The tree being cared by the Kuttia people has contributed a lot to their social life, cultural patterns, aesthetic sense...etc. It has also a great value so far as Kuttia food ,drink and household materials are concerned.It stands as a mother,by giving its nectary juice to people of all age groups which help them to survive and stand.

A salapa tree in the forest is more socially linked to the Kuttia people than trees in their kitchen gardens and aside the avenues.Usually Salapa trees are in personal possession which only the owner of the tree can cut to get their juice.Another person can possess the tree by the will of the person who planted it. If the person is surviving but has grown old *(Dera)* would chose a man to be his successor in possession and allows him to cut its *'Kama'* (inflorescence) for juice as it is not possible for the *Deranja* (the old man) to climb the tree and collect the juice. *Kama* is compared with the breast of a mother. After the person dies the tree is owned by his relatives or by villagers whoever is chosen by the person who planted the tree. Sometimes the owner allows certain other persons to collect juice from the tree. But no person without the permission of the owner would climb up to the tree and in any case if it happens it is an open offence and may even lead to murder.

Generally after the owner's death the tree goes to the owner ship of the owner's legacy holder. He may give it to his relatives if he is not satisfied with his offsprings.It is the will of the man who has planted the tree and he decides whom to give it; to his children, relatives or villagers.

Certain rituals are celebrated before the first juice from the tree is collected. The owner invites the *'Jani'* - village priest, *'kutaka'* - the witchman / astrologer, the *'Majhi'* - village headman and other people for the first drink. The *Jani* worships the tree,*pranga* (rice) and *Paeriaku* (leaves of *Bauhinia Vahlii*) are used in the puja. The puja is offered to the *'Dukeli'* (ghost/spirit) of the person who had planted it, if the person is dead. If the said person is alive, puja is given to his ancestors.

The Jani addresses the ghost thus "we are cutting your tree for toddy. You could also have it if you would be with us. But you are away. May your good will be with us. May your tree secrete sweet, tasty and plenty of juice for your *'Mila Dali'* (offsprings)".This occasion happens to be a social event in which village people and guests sit and drink. The sitting arrangement for the drink is in a circular manner under the tree. The people sit in a circular arrangement as a cluster of stars in the sky.They feel that the arangement of stars in a cluster shows a tree and under it the people are sitting. In the drink session a person distributes the collected toddy equally and he takes it towards the end. The first *'Dumuni'* (measure by a gourd) is given preferably to an old man and then it goes on among the age groups. But

into randomly toddy is always divided equally among all the people so that all 'Jella' (life) will be satisfied.

'Kreti' a ladle made of 'Anka' *(Lagenaria Vulgaris)* is used for the distribution of juice. The '*Kreti*' has a long handle and a cup like end, one side of which is cut open. One cup measured by the *Kreti* is called '*Dumuni*'. This equal distribution of drink satisfies all drinkers and also establishes a good relationship among them.

The drinking ends and a social event which is most remarkable takes place after it. It is more like a meeting for a discussion for minor and major conflicts among the villagers, for something to be done with mass participation such as attending a court case, cutting of a new forest for shifting cultivation, and other social problems in the village are discussed and decided. To add to it, no discussion which hampers social welfare or a good work is given a chance in the meeting. Everybody at that time is in a good mood and show mutual interest.

After cutting a tree for its juice sometimes discussions take place about the man who planted the tree. His goodness or evilness is evaluated by the quantity of juice collected from the tree. Sometimes when the tree yields less it is argued that either the *Dukeli* is dissatisfied or somebody elses *jella* is not satisfied. Then the '*Kutaka*' is requested to invistigate what has happened to the tree. The 'kutaka' can know it somehow with a simple practice of throwing some dehusked rice on to the tree Hethen performs a witch puja to the tree for its good secretion later on. Sometimes juice from the pitcher on the tree is stolen by other people, which is also mutually decided whether punishment should be given to the thief by the Kutaka or not.

As far as Kuttia's social processes like marriage, death rituals are known, mada *(toddy)* is important for gift exchange. When they visit a friend's house, they carry toddy preferably of this tree with them. In different '*kalu*' (festivals) the 'Jani' and 'Kutaka' are served with this juice. In some festive occasion like '*Badbinere Dakina*' meaning 'farewell puja' offered to '*Kamati penu*', Jani and *Kutaka* only survive on fermented or non-fermented juice of salapa or survive on distilled liquor of Mahula (*Madhuka longifolia*). On other ceremonial occasions villagers drink the available juice, Jani and kutaka having the lion share.

'*Mada Mara*' is also associated with some aesthetic feelings as it is understood in certain folk songs. In one folk song on *Mada Mara* the human affinity after the drink is represented.

It goes like this There was a '*Mada Mara*'. It developed my appetite for that. I drink it to quench my thirst and '*Nisa*' (addiction) developed and my

hunger demanded meat. I went for it and had it. Then I slept a sound sleep. In another of the folk songs it goes "*Mada Mara sinanga, Dakaritaka rinanga piopata baisangode*". true friendship is represented. However, the song is sung at the time of giving farewell to a friend as it is observed.

The material value of the tree is highly valued. A musical drum called '*Tapka*' is made out of its rounded root base. The tree after growing old or after it withers,its rounded root base is collected. About 1/2 -1 inch "of the '*Daki*' is scratched out and a hollow is made on the centre keeping the walls about 1 inch thick. A leather preferably of cow is tied over it. A bamboo piece is pasted over the ends of leather as a ring called '*Mani sira*'. The gum used to paste the bamboo and leather is called 'Jrikeni' made out of the root of a plant called *Jrikeni dadinga*. The root of *Jrikeni* is collected pestled on stones, dried in sun and is used as adhesive. This drum is used in collective functions and ceremonies. Fibre of *Bauhinia vahlii* is tied to it.

The fibre of the leaf sheaths called 'sinanga' is very strong and is used in making combs,strings of musical instruments.

High sugar content in the juice gives it a great nutritional value. Fermented juice is easely digested and is cheap source of energy. The juice in winter acts as an 'internal blanket' and in summer as a 'cooling agent'.

Toddy is tapped from its inflorescence called '*kama*'. In summer heavy yield of juice from the tree keeps them alive and it can be regarded as a life force in their lean periods. Besides the juice, the central strand of young tree called '*Jendi*' is collected and ground after drying. It is used as flour for making chapatti,cakes etc. *Jendi* is botanically described as pith.

'*Ganju padasi*', fruits of the tree - *Semecarpus anacardium* is made into a garland and tied to the '*Kama*' to save it from evil eyes. In certain cases witch practice is performed to avoid evil eyes which hamper good secretion from the inflorescence.

Cutting of the '*kama*' needs a routined attendance as it is to be cut twice or thrice a day for good yield of juice. On every tree a filtering net, a pitcher and knife usually kept. If juice is being collected from more than one tree in the same place, people usually sit under the youngest tree to drink together.

Mada mara is so attached to the Kuttia peoples that they experience 'ill at its ill and well at its well'. Anybody who is an outsider, if plants a salap tree is ever remembered by the Kuttia Kondhs.

CISSAMPELOS PAREIRA, L.
Var. hirusta (Dc) Forman

Family	Menispermaceae	K.K	Dindidipa tulla
		Oriya	Akanbindhi
		Eng.	False pareira brava

It is a slender herb (creeper) with peltate leaves.

The Kuttia Kondhs wear the roots of this plant to cure fever which comes in every alternate day (periodic). The kids are made to wear slender stems of this plant at their arms to prevent fever and any evil eye.

Root of the plant is a very good fermenting agent used to ferment the salap toddy. Salap toddy treated with root of this plant is good for children.

Root of the plant is pestled and prescribed for diarrhoea.

EMBLICA OFFICINALLIS, GAERTN

Family -	Euphorbiaceae	K.K -	Surga
		Oriya -	Amla
		Eng -	Indian goosberry

It is a small or middle sized deciduous tree. It has small,very close set, 10 to 13 mm. long leaves. The tree has pale green flowers usually in small dense clusters below the leaves. The fruits are fleshy and round with their contour indistincty marked into 6 lobes, about 1.5 to 2.5 cm. in diameter and pale green or yellowish in colour. The fruit has a seed inside with three angles and three sides.

Normally the tree is never used as firewood in houses. If it is burnt as firewood,it is believed that hen can not hatch eggs to chicks.

At wig of the tree is used in specific ceremonies, e.g. after a Sambar is killed, the Kutaka worships the dead Sambar with a twig of the tree. The fruits are collected, dried and sold in the market. Kuttia Kondhs also eat its fruits as a side item with rice.

FICUS SCANDENS **ROXB.**

Family -	Moraceae	K.K -	pipa'da
		Oriya -	Jari

A creeping and climbing shrub with the new shoots rusty and hispid,pendulous branches,leaves ovate or elliptic-ovate , acute or obtuse.

Male receptacles are larger than the female.

Flowering in Jan - May. Distribution epiphytic or mesophytic, mostly around hill tracts.

Pipada leaf is a necessity which is a must in almost all witch puja, rituals, festivals and religious ceremonies. In *'Kama penu'* puja, a garland is made with pipada leaves and garlanded to the Kutaka and jani. It is said that penu has directed the Kutaka to wear a garland of pipada leaves before offering puja. The leaves in the garland are bunched by paeri nanka (Bark / fibre of *Bauhinia vahlii*). A tree in near by settlements is selected to be worshipped thrice in a year in *Kama penu (Durga) puja,* in *Puni kalu* and in *Badbinere.*

Sometimes leaves of Bel mara (Bael tree/ *Aegle marmelos*) and leaves of Maska mara (Mango tree / *Mangifera indica*) are also added to the garland with pipada leaves.

Further, a twig of the tree is used in witch puja to cure people from diseases like fever. Usually a twig of the tree is kept on the thatch of the house of the sick person and a leaf is suspended above the head of the ill person's bed. The twig and the leaf are joined by a thread. It is said that life comes to the ill person through the pipada leaf suspended over the head of the person.

People do not cut this tree, or its branches even as the tree is regarded as the abode of goddess is (named differently). Besides,the hills,forests having larger population of this tree are regarded as very sacred places e.g. Siram Deu hill.

GREWIA TILIAEFOLIA

Family - Tiliaceae

K.K. - Daman
Oriya - Dhaman

Usually a small tree with ovate,unequal sided leaves. Generally occuring throughout the province in the forest area, attaining its best development in valleys and lower slopes of the Southern hills. It is a deciduous tree. Flowering April - June. Fruiting sept - Oct, deciduous April -May.

Bark nearly smooth sometimes with faint rings. Blaze fibrous,pink or red with fine alternating zones of crimson and white.

'Dhaman mara' is known to every Kuttia Kondh as the tree is very valuable for their immediate necessities in their house holds materials. The distribution of the species is adequate in and around their locality. An axe is the commonest weapon in the hands of the forest dwelling people which is necessary for self-defence from carnivorous beasts. Axe handles and handles of other agricultural implements like hand hoes of various types are made out of branches of this tree. So they know the plant like their axe is their saying about the use of the plant.

Frames of cots called 'sandanga' are made out of branches of their tree. Usually they search for the tree as the preferable one for making cot frames. Wood from this tree is widely used in making agricultural implements like *juadi* (yoke) and *data* (harrow). *kila* - a part of *juadi* and *palka* - a part of *data* are made out of this tree. The substitute wood materials in the place of daman mara are very few.

HOLARRHENA ANTIDYSENTERICA. (Roth) wall. ex Dc

Family - Apocyanaceae

K.K. - Kude mara
Oriya - Kuduchi

Deciduous small tree. Grows up to 10m. height. Bark rough, pale brownish and greyish. Follicles cylindric. Flowers white, fragrant. Flowering period summer. Distributed through out the State.

Roots are used to ferment Salap juice. Roots are kept in the pitcher in which salap juice is being collected makes the juice bitter in taste. So it prevents lose motion. Very sweet juice of Salap causes lose motion. The bark of the tree is ground raw and is prescribed for lose motion or parts of the tree are found useful in curing lose motion, indigestion, deworming.

Flowers of the plant is used in puja purposes. Flowers are also worn by Kuttia girls in group dances.

LAGENARIA VULGARIS, Seringe.
=(*Cucurbita lagenaria*)

Family - Cucurbitaceae

K. K - Anka, Pita.
Oriya - Lau
Eng. - Bottle Gourd

A coarse glandular and soft hairy, usually monoecious plant with hairy leaves 7-8 inch diameter, large solitary white flowers 3-4 inch diameter. Young fruit villous or hairy.

Cultivated and some wild varities are also seen. Flowering July - January. Fruiting cold seasons.

The unripe fruit contains a thick white pulp which in the cultivated plant is sweet and edible. The ripe fruit is variously shaped with a very hard shell. The common form is dumb bell shaped used for *tumba*, (pots) musical instruments by Kuttia Kondhs.

Two species of *Lagenaria* are found. One cultivated and the other wild. But Haines in his treatise, 'The Botany of Bihar and Orissa' has mentioned about *Lagenaria vulgaris* only. The cultivated type is known as *pita* and the wild type as *Anka*. Both are edible.

The gourd of this fruit is used variously, Kuttia Kondhs use it as bottle to keep oil, as bowls to eat. *Kreti* i.e. the gourd with a long handle is used as mugs. The use of *kreti* in salap drink maintains good relationship among drinkers as it measures equal quantity of juice for all.

Anka is sacrificed in *Punikalu* (Full Moon) festival celebrated in *Pusa Lanju* (January). Before the sacrifice of fruit in Punikalu it is forbidden to eat, for religious taboos.

MADHUKA LONGIFOLIA **(Koenig) Mach.**
=(*Bassia latifolia*. Roxb.

Family - Sapotaceae

K.K. - Puju mara
Oriya - Mahula
Eng. - Mowra Butter tree

A tree of moderate height deciduous in nature. Leaves are stalked generally crowded near the end of branches, ovate,oblong,coriaceous. Flowers are stalked,crowded at the branch end and white. Fruits are ovoid berry. The sweet pulp of the ripe fruit is edible.

Liquor prepared from flowers of this tree is an important drink of the Kuttia Kondhs and other forest dwellers. But Kuttia Kondhs though they do not prepare the liquor, know its preparations. Local Pana community (scheduled castes) usually prepares this using traditional distillation technology.

Flowers of the plant are cooked in an earthen pot. A bamboo pipe is placed at the mouth of the pot and the mouth is sealed with mud. Another bamboo pipe is fitted to the first pipe in a slanting manner and its other end is introduced into another earthen pot being kept on slow running stream of water. Vapours from the earthen pot in which Mahula flowers are being cooked condense and is collected in the earthen pot kept over the stream of water.

Molasses are also prepared from Mahua flowers. Flowers are boiled in water and squeezed to extract juice. The juice is then filtered and the filtrate is cooked to evaporate water. It then becomes a semi-solid mass which is used as molasses. Liquors are also prepared from this molasses.

Puja penka i.e. seed of the tree are fried and taken in to a large wooden pot. The wooden pot has an outlet. Seeds are ground by a large pestle introducing it into the wooden pot. The seeds are pestled and oil is extracted through the outlet. It is then filtered and used as hair oil. Sometimes the oil is used as massage oil for children.

The bark of the tree is ground and is prescribed tocure lose motion. The tree has religious attachment also. More particularly, when worship is offered in shifting fields, they instal their gods. (Dharni penu). Kuttias sometimes instal their clan gods under large Mahula trees if large Sal tree and Mango tree is not available in that part of land. In fact, they always look for a huge tree under which they can instal Dharni penu which is believed to be auspicious.



MANGIFERA INDICA

Family - Anacardiaceae

K.K - Maska mara
Oriya - Amba
Eng. - Mango

A tree with leaves alternate, petiolate, simple 15-30 cm. long and entire. Flowers are small, greenish yellow and fragrant. Fruits are droups. The shape of fruit is obliquely conical and the colour is green to yellow. Fairly distributed in all parts of India. flowering Feb.-March.

In Kuttia culture the mango fruit is associated with a festival called *'Taka kalu'* The festival is celebrated in the month of July (*asad*). The endocarp of Mango is given a puja in the *'podu'* (burnt part of the forest under cultivation), fields called *'Bagada'* Sacrifice of a pig or hen is offered to Dharni penu and the endosperm of mango endocarp (*Taka)* is cut open, and offered to the penu. Blood of a

sacrificed animal is given to the crops in the fields.

The puja is usually organised when crops are of about one feet high. The Mango seed is cut and the endosperm is offered to penu, so that the penu will not be angry when the crops germinate bursting the soil layer. They pray to Dharni penu for roots and bushes of çrops to grow thick.

The mango endocarp is dried and powdered to prepare gruel which is eaten by the Kuttias during poverty. The mango endocarp is preserved in Kuttia houses to be eaten in lean periods. This is also preserved as food for pigs.

Endosperm is pestled and made to a paste which is applied on deep cuts on the body caused by axe. Three to four times of application per day for three to four days heals the wound. The bark of the tree is pestled with water and given to patients to cure lose motion.

Both unripe and ripe mangoes are preserved by indigenous means for use as side items with rice. Kuttia Kondhs make garlands with mango leaves to decorate their house premises on the occasion of festivals.

The bark of the tree is a good fermenting agent. It is used to ferment salap toddy and date palm toddy.

MUSA PARADISICA, L.

Family	- Musaceae	K.K	- Tade mara
		Oriya	- Kadali
		Eng.	- Banana plant

The banana is a herbaceous plant with a long drooping stem. It is an indigenous plant found cultivated in India. This is easily recognised because of its large broad leaves. In the world, both of religion and medicine, the banana plant has never been without significance and is inseparably asscociated either in the fruit or in the vegetative form.

In Kuttia Kondhs legendary tales this plant was being sacrificed in ancient times in their Meria festival. The juice of this plant was regarded as blood to be offered to penu. Now a days the plant is used in witch puja for curing diseases such as fever. It is believed that god directs in dream to the Kutaka (astrologer/ witchman) to sacrifice a plant in the name of the diseased person to cure. The '*Yam penu*' i.e. the demon god can be satisfied with a sacrifice of the plant and so the sick person for whom the puja is offered will get well soon.

There is another belief that if the plant gives out its inflorescence towards the direction of the house, in the backyard of which the plant is found it is regarded as an evil sign for the house.

The juice of the plant is applied over burnt parts of the body as a first aid in accidental burns. The fresh juice of banana is used for stopping bleeding from cuts and wounds.

As of the plant is used as detergent. Flowers, fruits, pith of the plant is eaten.

OCIMUM BACILLICUM.

Family - Lamiaceae

K.K. - Jaranga
Oriya - Bana landa baguli
Eng. - Sweet basil

It is a multibranched soft hairy, annual herb about 30-60 cm. in height. Leaves elliptic, oblong, acute or obtuse, entire or serrated. Fruits are nutlets which are sub-globose, slightly compressed pale brown in colour. Flowers purplish pink or violet in colour. Fairly distributed in the province.

Seeds of the plant are burnt to make smoke in poultry sheds. The smoke effects to drive away poultry lice. Raw leaves of the plant as a whole is used as a repellant of bed bugs. The Kuttia Kondhs atter leaves of the plant on the bed to escape from bed bug bite. Juice of the leaves are also applied to stop bleeding from cuts and wounds.

SHOREA ROBUSTA GAERTN. F.

Family - Dipterocarpaceae

K.K - Sargi mara
Oriya - Sal
Eng. - Sal tree

It is the most important timber tree,forming dominant tropical forests of India. A tree attaining 150 ft. length and 12 ft. girth but often low and stunted on the hills. Leaves ovate, oblong, cuspidate with cordate base. Flowers coloured, unilateral on the branches. Flowers are small and creamy yellow. Fruit with three wings.

Distributed through the province. Flowering - March - April up to May. Nearly quite leafless in March

Sal timber is highly important in the Meria festival, known as *'Biakatina'* - the greatest festival of Kuttia Kondhs. The Meria pole called *Karumunda* is made out of Sal timber. *Karumunda* is collected about fifteen days before the festival. This festival is celebrated at an interval of five to seven years in January / February *(Magha)* when the villagers are in sound financial conditions. Their conditions are related to their crop yield of the year.

The Kutaka keeps *'Upavas'* (fasting) on the day of collecting *karumunda*. He is followed by two/three persons into the jungle who also keep fast. Kutaka choses a Sal tree which is to be cut. He chants some *mantra* and throws rice on the tree and getting auspicious signs, he orders the followers to cut the tree. During cutting of the chosen tree, if a cat, jackal, dead snake, monkey or empty pitcher are seen, it is regarded as an evil sign and so the tree is rejected. Again ,the tree from which *karumunda* is to be collected should be straight, should be unbranched, (small branchlets not taken into account), should not have resin exudations, should have no broken branches, should not be affected by *'Gachchi'* (parasite plants) and should have emerged out from soil as an independent tree.

During cutting of the tree the vocal sound of a woodpecker, birds, peacock,monkey indicate an evil sign and the tree is rejected. So *karumunda* is collected when the above signs are not there. *Karu* literally means buffalo.

Elu penu, meaning home deity, is made out of Sal timber. It is figured as a stand having a base Sal pole called *'Dedhi'* and a Sal wood over it called *'pata'*. *Elu penu* is established in front or inside every house. The Sal pole is designed differently to represent various types of penu (Gods and Goddesses). Sacrificial parts and posts for worship and rituals are also made from a Sal pole.

Ploughs are made out of Sal poles. Generally two types of ploughs are there, designed differently for hill cultivation and plains cultivation.

Sal is an important timber species for making houses, as mature Sal poles are hardly affected by insects.

Sal resin smoke in houses drive away mosquitoes. Sal leaves are required in puja activities, for making pots (Dana) to keep puja materials. Dust resin is a must for all types of worships and rituals.

Sal fruit is eaten in lean seasons. Oil extracted from the seeds are obtained by simple boiling and is used for cooking and burning.

TERMINALIA TOMENTOSA (DC) W & A

Family - Combretaceae

K.K - Mardi Mara
Oriya - Asan
Eng. - Sain

It is a tropical deciduous tree. Bark hard and rough, leaves are long, oval,pointed with short stalks,smooth, sometimes hairy. Flowers slightly yellowish. It grows in forests of plains of India upto 1200m.

The tree is described in the Kuttia Kondhs myth. That in ancient times, pole of the tree was being used as sacrificial post for human sacrifice. A mythical sacrifical post made out of this tree is seen in Sapangada, the place from where Kuttia Kondhs came to earth. The Kuttia Kondhs also believe that the post was there before they emerged out of the earth. In oral myth it is often described that the Kuttia Kondhs came out of the earth with the help of a creeper (*Bauhinia vahlii*) one end of which was tied to the post. So it is a religiously important tree.

The smooth bark of the tree is used as a medicine to treat Mahua liquor. The Kuttia Kondhs apply the bark of the tree to the Mahua flowers at the time of cooking liquor. By doing so, they minimize the toxicity of the liquor.

Some of the Kuttia Kondh villages have accepted the timber of this tree for *Karunnunda in* Meria festival. The timber of this tree is very strong and is used in making houses.

Raw leaves are crushed and used as hair cleaning paste.

THYSANOLAENA MAXIMA, O. KTZE.
=(*T, agrostis*, Nees)

Family - Poaceae

K.K. - Satranga
Oriya - Phool Jhadu
Eng. - Ravine broom

It is a large bamboo-like or reed-like grass. Grows up to 5-10 ft. height. Leaves large, broad and flat. Leaves ussually broadest above the rounded or heart shaped base, margins nearly smooth. Distributed on shady slopes in the forest but especially on damp steep banks along ravines and water sources. Flowering and fruiting May - June. It is an annual/biannual grass.

The Kutttia Kondhs knows the plant asSatranga. It is of a grass species

and found abundantly in the moist parts of the forest, mostly in deep and dense forests.

Their attachment to this plant is not new. They make combs which are being used as an ornamental material. Very old people who have long hair, make knots of hairs and fix a comb there which is made out of soft stems of the plant. The comb looks like a brush and the thin foils of stems of the plant are tied together with fibre extracted from leaf sheaths of '*Caryota urens*'. This comb is not sufficient for good combing of hairs. But is regarded as a traditional ornament on the head.

Panicles of the plant are collected to be used as broom. This broom has a wide sale and some local agents are collecting those as minor forest produce. ;It can be said that the Kuttia Kondhs know the plant for combs and brooms as it is observed that they rarely use any other plant species for the above purposes.

A piece of the satrange worn in the body or kept in the body keeps the ghosts away. The panicles are seen to be used in many ritualistic worships..

The Agency Marketing Co-operative Society is procuring these broom sticks at a cost of four rupees per kilogram. But the Kuttia Kondhs rarely take an interest to in collecting brooms for sale.

DISCUSSION

From the oral rhymes used by Kuttia Kondh in *Kui* language, it appears that many rudimentary conceptions on plants are still prevailing among them although civilization has marched ahead since thousands and thousands of years. The diversification from one god to many gods and goddesses are seen among the Kuttia Kondhs.

Kuttia Kondhs not only worship the supreme gods and goddesses but also worship the evil gods and goddesses like witches, demons, devils etc. They have a strong feeling that if they do not satisfy the evil gods, they may cause harm to them and to their family. In order to satis fy evil gods, they sacrifice certain plants, plant products, even the animals which they consider the most valuable for their rituals and traditional ifunctions etc. But Kuttia Kondhs have a strong conviction that unless they sacrifice animals to a God. He will not be kind to them. Besides Kuttia Kondhs have a strong faith that, offering liquor and sacrificing animals to god is the best offering to satisfy him. The Jani (priest) and Kutaka (astrologer/ witchman) offer liquor and blood of the sacrificed animal to god first and then they consume the flesh of the animal. The left over portion of the offerings is eaten by village folk together. The liquors, both in traditionally fermented form or distilled form prepared from flowers of *Mahuka longifolia, Caryota urens* and *Panicum* species are important drinks which they drink together in functions and

ceremonies. Liquor is also common in their everyday life. Drinking of liquors in groups are a link between their social status and cultural identity. Plants and trees which are sacrificed as an offering to gods and goddesses a selected on certain characteristics of the plants and trees. As mentioned earlier, Kuttia Kondhs sacrificed Banana plants (*Musa paradisica*), coomb trees(*Pterocarpus marsupium*), beacuse such plants contain watery juice whch could substitute animal blood. Again on this conception the Kuttia Kondhs are also sacrificing Yam *Dioscorea* Species) and Pumpkin (*Cucurbita maxima*) etc. In any case these sorts of offerings to gods and goddesses by Kuttia Kondhs imply that without offering something to penu, consuming such products is a sin. Hence out of fear of gods and goddesses Kuttia kondhs are sacrificing animals.

The wooden poles, posts and wooden materials required for a specific worship or ritual purposes are selected out of the entire vegetation. Sal tree (*Shorea robusta*) is an important tree in this regard. The Meria pole which Kuttia Kondhs call *karumunda* is made out of the Sal tree. Other types of wooden statures ; which stand as an image of different gods and goddesses are made out of the Sal tree. Though on inavailability of Sal trees, the Sain tree (*Terminalia tomentosa*) is used as a substitute. Still Sal and Sain are not equally regarded for purposes like worship.

The socio-cultural events of the Kuttia Kondhs with plants and trees give a sense of their use and understanding of the plant world. Trees are abodes of gods and goddesses; both angelic and satanic arouse a fear complex in the minds of Kuttia Kondhs and so they do not violate particular tree species. If somehow such trees are violated, then it becomes certain that collectively all the Kuttia Kondhs will suffer from diseases and disasters caused by evil spirits and deities. This is more a social thinking than a religious one. Therefore they worship particular trees and the deities to be socialised with the deities, which would protect them from disease and disasters.Taboo, beliefs and superstitions which are originated from religion later turned into social thoughts. Therefore trees are worshiped sometimes as a God himself, sometimes as a representative of god and many a times as an abode of evil spirits and deities. Among very large tree species Sal (*Shorea robusta*), Black berry (*Syzigium cuminii*), Sain (*Terminalia tomentosa*), Kada (*Anthocephalus cadamba*), Banyan tree (*Ficus benghalensis*), *Ficus scandens*, peepal tree (*Ficus religiosa*) are the trees which are highly regarded as abodes of evil spirits and deities.

This tribe also worships the Sun as they consider him to be the most powerful God. Most of the puja activities are performed facing towards East. because Sapana gada hill (A hill from where Kuttia Kondhs were originated as per their myth) is facintg towards '*weda dueri*' which literally means the door to the Sun. Futher according to them the existing plant also originated first from Sapangada hill. In *Dukeli Dakina* (a ceremony for naming a child) a Simul pole is

placed in front of their houses facing towards '*weda dueri*'. Thus *weda dueri* means the East from where *weda* (sun) arises. Further, they worship plants like species of *Ficus* (Banyan, peepal) as the abode of gods and goddesses and worship Simul as abode of spirits and ghosts. Besides, hills, mountains, streams, stones are being worshiped by this tribe. The hills may be barren or having virgin forests. Trees are regarded as abodes of gods and godesses as the tree provides them shelter. Trees are also necessary for people to take shelter which has been mentioned in 'Kui Gaani'.

Trees are believed to be symbols of many gods and goddesses. In a dream, seeing a particular tree symbolises a particlar deity. Nelingi mara *(Tamarindus indica)*, *Ficus benghalensis* are regarded as symbols of particular deities. When deities are to be invoked, they are worshiped with such wood on materials which symbolises such deities. A living tree is symbolised by establishing a stump or pole of such a tree. In the naming ceremony of Kuittia children a pole of Simul *(Bombax malbaricum)* is established as a symbol of the tree. In many cases, sacrifice is done by keeping the sacrificial object, may be plant or animal over a wooden pillar and wooden platform. Such wooden posts are adorned profusely with flowers and leaves to only symbolise the wooden post as a living tree. Trees planted in the memory of ancestors, in the memory of living kins, in the memory of a guest are symbols of the Kuttia Kondhs love and affection to such people.

The legendary tree birth from Sambar body has made the Kuttia Kondhs pay special regards to the animal. Myth of origin of bamboo, origin of certain clans e.g. *Timaka* clan (originated from bamboo shoots) of the Kuttia Kondhs from plants species, make a social relationship between plants and human beings. It is said about the origin of bamboo, that it grew from the hairs of Nerandali and the Timaka clan of Kuttia Kondhs originated from bamboo shoots. This indicates an alternation of generation, that plants have a human and animal origin and human beings also have a plant origin. The plants became differentiated into agricultural plants, plants and trees making the forest to serve the human needs in a mutually co-operative manner.

Human beings and plants are not much different from each other. This evident from the life cycle of plants and trees described by Kuttia Kondhs. *Sate* is the term for birth of a plant in which the seed germinates by bursting the seed coat. *Pdite* is the term for birth of a human being in which child comes out through the female genital organ. Besides, as a human being possesses structural limitations at birth, a plant being also possesses that at germination. In the latter cases the plants and trees keep no structural limitations and thus differ from human beings. The universal view of life and skin relation described by the Kuttia Kondhs sees the human being and plants and trees as one category. It is argued that without bark a plant can not survive and without skin an animal cannot survive. But in up-keeping

the life of a plant or animal being, the role of water is immense. Hence, here appears some similarities in the life of a plant or tree or human being that all of the have a life. This gives one explanation of how the Kuttia Kondhs think about the living force of an organism.

Gochchi gives a philosophical thought to make the plants and human beings as one category. *Gochchi* is a type of plant and *Gochchi* also refers to whitish or reddish patches in human beings and plants /trees. The whitish patches in human beings are regarded as symptoms of leprosy. But the consequence of developing orchids on tree species and the spreading of whitish patches on human beings is the same as it result in decaying of organs in plants and human beings.

The metamorphosis of a human being to an animal or plant, the transformation of Jella from one organism to another is a mysterious phenomenon described by the Kuttia Kondhs. It may be interpreted that if a human being can exchange its lefe with plants and animals, then a super naturalism occurs in the organism which causes these unbelievable happenings. This supernaturalism is nothing but life which does not hold any relevant defination. Further, the comparison between *Daki* (root base) and Kamba (Navel of human body) illustrates that the plants and human beings have special places to accomodate the *Jella*. And so the life in a plant or an animal shows no remarkable differences.

The plant society and animal socities including human beings are parts of a larger whole called nature. It can be interpreted from the correlations between three terms - Saru : Siru : Soru. The three terms define the origin of human being, plants and hills. The animals live in forests and hills. In their legendary tale the origin of animals is not mentioned. Thus human beings, plants, hills and animals collectively make the nature and each component makes a part of this complex whole.

In the myth of plant origin, it is mentioned that plants and trees are evolved to serve the needs of human beings and animals. The trees grew to shelter the Kuttia Kondhs, to provide shelter for monkeys, birds, mice etc. to grant the social needs of living organisms. Trees were there to cover the barren earth, to beautify nature and to provide shelter. This perception illustrates how the Kuttia Kondhs regard nature through their myth.

Since ages their knowledge about plant is preserved by Kutakas who are also regarded as 'medicine men' by the Kuttia Kondhs. Kutakas use plants in medicines, in witchcraft. It is also believed that various uses of plants and trees as medicines and other utilities of the plants are told to the Kutaka by the god in dreams. Accordingly Kuttia Kondhs accept the Kutaka as the village head for religious affairs, medicines and witchcraft, for his knowledge about plants with a

strange feeling that, his profession is god's gift. Such a man is regarded as a man having spiritual powers who is sent by the god to serve for human well being.

Thus knowledge of plants wfhich are used for religious affairs is confined mostly to the Kutakas among Kuttia Kondhs. The young generation never takes any interest in such information. They simple rely upon the Kutaka, with regard to different usage of plants in different ways.

However, some commonly used plants as medicines, house hold materials, ornaments and aesthetic ideas are known to the youths of the said tribe. Again, youths are well versed about the food yielding plants and trees available in their surroundings. Their feelings and understading of these selected plants are described as far as practicable from the sources of their folk lores and social processes.

ABBREVIATION FOR CITATION OF SOME AUTHORS NAME.

DC.	De Candolle.
Gaertn.	Gaertner.
O.Ktze.	O. Kuntze.
L.	C. Linnaeous.
Roxb.	W.Roxburgh.
Wt. & Arn.	Wright and Arnott.
W. & A. -	
Wall. -	N.Wallich.

Others:

K. K.	Kuttia Kondhs.
Eng.	English.

8

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE : ORAL TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE AS A PHENOMENON

INTRODUCTION

Kuttia kondhs are a primitive tribal group who maintain their indigenous mode of life style. They live in concentric patches amidst the hills and forests in some parts of the Phulbani District. Kuttia Kondhs are a fully agriculture-based tribal community and hunting and food gathering is one part of their living. In a society like that of the Kuttia Kondhs many social processes, technological methods, religious perceptions, cultivation practices are identified, which are regarded as very important things which every Kuttia Kondh knows. Kuttias in their indigenous terminology are known as '*Kuianka*', '*Kui*' being the name of their language.

The Kui language which is their only communicative language is very different from the Kui language which other Kondh tribes use. *Kui* language is also recognised in the tribal dialects. In any case, the *Kui* language speaking Kuttia Kondhs are immediately surrounded by the Gonds, Panas and many other people who are Oriya speaking. Naturally, the Kuttia Kondhs also know a little bit of the Oriya language by interaction with the Oriya speaking people. But this does not apply to the Kuttias who remain busy with their own work and rarely come in contact with the Oriya speaking people. Therefore, the acculturisation of language moves to either sides ; from *Kui* to *Oriya* and from *Oriya* to *Kui*. That contain types of knowledge of the Kuttia Kondhs followed by Oriya speaking people and in the similar way certain knowledge is passed from Oriya speaking people to Kuttias. This amalgamation of Oriya and Kui, knowledge is clearly observed in this area.

The Kuttia Kondhs feel proud of their Kui Language. It is because, as they recall their history, they were born as Kui speaking people. They regard the Oriya and other languages with respect, because Oriyas are a "Higher" ranking community than the Kuttia Kondhs. In their myth, they say that two types of people exist in the world. They are '*Rajianka*' and '*Kuianka*'. *Rajianka* is the Kui speaking group who is at a lower strata than *Rajianka*. The *Rajianka* group took up education, plain land paddy cultivation etc, which gave them an identity of the developed type. Reference to this *Rajianka* and *kuianka's* differentiation can be found in the other chapters.

This differentiation between the two languages has made a strong conviction among Kuttia Kondhs that, they are known as *Kuianka* and so they want to keep up such activities and such an indigenous living pattern. So that other groups of people can identify the Kuttia Kondhs as a different group. Hence the Kuianka are recognised by their indigenous processes, living pattern, cultivation practices and above all as *Kui* speaking people. *Kuianka* regards himself as the lord of hills and forests where as *Rajianka* occupy the rest of the world.

The term *Kuianka* does not define the whole Kuttia folks. In fact *Kuianka* is the term that refers to Kuttia men. The Kuttia women are known as '*Kuiladu*' But in ordinary sense '*Kuianka*' is commonly used to define the whole group of Kuttia Kondhs. Hence, the language they speak and the terminologies in *Kui* language give an idea and identity of their distinction which is latter on expressed in their indigenous culture and traditions.

TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE *(BUDHI)* : AN OVERVIEW

The Kuttia Kondh term for knowledge is '*Budhi*'. *Budhi* is applied when various forms of experience, perceptions, and many other ideas directly or indirectly linked to knowledge is mentioned. But in many cases '*Budhi*' stands as a measure to explain personal intelligence. The Kuttia Kondhs, however, make a differentiation between work and knowledge. According to them work is the event and '*Budhi*' is applied for the successful end of the work. In this connection the measurement of '*Budhi*' is possible from the observation of the work process, methodology, ideas and innovative thoughts involved in the work. Therefore, *budhi* is the sum total of work process involved in them, methodologies implemented, intervention of ideas and personal aptitudes, skills and experiences. Hence *budhi* is not used in all the cases when a break up of the work pattern is considered. *Budhi* is a synthesis not the analysis.

When the various methods and processes involved in a work is taken into account, there appear many terms which are known to us but the Kuttia Kondhs do not have specific terms for all the processes. But all the processes involved in the work are known by the title of the whole of the work. For example, the

cultivation of hill lands particularly the shifting cultivation is known as *'Nella Kama'*. In this hard work the different phases of work viz.Slashing, burning, hoeing, weeding do not have distinct terminologies of their own. Rather, all these process is come under the term *'Nella Kama'*.

In the process of a worship different steps are there. The practitioner knows the different processes involved in it. But not all these processes have specific words. But during the performance when an observeer asks the practitioner about the different phases, the latter literally gives a systematic mention of the processes about which the former had asked. This is interpreted as '*budhi*' but the Kuttia Kondhs do not admit it as *budhi*. The phases, steps or the processes that make up a complete work seems to have no specific terminologies. It may also be assumed that the investigator could not extract the words perfectly from them.

Kuttia Kondhs cut trees and shape them into different household materials, religious objects, images of gods and goddesses and so many other items that are required in their socio-cultural life. The work process involved in making these is known as 'Mara Kama'. In their work the Kuttia Kondhs do not think of the processes involved in it. But they give a literal meaning to the different processes that make up the required material *(mraka)* from the raw material, which here refers to tree *(mara)*.

Hence, in a work process the skill gives a meaning of '*Budhi*'. *Budhi* and skill becomes different from each other. It is because *budhi* refers to the thought of the things which would be required to make an object, to do a work etc. But it is skill that shapes the raw object to the desired material. Since skill has no specific terminology, it would mean that the intelligence and the skill both give a meaning to *Budhi*, or else it would mean that *budhi* refers to both general aptitude or intelligence and personal skill. Hence it may be understood that skill, aptitude, intelligence is aggregate mean to *Budhi* i.e. Knowledge.

KUIANKA BUDHI : INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE

For indigenous knowledge there is no Kuttia terminology. In fact, they feel that 'indigenous' means their own knowledge. The Kuttia Kondhs are known as Kuianka in their indigenous tradition. Therefore, the *kuianka budhi* refers to the indigenous knowledge. As per their myth they emerged out of the earth. After emerging out they settled in different places on earth. When they started living on earth they cultivated hill lands by shifting cultivation, they cut Salap trees for toddy, they went for hunting and food gathering. To make a permanent settlement, they constructed houses, floor of such houses being at a lower level than the house premises. They came to know the preparation of rice gruel and millet gruel for food. They followed the mythical songs and traditional dance patterns. They worshipped gods and goddesses with traditional names given to such deities. They started

doing magical practices for the well being of the society. These all are categorised as the *'Kuianka budhi'*. The Kuttia Kondhs are bound to their traditions. So everything in their social processes is attributed to *budhi* or knowledge. With the theoritical expression of their social processes, specific methods got merged. The involvement of different methods, in a process reflects the understanding of the Kuianka about the process.

It is therefore found that the *Kuianka budhi* or the form of indigenous knowledge is still in its rudimentary form. There are also certain skills and knowledge which are not rudimentary but advanced. But in all the cases, their indigenous knowledge refers to their understanding of the different social processes which are many.

The oral lore of the Kuttia Kondhs is also a part of their indigenous knowledge. The traditional songs, tales . . . etc. are known to all Kuttia Kondhs. Besides the perceptions, skills, experiences and other shared knowledges, the Kuttia Kondhs give highest priority to the songs of many types, tales, proverbs.. ..etc. The oral lores are of many types. They fall in the category of mythical, lip compositions, spot composition, religious, love songs and tales. . .etc. But the oral lore, be it of any type, can be summerized under one word 'Kaatha'. *Kaatha* literaly means tales. Though song and tale are different, yet the literal expression of songs can be designed as tales.

As said earlier *budhi* is of many types. *Kaatha* is also of varied types. *Budhi* and *kaatha* thus appear to be the sources of Kuttia Kondhs knowledge, in its theoretical meaning. But the *Budhi* and *kaatha* acquired by people of different age groups differ to a great extent. With difference of age and generation a lot of missing links and ignored themes can be easily unearthed if the knowledge of the community in accordance to different age groups is explored. Hence there appears a teaching-learning process. The teaching-learning process usually takes place between two people having a wide age gap. The Kuttia terminology for teaching is called *'Graptamu'*. *Graptamu* has also grammatical forms. That, when a person asks a Kuttia Kondh "please teach me your kui language", then in *kui* language it can be translated as *"Nange kui graptamu"*. *'Grapta'* is the short form of *Graptamu*. The term for 'I will teach' is *grambamu*. Hence *Graptamu* and *Grambamu* can be used for both the sides in a reciprocal teaching learning process. But in the context of narrating songs and tales, the terms *graptamu* and *grambamu* are never used. In this case it is *Bestamu*, its short form being *besta*, is used.

Bestamu or besta literally means 'tell me'. Hence, the rudimentary forms of knowledge, that is the traditional things, songs,tales proverbs, riddles can be better told and explained by using the term bestamu.

APPROACH TO ORAL TRADITIONS

Kutttia Kondhs speak *Kui* language. The *Kui* language has no script. *Kui* language, if used for communicative purposes has to be written in Oriya with the use of Kui critical marks. Therefore the Kuttia Kondhs do not have any written material of their cultures and traditions in *kui* language. Without knowing their language one can not understand any thing of their oral traditions.

For a perfect study of the Kuttia Kondhs oral lores, participating in their socio-cultural events is a suitable way. But without knowing the kui language, communicating with people is impossible. When an interpreter is used, sometimes it so happens that the interpreter uses *kui* words to explain the event. But the real sense and meaning of the oral composition never fits in to the literal meaning of certain terms in any case. But the Kuttia Kondhs have summarized their entire socio-cultural life in their oral literature. Hence oral traditions happen to be their only text, so far as the tribes history, evolution, customs, and traditions are concerned.

Before attempting the study of the oral traditions, of the Kuttia Kondhs important to know their language, atleast in a normal chit-chat form. Secondly for a better communication, becoming a friend of any Kuttia folk is a must. It is because, by becoming a friend to them they feel the importance of sharing the *Kui* language.

After knowing and understanding *kui* language, one has to participate in their cultural events like festivals, ceremonies, rituals, dances... etc, to get through their oral traditions. Again, to participate in such events, if one establishes a friendship with any Kuttia folk, the friendship becomes an additional help. The Kuttia Kondhs sing, talk and carry out the conversations in a traditional manner. The process of the events and the language if perfectly studied, can help one to easily interprete the importance of the situation and so the tradition also.

The oral traditions only, have maintained the integrity of the Kuttia Kondh tribe. It carries in it all sorts of knowledge. Once their oral literature is unveiled completely, many thoughts, feelings, perceptions, culture, tradition and myths can be easily known. Apart from exploring the social processes of the Kuttia Kondhs, exploration into their oral traditions is highly necessary for, the social processes are also embedded in the oral traditions. Hence the study of oral traditions side by side or simultaneously with the observation of social processes can give an idea of both the theoretical and practical knowledge of the tribe.

FORMS OF ORAL TRADITIONS

Oral traditions happen to be the original text of the Kuttia Kondhs in which are described the tribe's myth, their evolutionary history of origin, myth of origin

of plant species on earth and many social processes which have importance in their cultural and religious life. However, all these descriptions are given in different forms. Songs are a major source that give a brief identity of the tribe. The different clans, lineages and distribution of labour of a Kuttia society are sketched in songs. Their mode of life style , rituals, ceremonies and social events are also described in songs. The songs are traditional. None of the Kuttia Kondhs has an idea about the author of such songs. Songs are composed by unknown authors which are handed down to the Kuttia Kondhs through generations. The songs are known as *'Gaani'*.

Besides Gaani, folk tales or oral tales are also there. Like the songs, the name of the author of oral tales is unknown. Such oral tales are many. The oral tales are known as *'kerandi'*. In *kerandi* descriptions are given of jokes, events, interesting features of kings and queens. Descriptions of the horrifying human sacrifice have not got that much of importance in the songs. *Kerandi* is told by Kuttia Kondhs in their leisure time in forests, agricultural fields, nearby camp fires and in such places where a small group of people sit for entertainment. Kerandi though has not many descriptions in it, still is accepted by the Kutia Kondhs as a good source of folklore. The Kuttia Kondhs say that many tales are listed in Kerandi but very few people know such tales.

The third form of oral literature is *'Kereena'*. *Kereena* refers to very small proverbial tales. Such tales always carry a dual meaning. Most of the times the Kuttia boys and girls sit and amuse themselves with *kereena*. Hence, *kerenna,* because of having dual meaning in its tales have a wide acceptability among the youths, women and older generations. The youths enjoy the *kereena* as jokes. Further, many riddles, metaphors are found hidden in *kereena*. Young boys of a particular age group discuss *kereena* which suit to their age. Young women also enjoy them. So kereena becomes differentiated with the various age groups. Broadly taken as jokes, many *kereena* are for boys only, some are for girls, and so many for old people. Children usually do not know *kereena*. *Kereena* most of the time are spot compositions in which the composer keeps a hidden meaning in it and tells the kereena in a literary form to others to find out the meaning hidden therein. Whatever it may be, kereena gives ample amuesement to the participants in an informal discussion.

Gaani, *kerandi* and *kereena* are thus three main sources of oral knowledge of the Kuttia Kondhs. *Gaani* is of course a large composition compared to that of the other two. In a *gaani* mass participation is more and in *kerandi* and *kereena* only small groups of people usually participate. So from all corners, the *gaani* is the main reference.

GAANI (SONGS)

From a study of the Gaani or Kuttia Kondhs it can easily be interpreted that, they are lip compositions. The authors name is not known. Such songs are only the spontaneous creation of talented Kuttia Kondhs who have no educational background. Presumably, the songs arose from the traditions of the Kuttias from which they have acquired the skill of composing songs. Once a song is composed, it becomes more or less a habit of the composer to compose new songs. Because the songs have high acceptability in the society, the composer is encouraged by others. He runs by the inspirations and encouragements reciprocated by others for his talent. Songs are a rich and colourful heritage of the Kuttia Kondhs, left by the predecessors for the posterity.

Oral composition of songs are products of their rural environment. The Kuttia Kondhs live in concentric patches being surrounded by hills, mountains, forests, the plant world and animals. Therefore in the songs a complete picture of the environment around them is often sketched perfectly. At the very minute of composing a song, the authors do not believe that their compositions have any outstanding value or they are poets of any merit. The composition is not considered as an inheritance of any particular individual rather it is accepted as a creation of many poets, a symbol of the masses. The compositions in many cases carry in them different objects of the rural environment. Being composed in *Kui* language, the Kuttia Kondhs better understand the themes and thoughts embedded is such songs. But taking out the themes and thoughts from the songs and interpreting it in other communicative media cannot keep the natural essence of such songs. Translated songs becomes like a bird whose wings are clipped.

Sometimes, individual feeling and emotions vibrate in such songs. Individual sorrows in songs break the Kuttia's heart, individual joys also sparkle their heart. But such feelings are lost in group consciousness.

KuttiaKondhs mantain a busy life. Therefore singing songs at leisure times is not very common. They usually sing in ceremonial occasions, festivals, marriage, worships and in other socially important occasions. Otherwise they sing only when they are at work. They also sing at times when they feel like singing. They sing to break the monotony of hard work or a long journey on foot. Songs in mouth and liquor in stomach makes a Kuttia Kondh go deeper and deeper to express his ethos and sentiments. Singing is as natural to them as is to a bird singing bird.

The songs have implications in Kuttia Kondhs social life. Many lessons are embedded in different songs. The Kuttia Kondhs are conservative in their outlook. They regard every line of the tradition and so stick to it. They never try to come

out of their tradition which to them is very sacred.

They have a prevailing thought that to come out of tradition would tantamount to commiting a crime. Therefore songs are a sacred part of their tradition, without which they feel themselves sinners. They believe in ghosts and spirits. They believe in witchcraft and sorcery and approach gods and goddesses for solutions of the problems in their lives. So songs become a part of their life, an organ of the society. LIke religion, songs are being maintained in their original forms as far as possible. They always try to preserve this rich tradition till they exist as Kuttia Kondhs.

The songs portray the past and the present state of the Kuttia Kondh society. They a mention the different stages of social evolution. The songs are always sung and never recited in the Kuttia Kondh Society.

Kuttia Kondhs have many different types of songs. They can be divided in three broad heads : Mythical songs, Environmental songs and Folk songs. The mythical song is regarded as '*agat katha*' literally means 'ancient tales'. The environmental songs are known as '*Basa Gaani*' where *basa* refers to 'a place'. The folk songs are known as '*Bahe Gaani*' where *bahe* literally refers to useless. Accordingly division of the songs is made in the following manner.

Mythical song	*Kui Gaani*
Environmental song *(Basa Gaani)*	: *Kapka Gaani, sedi Gaani* (marriage song) *Basa* Gaani (picnic song or songs sung at place of a common feast, festival song) .
Folk songs *(Bahe Gaani)*	: *Enda Gaani* (Dance song) *Panjin Gaani* (Addiction song) *Karu grasnali* Gaani (Buffalo teasing song).

The songs sung during worship make a completely separate heading. Because, religion is the high order performance in the society. Matters on religion is handled by the religious songs that are restricted to be sung by the religious heads only. The common folks do not interfere with religious songs. Which are known as *Dakina Gaani* literally meaning worship songs.

Dakina Gaani are also of many different types. The different gods and goddesses are invoked with different *Dakina Gaani*. Involved in *Dakina Gaani* are many ritual songs, witchcraft chants and sorcery hymns. But all these types of songs can only be sung by the religious heads. Common folks do not violate these principles for their prevailing fear of being caught in the eyes of the gods and goddesses. People believe that violation of such principles is a crime for which the

god will order for punishment, of which they are sure.

MYTHICAL SONG : KUI GAANI

Kui Gaani is the only narrative song among folk songs and environ mental songs. They are long narrative song preserved in oral tradition. The author is unknown. It is free from all literary influences and is fairly homogenous. The poet has hardly tried to express his thoughts artistically. It seems that the song is not an individual effort. The song carries the entire cultural background of the tribe. It is the song that tells us about the evolutionary history and origin of Kuttia Kondhs. It narrates the birth of hills and forests, it describes the birth of vegetation and the need of it in Kuttia societies. Apart form these, the song gives a graphic synop'sis of the domestic work, division of labour, style of living with many domestic complications. It represents the identity of the Kuttia Kondhs. It describes that the Kuttia Kondhs stand as a distinct group of people.

The *Kui Gaani* is the treasure of all Kuttia traditions. The song gives an introduction to their traditional life style and it can hardly be given a literal shape in other communicative languages. By that the main theme of the song remains hidden.

It is a long narration. The Kuttia Kondhs sing the song in different socially important occasions. Such social occasions are festivals like '*Biakatina*' (Buffalo sacrifice) that refers to meriha, festival, 'Punikalu', (literally meaning "new festival"). Besides these two main occasions, the song is often sung in marriage, on the arrival of a new guest . . .etc. People irrespective of age participate in singing the song. The song is very long. Once started, the song takes about seven days and seven nights to be completed. Therefore it is sung in great festivals which come during the leisure days of Kuttia Kondhs. In actual practice the song can be sung in a day but they repeatedly sing certain lines of the song. Sometimes the Kuttia Kondhs breaks up the song into different headings. Keeping a track of the headings they continue singing, so that it can be finished within seven days and seven nights.

Kuttia Kondhs usually get ample time after harvesting the summer crops. Since the crops in shifting cultivations are harvested towards November-December. Punikalu comes in January. So people are free by that time to celebrate the festivals. *Bia Katina* festival has a link with the economic status of the Kuttia Kondhs. Therefore, the festival is organised at intervals of years. The shortest interval between two successive Meriah festivals is three years. Therefore, at the time of celebrating the Meriah festival, the Kuttia Kondhs should have a sound economy. The festival, is very expensive for the Kuttia Kondhs. Hence, they organise the festival after a grand harvest of crops, selling which they set aside the amount to meet the expenses of the festival.

Meriah festival is celebrated any time between February to May. But usually it should be organised in *chait lanju* i.e. in the month of April. The time from February to May is the period for the Kuttia Kondhs to prepare new *Bagad* for shifting cultivation. So they have to get themselves engaged in slashing and burning of vegetation. They organise the festival before the slashing of the vegetation in February-March or after burning the slashes in May.

'Marriage ceremonies also take place during that period when Kuttias sit idle after harvesting crops from *Bagad*. So these major festivals and ceremonial occasions are very well arranged in their yearly calender. Singing *Kui Gaani* on these occasions, particularly in this leisure period, adds flavour the culture of the Kuttia Kondhs.

It is not within the scope to give the whole narration of *Kui Gaani* in this chapter. However, details about the song is dealt with in separate chapter. (Myths, legends, world view and cosmology). In the appendix IA the whole Kui Gaani is presented with its literal meaning. The literal meaning could not be given in a word to word translation, But it is attempted to give a detailed meaning of the lines as for as practicable.

Kapka gaani is also a long narrative song. References of the song are given in the chapter 1. and the appendix - IB.

BASA GAANI.

It is a courtesy song, usually sung amongst peer groups. It is purely an on the spot composition. Once composed, immediately it gets it's adaptability in the society. The songs of this type are composed in such a lyrical way that it is hardly forgotten. This type of songs are composed to add flavour to a friendly meeting of two young girls, two young men, during conversations between the lover and beloved. It is very practical in its approach. That in a conversation one person can speak out his / her inner feelings to the other through a song. Many times the songs are composed like a duet when a male and a female meet each other. For example, between the lover and the beloved, one composes and sings to express his / her innermost feelings before the other. The other person responds to the song by an on the spot composition to express his/her feeling for the former. Hence, there takes place a reciprocal interaction between two hearts. A small song of this type deserves to be mentioned here.

MALE

Alamichu ala rani	Hello friend, my queen.
Nisani ni renigiriti	On the way of your return.
Lawa gutu sila pai	May not come any thorn ,obstacles.

Duggute bdesute salbati	May your return be well and safe.
Wala guta butuduties	If (you) come across hurdles.
Ninda dosu siala	Don't (please) hate me, forbid me.
Ala michu ala rani	Hello friend, my queen.

FEMALE

Inube michu	You also my friend
Dungute bdesute salmu	May you return well and safe.
Nanja katha michu	From today my friend.
Dapa kadelina kura kadelina	Have an early sleep on cot.
Sapani briseni nange metamu	See me in dream.
Nange edu budhi ialamu	Think of me, remember me.

The above song is a literary expression of the singing conversation between a young man and a young lady. The male happens to be the lover of the female. They are opening their hearts to each other. There appears to be a reciprocal thought for the well being of each other. The lover bids farewell to the beloved. They were with each other for some moments. Their hearts express love but the situation depicts sorrow. Many types of songs which are generally on the spot lip compo sitions are categorised under '*Basa Gaani*' literally meaning "place-song". *Basa* also refers to festivals, spots, picnic spots, environmental situations. The above song is not restricted to one male and one female. This can be sung by two people of the same sex or opposite sex, but they must be friends. After a person stays for long with them, at the time of his departure this song is often seen to be sung.

***SEDI GAANI* (MARRIAGE SONG)**

Marriage songs may make a special group. But it has been categorised under *Basa Gaani*. It is because at different place the song differs. In the traditional marriage, many different patterns are there, like arranged marriage, marriage by capture . . .etc. Accordingly, songs differ for different types of marriages.

In arranged marriage, mostly the Kui Gaani is sung. The song at that time shows a modification and it becomes an admixture of many songs. Besides, the main theme of the *Kui Gaani*, many advices, parables and lessons are sung in the song. The display of the singing pattern deserves to be mentioned here. Otherwise misinterpretations may arise.

On the occasion of an arranged marriage guests from the bride grooms side visit the bride's village. In the guest team males and females of different age groups

of arrive at the bride's village. As a tradition, all the guests have to participate in singing. Guests and people of the host village are split into small groups. Once the singing starts it continues non-stop. The smaller groups participate in singing as a relay race. In every group one expert *(Deranja)*, preferably an old man, must be included. Further, in the small group males from grooms side have to sing with the females of the brides side. Accordingly males of the brides side sing with the females of the groom's side.

And the song begins. The old man or the expert of one team starts singing. He is followed by the others of the team. They add music to the song by '*Laudi*'. '*Laudi*' refers to two sticks, one long and the other short. They carry the long stick in their left hand, one end of the stick lying on the left shoulder of the person. Taking the small stick in right hand they beat the long stick in a musical way to match the rhythm of the song. The *laudi* has another social meaning. A young man with '*laudi*' stands for an image of *Betamangera* who is the mythical hero. *Betamangera* was carrying an axe on his shoulder all the time. The long stick of the *laudi* which is kept over the shoulder represents an axe and the small stick represents knife which are the hand weapons of the Kuttia people. When the song goes on, the team leader adds advices and lessons by lip compositions. Thus with this considerable wisdom stored in tthe team leader, the sense of the song takes a different shape.

In the song the men are regarded as Betamangeras and the women are regarded as Nerandalis. As the song goes on, the responsibilities of Betamangera and Nerandali for the society is discussed through themes in the song. Emphasis is given on the social responsibilities of men and women in the society.

Very neatly the song describes social duties of each folk eventwise as far as practicable. It seems as if the song presents a conversation between Nerandali and Betamangera. In the middle of the song the team leader adds certain guidelines which the bride must follow when she would be in her in-laws house. Hence a marriaqge song is an advisory song.

Before leaving for the in-laws house the bride weeps for her parting from parents, friends and neighbours. Others continue singing songs, but she weeps helplessly. This is the tragic part of such songs.

FOLK SONGS

Folk songs do not have that much of use for group dances as the mythical songs and environmental songs. The folk songs are composed which suit the individual taste in the first case and then for the masses. The occasions in which folk songs are sung in Kuttia societies are also important in their socio-cultural life. But in fact, such songs are very few. *Enda Gaani* literally meaning dance song, *Panjin Gaani*, literally meaning addiction song, and *Karu grasnali*, literally

meaning buffalo teasing songs come under this category. Folk songs in Kuttia societies do not need music and rhythmic expressions. They may be songs or may be recitations. Such songs are only sung for pleasure or to make situations easy.

The dance song i.e. *Enda Gaani* is sung on specific occasions of common interest. Such occasions are never specific. On the occasion of a common feast, people may be interested in *Enda Gaani*. One remarkable occasion is when an unmarried boy or girl of one village visits his/her relations in another village, the people of the host village sing and dance with the guest. The dance usually takes place in the evening. The dance along with *Enda Gaani* is flavoured with humour. The dance continues for the whole night. But if the guest feels uneasy the dance is interrupted. The guest,she is a lady, has to dance with male folks of her age. If the guest is a gentleman then he must dance with the women of the village where he is a guest. The guest never feels alone because other folks of the village gives company to him/her in the dance.

The dance is sometimes accompanied with music from drums. The traditional Kuttia dance is always organised with Enda Gaani. During the dance the participants may also compose a new song and sing it then and there. Songs, may be of any type. But if the song is sung with a dance, it is regarded as *Enda Gaani.*

PANJIN GAANI

It is purely a lip composition composed right on the spot. *Panjin* refers to addiction. This type of song is sung at *Madangbasa* (liquor drinking place). Sometimes these songs are sung in the villages and many a times out side the village. Liquor is very much approved by the society. So taking liquor and getting intoxicated appears to be normal in the Kuttia societies. After taking liquor when one gets addicted he or she becomes poetic. The poet tries to express his feelings in form of a song. Then song might loose track of senses or become meaningless yet it sounds melodious. The singer tries to express his affinity to liquor, his affinity to a charming lady whom he desires to make his partner. The songs carry a lot of desires, imaginations, bubbling emotions and love, thoughts and ideas . . . etc. When one sings a *Panjin Gaani*, if he/she is appreciated by others it will be adjudged whether he is talented enough to express his feelings. Different level of addiction brings forth varied sets of lip compositions. While some songs become philsophical, realistic, other songs are found to be imaginary and obscene.

In the village one may sing a Panjin Gaani whenever one feels like singing. Panjin Gaani can be easily differentiated from irregular compositions of words and feelings. This song is often sung when a person takes liquor and gets addicted after a labourious work. Most of the times this song is heard amidst forests, in the agricultural fields and on their way to the field or forests. They sing these songs

for entertainment but they never lose their skill and attention at work whileminging.

KARU GRASNALI GAANI

This is a song usually sung during *Meriah* festival, celebrated by Kuttia Kondhs. *Karu grasnali* literally means Buffallo teasing. On the occasion of the Meriah festival, before the buffallo is sacrificed, people enjoy teasing it. People enjoy beating it, playing with it in any way they like. During their play with the animal, they address to the buffallo thus "after some time you will be sacrificed. But before you die let us play with you. Let our children enjoy playing with you. You will be killed. So let us tease you before your death. In this manner they play with the animal and tease it.

RELIGIOUS SONGS

Apart from all other types of songs the religious songs have a special position. Nobody other than the religious heads are ever allowed to sing the songs. Religious songs are recited. The religious heads, while reciting follow any pattern of recitation suitable to them . Religious songs stand at the last step of the ladder of songs. Such songs are restricted only to the *Jani* and *Kutaka* and they maintain the sanctity of such songs.

Songs thus happen to be the gratest source of oral tradition of Kuttia Kondhs. They are the richest source of elementary knowledge for the Kuttia Kondhs society. They give lessons, views, pose problems and give solutions, express sorrow and humour, feelings and imaginations. The songs are enriched with humanitarian sensations. Songs play the gratest role in the upkeeping of the Kuttia traditional form ofliving. Songs add colour to social occasions, refresh body and mind, keep up a friendly environment everywhere. Nobody will ever be able to find a festival , ritual or ceremony which Kuttias celebrate. Which is not accompanied by songs.

ORAL TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE AS A PHENOMENA

It has been stated earlier that the Kuttia Kondhs do not have written literatures in Kui language. Those who are a bit formally educated are also unable to record their oral traditions and oral literatures. The oral tradition is their reserve knowledge which is very traditional.

The non-tribals feel that the tribals normally do not share their knowledge beyond their group and it remains confined to themselves. It is the gift of the predecessors to the successors. The knowledge stored in the community of the Kuttia Kondhs pass on from older generation to younger generation through various means, but in all the cases the knowledge is transferred orally. The

knowledge in oral traditions are not always shared among all people. Those indigenous knowledge is safeguarded by people who have specific interest in them. It is a strong conviction of Kuttia Kondhs. The older generation therefore never feel scared of losing their indigenous knowledge. They hold that their knowledge will take care of itself. Indigenous knowledge adds to the identity of the tribe. But because all the people are not equally intelligent therefore it is preserved with people who have specific interest in the same.

PHENOMENAL APPROACH

To study the oral tradition and the knowledge in oral literatures is no easy matter. Many problems obviously come along the way of study. The language problem keeps a gap between hearing and recording. In an ordinary approach to the events in which Kuttia Kondhs share oral knowledge, no such event could be marked where sharing of knowledge is not done. It can therefore be said that there is always an oral transfer of knowledge among Kuttia Kondhs. Knowledge of all types from the very rudimentary form to highly specialised form is stored in oral traditions and is transmitted through oral lores.

Kuttia Kondhs are very busy people. All the time they try to keep themselves engaged in agricultural works, domestic works . . . etc. They get very little time for mass entertainment. So they wait for the events and occasions to come when they can have pleasure and entertainment. Such events and occasions are nothing but festivals, rituals, ceremonies and functions. During that time only they get ample scope for transmitting their knowledge.

Social events facilitate the oral transfer of knowledge. Let's take the case of songs. In a group, people of different age groups participate. The expert in the group sings the song in lines and the others follow the leader.

Thus that they try to remember the song. Further, all the people in a society are not masters in such oral lores. Only a few masters can be found in their societies. Then, those who sing continuously and those who make singing a hobby are able to assimilate the knowledge from their elders. From the very childhood days Kuttia children enjoy singing and dancing. The traditional lores are enchanting. So a child from its very juvenile phase of life sings and learns. When capacity to memorise grows in a person at adolescere age, he is able to recall many oral lores. Again, one cannot remember so much without having sufficient attachment to the events when songs are sung. And without regular practice lores may be forgotten. Therefore, on various social occasions sometimes younger people are given chances to lead the chorus.

But always an elder person guides the songs and corrects the mistakes

whenever they come to his knowledge. Such social events facilitate a teaching-learning process. In any case if the learner does not have sufficient interest in such traditional songs, he feels uneasy to participate in the chorus. Once a person misses a chorus means he misses it for months. Because unless the next occasion comes, there is no chance of singing such songs in between. So for a learner who has different interests, attendance in every social events is a must.

So the transfer of oral literature occurs in social events. It is always transmitted through oral lores. The knowledge particularly the myth of the tribe, the traditions, customs, rites and rituals of the tribe are transmitted orally. But many other forms of knowledge remain side tracked and are never, mentioned in oral traditions. They may be regarded as skills, experiences, observations,perceptions . . .etc.

In a social event, for a better transmission of oral knowledge, both community interest and personal interest are important. It is because in their societies nobody is bound to learn and sing songs. The younger generation never thinks itself responsible to keep up their heritage and similarly the older generation, in this regard never takes the responsibilities of the younger generations. But out of many, one comes up to maintain the tradition.

In social processes, oral literatures are sung or recited or discussed. The mode of presentation of the oral literature in forms of *Gaani, Kerandi, Kereena* . . . etc., happens in such a manner that every passer by is also eager to know the things. The forms of oral literature are always regarded as *kaatha*, literally meaning tales. Accordingly *Gaani, kerandi,kereena* branch out from *Kaatha. Kaatha* becomes differentiated in many titles. That, to analyse the different types of oral literature, they must be split in such a manner that each part gives a phenomenon out of the phenomena. For example, in *Kui Gaani* , the evolution of Kuttia Kondhs follows with the separation of earth and sky, then the birth of bamboo, designing landscapes and fo finally the plant birth. All these sub-heads of the *Kui Gaani* are regarded as *kaatha* takes place in succesion. So they are termed as '*Agat Kaatha*' literally meaning ancient tales which refer to the myth. So the whole literature which is a song can be splited up to many '*Katha*'. *Kaatha* however, gives meaning to the '*Budhi*' i.e. knowledge. If each *kaatha* is literally described it gives some incidents,cases, happenings which are socially and culturally important to the Kuttia Kondhs. So the Kuttia Kondhs carry knowledge in them. The aggregation of many *kaathas* thus can aggregate the different types of knowledge of culture and tradition stored in the Kuttia Kondh's culture which is a collection of *kaatha. Kaatha* is a collection of oral traditions. Oral tradition is a composition of many events.

If we delete now the mythical and traditional songs and concentrate only on the spot compositions and the poetic ability of the people, it will be noticed that the common people compose songs about specific events. Some specific events and their display give the composer an opportunity to shape his ideas in the form of a song. Accordingly, in the spot compositions, time, place, events, involvements help the composer to compose songs. But the poetic ability is not a function of observation of events only. Unless he feels some sensation in his heart as a response to the observation of events, he can't compose words to express his feelings, ideas and emotions. Therefore oral tradition is not only the literary composition of many events, but the oral tradition also becomes enriched with observation and the consequent perceptions of events. So at the time of reciting or singing the oral literatures, the singer may give his view in between the lines of the lores. The supplements that are often introduced into the main text are individual perceptions, feelings, observations, ideas, phenomena, and moreover, it is the poetic ability of the composer who compiles his thoughts in the form of oral lores. The supplements are also composed in exactly the same manner as the main text.

In any case, in the composition of an oral tradition and enriching it with thoughts and philosophy, the role of social events matter very much. The same composition, if interpreted in communicative languages, would appear as a notion. Many men-many minds.

To understand a song the role played by informants is very important. Sometimes informants jumble up many things. They put many things at one place. Clever informants are also there who want to establish their points and thus misguide the invistigation. Apart from that, the tribal language can hardly be interpreted in communicative language accurately. After a song is interpreted into communicative language many missing links come to light. Informants sometimes add lines to the song sung by them to avoid missing links or not to let the invistigator think that the informant has forgotten or does not know or possess any idea about the song and the missing links.

Songs are composed with specific sequences of events. The events described in the songs, if misplaced or if the sequence is not properly maintained, gives a different interpretation. The abstract meaning may remain the same but with a slight change in sequence misinterpretations arise.

The notion "many men many minds" here applies to the above explanations. In the flow of songs from informants to invistgator if any communicatin on gap takes place or if there are certain missing links, then it becomes a misinterpretation. It is therefore to be studied more carefully, going line by line, converting the tribal language to local communicative language, participating in their social events to get pictorial explanation of the themes, and then making the final interpretation.

appears to be a suitable method. Therefore, when we emphasize the transfer of this oral tradition through a phenomenal approach it does not allow us to interprete any thing right at that moment

CASE STUDIES

The field- work to study the oral transfer of knowledge amongst the Kuttia Kondhs was organised in a village-Burlubaru. The study of this oral transfer of knowledge is a continuous process. It is hard to arrive at any immediate conclusion. Because, oral knowledge stored in the Kuttia Kondhs is an additive response to their social process in which their customs and traditions, hunting and gathering agricultural patterns, many practice-oriented scriptures, craftsmanship, religious events are included. It is found from the study amongst Kuttia Kondhs of Burlubaru village, nobody is specialised at all in the society. This is to say that, it is hard to expect descriptions about all social processes from one individual. Their living pattern is an aggregation of different types of knowledge. In a collective approach to such people it was found out that many debates and contradictions appear when many informants gather at one place and discuss their oral lores. So from the collective approach, It would be possible to make a list of individuals who are masters of different processes.

LOCHAN JANI : THE KUTAKA

Lochan Jani maintains his religious teadership in Burlubaru village. He is the right person who can give descriptions on religious affairs. He is at his old age. Besides knowing the religious lores, he also knows the different songs and tales. He is held in high regard by the villagers as the performer of sorcery and witchcraft. He is invited by people of other villages, where worship relating to sorcery and witchcraft are needed. Such worships are like : to saving a man from a dangerous disease, worship for the welfare of the village . . . etc. From him it could be possible to know about the religious geography of Kuttia Kondhs, the gods and goddesses whom they worship, the processes by which diseases are cured, the rites rules of different religious affairs etc. Over all, he is the master of the trade which the society has offered him on religious grounds. But he is not the Kutaka on hereditary rights. He is chosen by gods and goddesses to perform religious activities for the betterment and welfare of the society. When interviewed, he said that he knows the religious rhymes spontaneously. It is god's gift and nobody teaches such rhymes. But he confessed that in his boyhood he knew about the process of religious worship. names of gods and goddesses. He is performing worships on god's command and so is given the charge of a religious head in the division of labour of the society. He participates in songs and lores because all those things he has larnet by oral transfer and practices. But he argues that religious leadership can never be achieved through oral transfer of knowledge only.

GHASIRAM JANI

The only son of Lochan Jani he is an efficient agriculturist. He devotes his hard labour and uses all his knowledge which he has got from his predecessors through oral traditions to get the best output from agriculture. He has developed a very good kitchen garden. The location of his hut and his kitchen garden is like a farm house.

He is an excellent performer of dance and craftmanship. He knows the use of guns, different wood and many waste materials. He makes toys, puppets and many models in his leisure time by using the resources available in his locality. He is a man who is eager to share his knowledge with others. He has a very good ideas about shifting cultivation. The skill which he possesses comes partly from oral traditions and partly from his observations. He has innovative ideas strengthened by his perceptions, which he employs in agriculture and crafts. He maintains oral traditions of the society but spares most of his time for agriculture.

Though Ghasiram is the son of Lochan Jani, yet he does not know any thing about the religious affairs. He only knows the religious practices by observation. He has a notion that if such things are practised by any other person other than a Kutaka there is no effect. Hence, he never takes interest in religious affairs. God choses a man to become a Kutaka. So there is no hereditary right for Ghasiram to become a Kutaka.

DUTI JANI

He is the song master of Burlubaru village. He knows all the songs, mostly *kerandi*, and many types of *Kereena*. He trains the youngsters to sing and teaches other oral literatures to the village youth. In a group song he takes the lead and others follow him. He is also a dance-master. He says that without dance a song has no meaning. Dance should be accompanied by songs. So song and dance are made for each other. If song is sung in the proper way, dance can be performed perfectly. All his knowledge is the gift of his predecessors. He says that he had major interest in oral literature and that is why he takes part in all such occasions where there is a chance of transmission of oral literature. He maintains that all the knowledge which he has acquired is resultant of his active participation in social events in his boy-hood.

SANATAN, PRAVAT AND BAMBOORA

These three young men of the village are masters of oral lores among the people of their age group. Sanatan is ahead of Pravat and Bamboora. Sanatan is the son of Duti Jani. People of their age group say that all three are lazy. Because they are lazy, they hesitate and are reluctant to take up hard work and keep

themselves engaged in singing. In actual case all three are very much responsible for their domestic work and agriculture. They know tit-bit of the oral literature and take lead among the youths. The three can relay the whole of oral literature. From their oral literatures they know evolution and revolution, rites and rituals, clans and lineages, customs and traditions and all the background of the Kuttia Kondh societies.

KIKLA

He is a boy about ten years old. He is know as Kikla. In Kui languase Kikla means grass hopper. He is like that. One can hear Kikla's "*Sarele male michu saarele judele male michu judele,* which he sings always. It is the first line of any song the Kuttias sing. It means "Hello friend, if you want to add, do it or if you want to finish do it". This refers to the group song where the participants tell each other through song to either continue singing or to stop it. Kikla has started continuing, to continue for the continuity of oral traditions. He is already on the track to master the oral literature. High affinity for songs and dances is appreciated by others. He is the leader of the children of his age group with whom he sings and dances. Everyday for him is a singing day.

RAMACHANDRA JANI - THE INTERPRETER

He is acculturised fully. Although he knows his background as a Kuttia, yet he knows little about the customs and traditions of his society. He has spent most of his time out side the village. But because he knows both Kui and Oriya, he often acts as an interpreter of their oral traditions. Many a times he is unable to place appropriate Oriya terms, so the sense of the oral literature becomes different.

Hence, it appears that in the societies of the Kuttia Kondhs every individual has mastery on one and knowledge of many. But all sorts of knowledge have branched out from a common source which is oral tradition.

Flow sheet diagram of Oral Transfer of Knowledge (Table - III). Ref. Page-282.

CONSERVATION OF ORAL LITERATURE : NINIPANI OR NIPANDI

From the study of the oral literatures and the modes and methods of transmission of it, it is found out that the up- keeping of social traditions of the Kuttia Kondhs is mainly maintained through oral traditions. But in the up-keeping of social traditions each and every person in the Kuttia Kondh society have to play their best. To understand the value of oral traditions and their consequent implications on the society many sides of the traditional processes of Kuttia Kondhs society is to be preserved.

Kuttia Kondhs are conservative people, but the manner in which the

acculturisation and developmental programmes are spreading, their traditions are losing day by day. As it is observed, any Kuttia who comes out of his society through acculturisation, gets involved with the traditions of the main stream. As is observed, people who migrate, particularly to cities to seek their forture, bring in new ideas and philosophy of an ideal or better living. Such people remain on the frontline of social changes. Such changes are remarkable in cases of costumes, cultures and traditions. The borrowed knowledge of generating income out of business, procurement of grains, acting as labour leaders, motor driving....etc. takes them out of their indigenous traditions. This is very much remarkable in the younger generation.

Further, change in language, adaptation to the market commodities, introduction of high technological items by youths help them sufficiently to pose themselves as extraordinary people in the traditional society. It is observed that when Kuttia Kondhs are dragged towards the main stream, they lose their traditional knowledge with backs to forests and fronts to cities. Since all those traditions which the Kuttia Kondhs have today, sprouted from forests and natural abodes, they are unable to keep up such traditions when they come out from their natural habitat.

Kuttia Kondhs have also a terminology for 'conservation'. It is '*ninipani*' or '*nipandi*'. The *ninipani* of Kuianka *budhi* is a function of individual efforts to keep up its traditions. But in many cases traditional cultures are endangered. It can not be exactly said that a completely new culture is masking over their old culture. But the old culture is being modified by the new culture. For instance, while singing, the Kuttia Kondhs take into account certain items from the mainstream and intermingle the same in their songs. As it is observed during singing with them, they introduce the term collector, advocate, police in their songs. In these cases the informants play a major role at the time of giving information to the investigator.

In Burlubaru village, informants are identified from older generation, youth mass and children. The older generation does not take major interest in sharing their knowledge. This is not because of their conservativeness and angularities. Rather, it is because of their busy engagement in various works. The older generation can better be followed at a time when a social event is going on. The youths in comparison to the older generation get sufficient time to provide informations. They help the investigator to record informations. From the youths many missing links can be detected when a literary meaning of such literatures is to be understood.

When the informations availed from the young generation is compared with that of older generations, finding missing links is obvious. The older informants also admit that they have forgotten many themes from their oral literatures. The missing

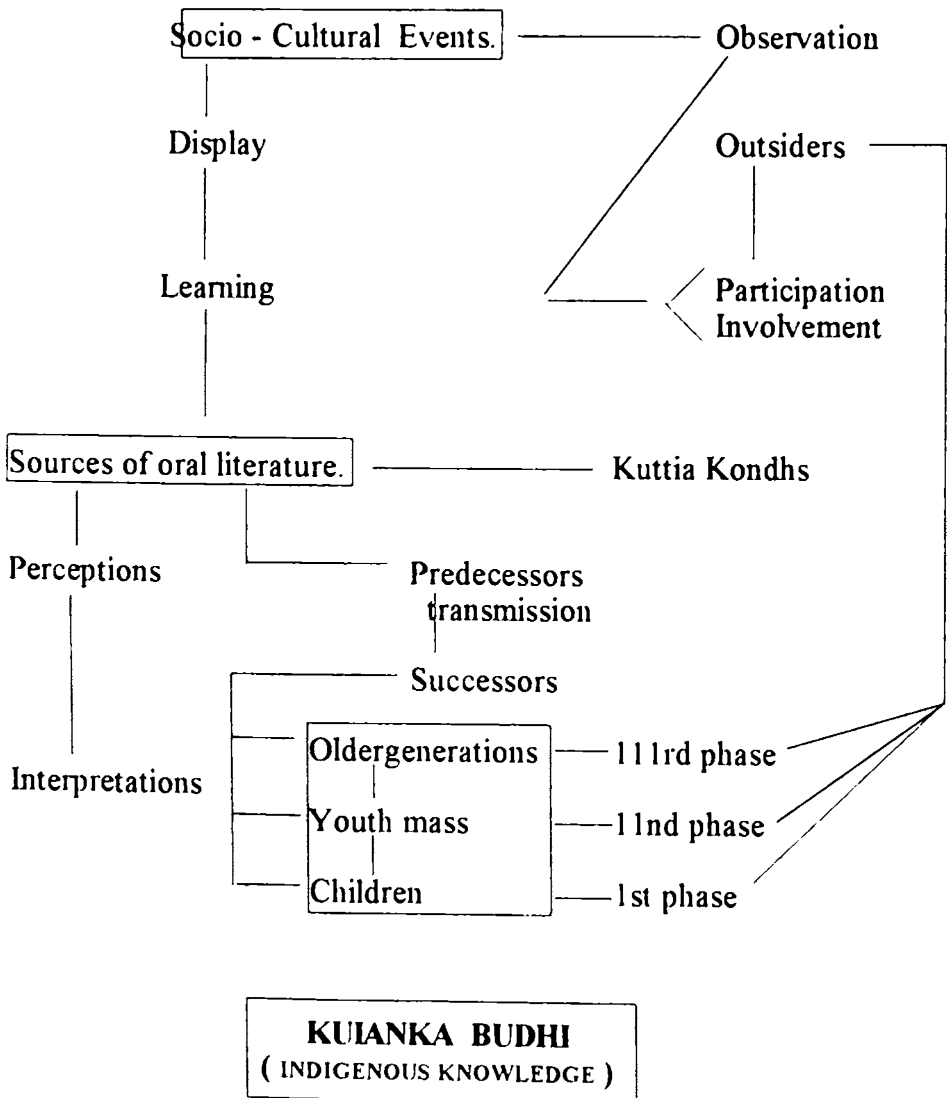
links of oral literatures is a common happening because the literatures are transmitted and recorded orally. So by the flow of transmission from predecessors to successors, many such missing links occur which can not be recollected. When any body tries to fill in the gap, he composes something and fills in the gap. But this new composition can be easily marked out. If the Kui gaani is taken into account missing links in it can be easily detected. A great part of the song has been forgotten and every Kuttia Kondh admits that, the missing links give direct evidence to prove that there appared a considerable loss in the oral literatures in *Kui Gaani*. It is a song which took seven days and seven nights continuously to be finished. But now it can be sung with in three days and three nights. So in the information recorded from young informants if missing links are found or if somewhere the sense becomes different or if repetitions arise, then it would mean that the informant has not been able to acquire all the themes from their predecessors.

The Kuttia Kondhs do not believe that there should be a teaching-learning process to enable the young generations to keep up the traditions. The participations in socio-cultural events and a friendly involvment in such occasions is the only training, that can be imparted to all. People think that a self learning process for everybody only can to keep up the customs, traditions and oral literatures. The older generations is not serious of losing their knowledge, traditions and customs, rites and rituals. They trust upon the youngsters with a strong belief that they can keep up everything. They argue that though they were not tought anytheing they carried on everything perfectly. Likewise the younger generations, even if not taught still will be able to keep up all traditions. They believe in self-learning process. They believe that in the society there will be people having varied interests to acquire different knowledge. They believe strongly that their tradition is maintained intact till date and will be maintained accordingly for all the years to come. They have a strong conviction that as long as their oral literature & traditions survives their tradition will lose nothing. Yet, changes and modifications in oral tradition is an ongoing process and nobody has ever thought for how long it will continue, when shall it end. It always recalls the first line of their song :-

"Sares male michu sarele
(if you want to finish, friend, finish)
Judele male michu judele
(If you want to add friend ,add)"

TABLE NO. - III

ORAL TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE : FLOW SHEET



KUIANKA BUDHI
(INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE)

9

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES, MAGIC AND THE CONCEPT OF DISEASE

According to Bronislaw Malinowski, the word culture is a comprehensive term, without going into its precise connotations, it may suffice to say that, it encompasses within its field, the arts, dance, music, literature, religion, philosophy and the entire gamut of activities that go to make a harmonious beginning of different life and social process. Malinowski also added to his idea that, culture is essentially an instrumental reality which satisfies the need of man in a manner for surpassing only direct adaptation to the environment.

Every human society, may it be tribal or non-tribal has a culture of its own. In the society many traditions, beliefs, habits and attitudes towards life are interwoven to give an identity to a culture in which many social processes are included. However, all the social processes abide certain rules, regulations, principles traditions and customs of a particular society with taboos, beliefs and superstitions adapted by them. This phenomenon of culture later on becomes part and parcel of one's social life. It is not practicable to ascertain how all these phenomena, more often regarded as religious phenomena, could germinate from a seed called culture. One can assume that the development of culture based on religious practice in a society is nothing but a strong belief on supernatural powers by the different races of society. In fact, the culture develops in due course of time according to the needs and demands of the society. Since primitive man was born and brought up inside forests and was primarily nourished by the flora and fauna of his surroundings, he could only think that the supernatural powers could only provide him with all these comforts for his living. The rains, the rivers, sun, moon, stars, sky, fire etc., the environment made man puzzled and amazed. That is probably the only reason, man started linking up all his social activities with religion. Hence the tribal culture ground could be analyzed after analysing their

religious practices and processes involved therein.

RELIGION : AN OVERVIEW

Religion is the product of a particular stage of development of society. As society evolves from the hunting and food gathering stage to the settled agricultural stage, it encompasses a network of division of labour. The division of labour in the society made people specialized in different social processes. In the division of labour, the religious headman is given the highest regards and respects in the society. It is because, the social and economic rituals performed by a tribal society, which are the religious activities, fall in different times of the year. The tribal people know of the various months of a year through these religious occasions. Therefore, in the division of labour, the religious organizations played the best role in bringing about the total community under a specialized tradition.

Religious culture of the society can broadly be looked upon as the system of one's psychological habit. The division of labour among them characterize the various stages of development of the society. This is however based on various types of myths and culture and rituals. This principle operates within a definite framework to maintain one's tradition, which, if once recognised by the society becomes part and parcel of one's life. It is then transmitted from generation to generation.

Religion is one of these few characteristics and activities of man's creation which is independent of one's society. Religion has sprouted out of his mind, depending on his felt needs and demands. Religion appears to oscillate round the concept of an unseen superhuman, strong belief and practices, rituals and rites. According to Ogburn "it is an attitude towards super human powers'. According to Arnold W. Green" it is a system of beliefs and symbolic practices and objects governed by faith rather than by knowledge, which relates man to an unseen supernatural realm beyond the known and beyond the controllable.

Beyond his own thinking power and thought, the idea of the super human, the unseen force, the supernatural power often came to the mind of primitive man. Thus primitive man started believing these ideas and started to practice it within him. Thereby he drew strength and moral support. This was in its rudimentary form of totemism, fetishism, animism, magic and ritualism. Successfully, there develped several belief systems i.e. cults and religions. The human societies later on have expressed their faith both in high religious concepts and its rudimentary forms.

Religion therefore is a combination of many factors. It has grown with growth of mankind . As said earlier, different societies adopt differently to their environment and to their interactions with the environment. The environment provides ample scope to develop a religion and to safeguard it through various

traditions of beliefs and practices.

The Kuttia Kondhs are a tribal group who are away from the path of civilization in the mountain vastness and lead a life of squalor, poverty and misery. References regarding the enthnographic study of the tribe or any study note on the medical anthropology of the tribe is very rare. The Kuttia Kondhs possess their own spiritual thought and religious ideas. Interacting with the natural environment they have developed myths and rituals of their own. The environment has also immensely influenced their culture. By that they have also developed many customary social processes. They believe in both high religious thoughts and its rudimentary forms also. The greatest force of culture has integrated their social processes. The origin and evolution of their religion is difficult to trace. Belief of taboos, totemism, propitiation, animation is predominant amongst them.

To give the detailed account of the culture of a society whether it be tribal or non-tribal is, however, not possible. It is because every element of the culture happens to be endless and itself appears to be a subject. In a primitive society of Kuttia Kondhs the cultural pattern is interwoven with their social processes. The processes involved in social practice are many. Without having sufficient knowledge about their social processes, any description of the culture of Kuttia Kondhs would be inadequate.

NATURE AS A COMMON FACTOR IN RELIGION

The intimate relationship between man and nature is known since time immemorial. The mysterious forces of nature have brought the fear-complex in human mind. To overcome such fear, man started worshipping the supernatural powers. Hence, both biotic and abiotic factors of nature have contributed to the religious identity of a society. Kuttia Kondhs have also experienced a strong interaction with nature. Being forest dwellers, their attachment to the animate and inanimate components of nature is more. They worship sun, fire, sky, earth, plants and animals. Worship of these inanimate and animate components of nature is not only uncommon to tribals but also the same is observed in non-tribal societies. A ritual followed by worship and sacrifice became the concomitant of Kuttia Kondhs religion. Till today such strong religious beliefs prevail among the tribals.

Worship of the animate and inanimate matters of nature by Kuttia Kondhs indicates their love and fear of such things. From such practices developed their primordial song '*Kui Gaani*' their concept of environment from '*Kapka Gaani*' and many other folklore and oral lores. The lores give a comprehensive interpretation of the Kuttia Kondh's interaction with the forest world as well as the methods and ways through which the Kuttia Kondh and forest relations are made. The songs and lores also express their traditional social processes. The lores may also be expressed as a part of their religion. It is because the Kuttia Kondhs feel as if the

lores are like a memorandum of their religious processes. Whenever a religious process is performed, the religious headman refers to their earlier texts; which are preserved in form of oral lores and songs. Therefore the lores give a general identity of the tribe as a traditional forest dweller. So nature has played a great role in making the religious frame-work of the Kuttia Kondh society.

In the oral lores of the Kuttia Kondhs, worship (*Dakina*) is given the highest priority. Worship is a special process and not all but only the religious headman can perform it. The tribe shows it's fear and respect to *Dakina*. The person who performs the worship, is believed to have been chosen by the god. The priest, others believe, is sent by God to serve the society. Those who perform magic and witchcraft are regarded as supermen in the society. Because of the tribal rudimentary religious thoughts which constitute a fear complex in them to face the disasters evoked by evil deities, they regard the priest as the only person who is powerful after the Gods and Goddesses. They believe in the presence of supernatural powers which are in mountains, hills, large trees, huge stones and particular landscapes. Although these powers are not identified by them, still they are worshipped. The Kuttia Kondhs name such supernatural powers by the name of the abode of the powers. This means, many supernatural powers are identified and worshipped for the good of the society. The different gods and goddesses are also named by the names of mountains, hills and landscapes.

Animism is highly believed in by Kuttia Kondhs as they worship Gods and Goddesses with propitiation. Stones of particular shapes are installed and worshipped as gods. Wooden pillars and tree stumps are also installed as Gods. Bones of particular animals are also being worshipped in Kuttia houses which are regarded as supernatural powers. They believe in ancestor worship (*Dukeli Dakina*). The ancestral spirits are of both good and evil type. Through ancestor worship the Kuttia Kondhs develop the habits of obedience. Their obedience and respect to the ancestral spirits keep them safe from the evil deeds of such spirits. Their obedience to the ancestral spirits is also reflected in many of their social processes.

The Kuttia Kondh's belief in totemism can said to be the greatest force of their unity with a particular identity. They attribute that the forest around them was occupied by *'Damanaka'* - an ancestor without whose permission no forest can be damaged or violated. This fear restricts the Kuttia Kondhs to damage the forest at random, though they clear forests during shifting cultivation. Some Kuttias are of the opinion that at the time of clearing forest patches during shifting cultivation, they have to worship *Damanaka*. It is further indicated in their song *Kui Gaani*. There it is mentioned that the vegetative world has taken birth from a Sambar (*Maju : Cervus unicolor*). It indicates that perhaps the plants have evolved from animals or else some specific plant species were born from such an animal. The Sambar is worshipped as it has given birth to plants. It is also hunted by Kuttia Kondhs for

food. The worship to the animal is offered after it is hunted. Bones and Jaws of Sambar are also being worshipped in Kuttia Kondh houses.

The Kuttia Kondhs also worship certain tree species like Bade mara (*Ficus benghalensis*), Pipada mara *(Ficus scandens)*, Eju pipada mara *(Ficus religiosa)* directly with a faith that such trees are abodes of Gods and Goddesses. Indirectly they also worship Jambu mara (*Syzygium cumini*), Maska mara (*Mangifera indica*). Mardi mara (*Terminalia tomentosa*), Baena (*Terminalia belerica*), Sargi mara (*Shorea robusta*), by keeping stones; regarded as gods, under such trees. They also give names to their children after the names of auspicious trees. That shows that vegetation has a tremendous impact on their religion. *Damanaka* is regarded as the owner of the forests; in and around which Kuttia Kondhs are living. *Daman* is a tree. Its botanical name is *Grewia tiliaefolia*. *Aka* refers to the word grandfather in *Kui* Language. Further, the tree is extensively used in making their material objects.

Some clans of the Kuttia Kondhs are named after their birth from plant materials. Timaka is a clan. As per the myth of the Kuttia Kondhs, Timakas were born from bamboo shoots. There are many clans in Kuttia Kondh society who have descended from different types of plants and animals. Patches of forests are also named by Kuttia Kondhs after the names of certain plants. However, the nomenclature of patches of forest depends upon the availability of a major population of a particular plant or tree.

So, it can be said that their beliefs in plants and animals have developed complementarity between their religion and nature around them. The belief of transfer of souls from one form to another is also held by Kuttia Kondhs. It is believed that the human soul can enter into any bird, animal and living body. This is being practised by witchmen. They have a strong belief in this type of metamorphosis. So magic, ritual, sacrifice and worship remain the concomitant of Kuttia Kondh religion.

Nature around them, i.e. hills, forests, plants and animals, also the landscape are factors of their religious faith. The mysterious forces of nature as a whole is the base of their religious faith which can be easily deduced from the broad descriptions of their oral lores. The worshipping of different parts of nature on specific occasions of a year prevails in their culture. They maintain a give-and-take-relationship with nature and by that they believe, one can safeguard the other. Sacrifice of human beings and offerings of blood to penu was predominant among Kuttia Kondhs. Now-a-days human sacrifice has stopped and animal sacrifice is commonly observed. Music, dance, sacrifice, taboos and beliefs have their origin in nature. They perform such social activities to express their gratitude towards nature. Before human sacrifice, people were offering blood of a tree called Bengeri

mara *(Pterocarpus marsupium)*. The tree does not have blood but the juice that comes out from the tree by an injury is blood-red in colour. But Kuttia Kondhs believe it to be tree-blood. This makes a conviction among them that nature has given blood to the trees also. Upkeeping of the religious structures, images, symbols are thus the lessons they have learnt from nature, or it may be a form of their understanding of nature. The fear of anger and wrath of different supernatural powers have conceived in their mind because of their religious thoughts. This happens because of their mode of interaction, with worship and sacrifice offered by Kuttia Kondhs to nature.

MAGIC AND ITS PRACTICE

The word magic is from the word 'Magian" by which name the priests of Zorastrian religion were known (Kachroo - 1990). They were considered to be holy men. By their spiritual powers they could produce effects. The magician by his art and manipulative quality also produces effects. The use of superhuman means by magicians gave the magic a religious hallow. Magicians were sometimes considered as religious men. According to M.F. Koesing described by Kachroo & Kachroo (1990) "in its technical sense magic is a term which summarizes a variety of methods by which man supports to influence automatically the course of events by that touch of the supernatural. A magical act is a rite carried out to twist nature in a specific way to satisfy human desires. It is thus regarded as religious and holy". According to Max Weber magic refers to 'religious action believed to be automatically effective whether the goal is empirical or non-empirical. Malinowski defined magic as the use of supernatural means to try to obtain empirical ends.

Kuttia Kondhs have a strong belief in magicians and witches. Its acceptance is due to the effects it creates, the fear of supernatural or external, the fear of unseen forces or the desire of a security against the possible happenings has given a boost to magic in a primitive society like Kuttia Kondhs. By virtue of their various methodology and fiction magicians could create tremendous faith among Kuttia Kondhs. They also believe that they have certain powerful remedies that is magic, to overcome the evil aspects of the supernatural and unseen forces etc. By that the Kuttia Kondhs feel secure with a strong belief in tremendous will power of the magician and witchman. Hence, they are very much involved in the process and phenomenon laid by both magician and witchman.

In he socio-political organisation of Kuttia Kondh society, the magician is regarded as a superman. The magician or witchman is known as *Kutaka* in their language. The *Kutaka* is the village head so far as performance of the rituals, magic, worship and sacrifice are concerned.

Further, the *Kutaka* is regarded as an astrologer and medicine man. The

Kutaka is a dignified man in the society for his act pertaining to social welfare through the performance of magic, astrology, medicinal prescriptions. Out of the three main heads viz; *Majhi, Jani* and *Kutaka*, the *Kutaka* is given a higher status in the society. Though the *Jani* sometimes parts with the *Kutaka* in performing rituals, worshipping and offerings, in most cases he performs it under the direction of *the Kutaka.*

PERFORMANCE OF KUTAKA

The *Kutaka* performs different actions for the betterment of the society. He is a professional man in their society. In Kuttia society the female folks are suffixed with *'Adu'* after their name and male folks are suffixed with *'Ka'* after their identification. The term *Kutaka* may thus be broken into two parts *Kuta* and *Ka*. *Kuta* means miraculous performance like magic, witchcraft, animation etc. So *Kutaka* holds his importance for his performance in those miraculous affairs. In almost all cases the religious leadership is a privilege of males.

However, the domain of the activities remains limited within his society. Usually he performs for the betterment of his immediate society. His profession may go along either sides of a desire, good and evil. All his practices usually follow an invocation to god. He carries quite a number of responsibilities of the society such as magical disputes, medicinal affairs, rituals etc. He also forecasts fortunes, so he is regarded as an astrologer. He is the person sent by God to work on social welfare. Although he "plays both left and right" of his knowledge.

If the activities of a *Kutaka* are considered it will be found that he has more of positive thoughts, than negative for his society. He decides worship and offerings, he diagnoses diseases and then decides what to do. In such cases he applies witchcraft or uses herbal medicines, Basically witchcraft is applied to cure diseases which are believed to be actions of witches and supernatural powers. And his greatest force of action is appreciated when he performs witchcraft to save people from the evil will of supernatural powers; like deities, devils and spirits.

In all sorts of ritualistic worship and sacrifices there are some common steps to be followed. The steps are very important in the performance. In special cases like in a worship to cure somebody from a disease the *Kutaka* has to perform all steps. But in a generalized worship in everyday life, the *Kutaka* begins it and then leaves the worship to be managed by *Jani* who is the priest. Sequences in a worship are done spontaneously, still the *Kutaka* tries his best to avoid mistakes.

BEGINNING OF A WORSHIP (RITUAL AND MAGIC)

Before beginning the worship the *Kutaka* convinces himself about the necessity of the worship. He accordingly decides in his mind to which god he should

pray. Using the art of his profession he tries to identify the malevolent god and evil spirit who has caused the disease. It is because, a magical worship is followed after an uncommon happening, which has occurred to a person and to the society as a whole by these evil spirits. Finally the Kutaka makes a connection between the cause of the disease and the performance required for its cure. The *Kutaka* is able to know these by the help of his supreme power. In some cases people who are witches are identified who cause diseases by virtue of an inherent quality. Sometimes action of witchcraft is attributed to the disease and its cause.

There are two ways to know about the event and the supernatural power who has caused it. One method follows that the *Kutaka* sits to chant some hymns and do some processes and invokes various gods. After the gods and goddesses reach the puja spot, he asks them about the event. From them, he knows who has done it and asks such a supernatural being about its remedy. In the second method the *Kutaka* listens about the event and does not direct an immediate worship for it. He keeps the thing undecided till a night has passed. In the night before going to sleep he requests the Godly beings to tell him about the cause of the event. The supernatural powers of the evil class tell their desires to the *Kutaka* through a dream or else tell the effective remedy. In the dream they direct the *Kutaka* for a worship, with a prescription of sacrifice and offering which the God *(penu)* likes. The Penu also sometimes directs the *Kutaka* about the time when he should offer the Puja. There is also sometimes a third method used. When the *Kutaka* presides over a ceremonial worship, sometimes he attains propitiation. At that very moment he is asked about certain events which have hampered the social well being of people. Then the *Kutaka* uses a piece of straw (*Themda arundinacea*) to tell what has happened. He takes a piece of straw in his hand and breaks it to smaller pieces. He then picks up a straw of about ten centimeters and chants some hymns. The said piece of straw may either get lengthened or shortened after chanting. From that he tells about the pros and cons of the event, identify the deity, god, or other agent that has caused the illness and then determines how to placate or overcome them.

In all cases chanting of hymns is common. The chanting in no way similar to the chanting which a priest generally does in an advanced society. The *Kutaka* starts with '*Jo-on*' to begin the worship. This '*Jo-on*' means "listen to my words". So in the first case the requests the gods and goddesses to listen to him. The following words go "*Imunehi baamu*" meaning "come after listening to my words". This is invocation to gods and goddesses. Then he goes on chanting the names of different gods and goddesses in sequences. He requests the gods and goddesses of the four corners of the world to come and attend the worship and accept the offerings. It is worth mentioning here that the *Kutaka* requests the hill gods, gods and goddesses in large stones, trees, forests to attend the worship. Such gods and goddesses are known by names of the places. Sometimes the chanting goes on for

a long time and sometimes for a very short time. It is because if the *Kutaka* knows the God who has caused the event then he just invokes that God. Otherwise he goes on requesting Gods and Goddess at random till all come to the site of worship and after being satisfied with offerings they speak out the cause of the illness.

There is no regular sequence of worship after invocation of Penu. Because, such worships are offered for different causes with different methods and so there remains no particular pattern of worship which would suit to all causes.

AREAS OF MAGICAL ACTIVITIES

Magical activities are exhibited in various spheres of social life of the Kuttia Kondhs. Starting from the very beginning of life to its end, life becomes involved in magic. The rituals of birth, death, marriage and some special ceremonies are performed with magic. This also covers identifying diseases, finding a medicine to cure them and sometimes in ables to provide the patient with a good health. In special ceremonial cases like : choosing a perfect place for shifting cultivation, choosing a desired *Karumunda* (*pole of Shorea robusta*) for the *Meriah* Festival, finding the abnormality in toddy secretion in *Caryota urens* the Sago Palm, all is done through magic. The evil side of magical effects have also a large range. In some cases due to the evil practice of witchcraft the social welfare system is hampered. Some people are feared as witches who are able to cause a disease directly. Some evil minded witchcraft practitioners often apply witchcraft to put others in trouble. The application of witchcraft sometimes causes death if it is not cured immediately by another witchcraft practitioner. This however happens in the case of other peoples' lives. In very early times human sacrifice was being organised. Animation is also one of the very evil side of magic in Kuttia Kondhs society. The practitioner particularly the Kutaka by using his supernatural power can be metamorphosed to any animal. Here the human soul enters into the soul of any animal and then the human behavior gets metamorphosed to animal behaviour. Some case studies, however, can make this more clear.

REVENGE DUE TO MARRIAGE DISPUTES

Kumudini Jani of Burlubaru village was quite unwilling to marry Lokanath of village Germel. But as her father had accepted a cock and two bottles of *Adkinga* (Liquor of *Madhuka longifolia* from Lokanath's father, the marriage was fixed between Lokanath & Kumudini. She had a desire to marry another young man. But she had a fear of witch practice of Germel villagers. She feared that if she will married any one else except Lokanath they may kill her husband. Finally, very unhappily she had to marry Lokanath. She had a prevailing fear for her villagers, who might be attacked by evil witch practice of Germel people. As an effect of such a revenge, persons may get mad and the village may face unwanted difficulties.

IDENTIFYING A THIEF

Badu Jani of Burlubaru village is owning a Salap tree (*Caryota urens*) in his hereditary right. All in a sudden the tree stopped providing toddy. He also knew some magical performances. He used it but in vain. He requested Lochan Jani, *Kutaka* of the village to find out what had happened. Lochan Jani went to the spot, threw some rice on the tree and could know that toddy from that tree was regularly being stolen. He identified a man of *Madalakuna* village as the thief. The thief admitted his deeds. Then a witch worship was organised under that tree to satisfy ancestral spirits who had stopped toddy secretion because of continuous theft and after two to three days the tree provided toddy.

TRANSFORMATION

Lochan Jani of Burlubaru village is very much feared by his villagers and the nearby people for his act of transformation. He had the ability of transforming himself into a tiger. After his transformation to a tiger he could harm the people, as a tiger would do. He has proved it before many people. He sends people to a particular place where at a particular time they can see tiger and bear etc. This is called '*Mniba Kdani*' (Converted tiger).

On being asked Lochan Jani, said that only expert *Kutakas* are capable of converting themselves into the soul of animals and plants. After entering into the body of animal & plant, half of the life remains his own and the other half belongs to the animal or plant. In such a case if the animal is killed, then the *Kutaka* will also die. This happens when the *Kutaka* would be in deep sleep. This transformation happens in deep sleep at late night when the *Kutaka's* soul leaves his body and enters into body of animals.

But the transformation of a *Kutaka* to a tiger remains no secret. It is sometimes caught by other *Kutakas* who also possess the same skills.

DIRECTING ANIMALS

Late Balu Jani of Burlubaru was a regular priest of Siram Deu Hill. It is a special case of worship as it takes place at an interval of, nine to fifteen years. On the occasion, a buffalo is sacrificed. The buffalo after being worshipped in the village is applied with some black magic. Then the buffalo is left free. It reaches the puja spot on its own, when he is directed to go for sacrifice. This is strongly believed by Kuttia Kondhs in Burlubaru village.

While practising these types of magics and black magics some plant species are needed without which the processes can't be carried out. They are *Themda arundinacea* (*Chhana*). *Thysanolaena maxima* and *Phyllanthus emblica (Surga)*

Eulaliopsis binata (*Babe)* from plant species.

CONCEPT OF DISEASE

In general usage disease is a disorder in the organism. Disorders may be somatic or psychic. Disease stands as an abnormal factor which hampers the well-being of people in a society. Any abnormality in the normal health of people causes problem in the normal functioning of the person. The Kuttia Kondhs maintain a routined life so far as their social activities are concerned. They are the people immediately interacting with a natural environment. Their daily routine includes cultivation, food gathering, hunting, which is also similar to the non-tribal village communities. But they show their indigenous methods involved in their work pattern. So the Kuttia Kondhs always desire to stay fit in their daily routine. From their high belief in religion and magic, they derive different concepts of disease as compared to modern man. Being in a primitive society they adhere to their cultural pattern of disease, its cure and their social well being. In the words of Kuttia Kondhs disease is what affects body and soul. This happens due to many reasons. Whatever they may be, disease falls into two broad heads, : physical and psychological. The physical disease includes dermatitis, accident, pathogenic, fever, diarrhoea, leprosy and other bodily abnormalities grown from food and exposure to the environment.

However, the second type is purely psychological in nature including the other side of human behaviour like fear, anxiety, epilepsy, hysteria etc. The psychological diseases are believed to be mostly influenced by evil spirits, supernatural powers and witchcraft. Different deities and spirits are believed to be connected with different types of diseases. The belief in the interference of supernatural agency is very strong in them.

Disease happens to occur because of many factors. To approach a disease for its cure there are certain theoretical, conceptual, and methodical issues which are part of their indigenous cultures. So before explaining what it exactly means to their medical system, the factors of diseases need to be discussed.

Diseases are manifestations of people's interactions with their environment. This interaction with the environment sometimes gives a different turn to the life of Kuttia Kondhs. Disease, they thus feel, is prevalently of three main categories : spiritual, natural and social. As far as their understanding of a disease goes, the final manifestations are a product of interactions of the above factors. As it may be a spiritual natural or social disease. This makes a sense that sometimes disease is a case of a single factor and sometimes it is the product of a combination of factors. However, a brief discussion of all three factors deserves attention.

SPIRITUAL DISEASES

Spiritual disease is a cause of the evil deed of certain supernatural powers. In their religious systems, they usually worship a number of Gods and Goddesses, deities, devils who are unseen supernatural powers. The people have a deep faith in the benevolent as well as malevolent wills of such powers. Hence they offer special regards and worships to such powers. If the treatment of such powers is somehow neglected, then they cause diseases in human beings and their domestic animals also. A number of deities is often associated with diseases or disease is connected with interference of the supernatural agents and naturally the nature of treatment in such cases made is accordingly. (*Choudhuri, B. & Sunita Choudhury - 1986*)

This belief that disease is caused by supernatural and spiritual powers is not confined to the society of Kuttia Kondhs only. This has also been observed in high religious societies like Hindu society. In the earliest Hindu literature, 'The Rig Veda' disease was believed to be mostly due to the wrath of Gods and effects of evil spirits and healing art as followed by prayers, several hymns and often aided by application of herbal remedies ..... (*Reddy, B. Sanjeev - 1986)*

The Kuttia Kondhs believe that diseases like smallpox, chicken pox and measles and other bodily manifestations are caused by some evil deity. This they attribute to *Kamati Penu* who causes these diseases. The bubbles of small pox and chicken pox are believed to be seeds which the deity has sown to get food out of it. Other diseases like epilepsy, hysteria and psychological diseases are believed to be supernatural in cause. Again diseases which are hard to diagnose by their medicine man and for which formally no remedy is there are believed to be spiritual in occurrence. Blindness and causes of physical handicap follows the same route. Abortion is strictly believed to be a punishment of Gods and Goddesses. For such diseases the *Kutaka* is referred to first as they rely upon the *Kutaka's* extraordinary power.

NATURAL DISEASES

The diseases occurring due to contamination of water and land are taken as natural diseases. These diseases directly express their conditions of health and hygiene. As a matter of fact, they stay in huts whose premises are always dusty and dirty. Dumps and garbages and waste materials are usually deposited at the backside of their houses. Pig sty, goat fold and cattle shed usually remain towards the back door of their houses. These become a cause for some commonly occurring diseases. In different seasons different types of raw vegetable wastes, agricultural wastes, pieces of wooden materials, fodders and domestic animal excreta are deposited around their houses (*Elu gunjare*). The untidiness of the village

surroundings are the cause of scabies *(Sengu)*, eczema and ring worm *(Dadu)*, vomiting *(Sachkanti)*. The contaminated water causes loose motion *(patadae)*, Blood dysentery *(Neripata)*, Ascariasis (*Danginpdika*), Amoebic dysentery *(pataklipangane)* etc. Malaria (*Brapa nemberi)*, Fever *(Nemberi*) and Rhinitis *(Mungei giri eju)* occurs due to some direct & indirect action of water. So those are the common diseases which are believed to be natural in occurrence.

Some very common ailments like cold, headache, stomachache ... etc. are believed to be environmental. It is believed that high exposure *(aku saritei)* to the forest world particularly to woods, exposure to air, sun bath and water bath for a long time causes these ailments. *Akusaritei* is the Kuttia term which means excessive exposure to the outward environment.

Nutritional deficiency diseases are also taken under this head. They mainly subsist on two components of food i.e. carbohydrate and protein. In their day to day life they are very familiar with tuber crop like species of *Dioscorea, Colocasia*, and potato with rice, finger millet, little millet, maize etc. Nutritional deficiency diseases are mostly observed in cases of children who usually suffer from protein energy malnutrition, night blindness... etc. The diseases caused due to malnutrition and improper nutrition may be regarded as poverty diseases.

Ali (1983) points out that "the less recognised, but nevertheless more important health problem lie in the vulnerable areas of malnutrition, particularly among women and children and a wide range of communicable and other diseases that results from insanitary environment and poor drinking water facilities. This combination of health problems of the primitive tribes would definitely point to the inadequacy of a purely curative approach of health care and increases the importance of community education for health care. The most significant causes of illness like malnutrition, poor water supply and environmental in sanitation were not perceived by the people and hence totally ignored. In the constant struggle for daily survival, health was a low priority. Their chief concern was the problems of acute illness, childbirth and trauma which interfered with their work. Even major chronic illness like Tuberculosis were ignored till they reached a stage of gross debility ... Many enteric ailments can be eliminated by drinking water from protected sources". Ali (1979) reported that " most common disease is Malaria. Other types of diseases are water borne and due to unhygeinic conditions of the surrounding in which they live and malnutrition and low intake of food. The source of drinking water is the hill stream which is not only polluted but also has high content of graphite causing irritation in the gastrointestinal tract resulting in gastric discomfort, abdominal pain, hyperacidity and constipation. Further, in Ali's investigation, it was found that the incidence of some viral diseases are common particularly that of the upper respiratory tract with symptoms of rhinitis (running nose) pharyngitis, bronchitis, cold, cough and fever. Among skin diseases, which

is very common, scabies tops others. Dental disease is very common."

Disease if distributed season wise, will be found that they suffer a lot from water borne diseases during the rainy season. The rainy season also shows many other common diseases. The summer comes next to the rainy season in the prevalence of disease. In the rainy season there is higher number of diseases. The next higher number of diseases occur is summer, and the least number in winter.

DISEASES RELATED TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Illness and death are disruptive events that impose high economic, social and psychic costs. The prevalence and distribution of diseases are also influenced by socio-economic factors. Being marginalized in their economic status they adopt to a cheap living. Most of the infectious diseases and nutritional deficiency diseases are because of their economic status. The children are mostly affected by this. Two reasons may be cited against the children diseases. First, care from the parental side is neglected towards hygienic condition of children and secondly the parents rarely consult local health centres for their children. First they refer to village medicine men and then if necessary consult physicians. Sometimes their social organisation parts with it. As a case it is observed that for children's and women's diseases the witch doctor is referred. In extreme cases children are taken to local health centres. When the disease calls for costly medicines, they pretend to be economically poor. Finally the patient dies. After death of the child for its ritual works which is very customary in their society, the parents spend in multiples of the cost of medicines; which could have cured the patient.

Ali (1979) in his medical survey in Burlubaru village among Kuttia Kondhs reported some incidences of T.B. (Tuberculosis). According to him, "the incidence of T.B. is also high, the most common form of it being pulmonary tuberculosis. Semi starvation, inferior diet and unhygienic living conditions, attribute to the prevalence of T.B. Their houses are rectangular in ground plan with some having two rooms while most of them have only one room each. The walls are made of planks of Sal wood in most cases and of bamboo wattle plastered with mud in few cases. In all cases the room is grass thatched. There are no windows. Hardly any light gets into the hut. Poor ventilation and close contact with infected members of the family are largely responsible for widespread contagion". This description of Ali also gives a picture of their Socio-economic status, which has a direct relation with particular diseases.

As solution to these problems there is a need for their economic improvement, achieving which they would be able to come out of those diseases of poverty. There are also a number of social factors which considerably affect their economic conditions.

PSYCHOLOGICAL DISEASES

The Kuttia Kondhs believe highly in certain beliefs and taboos. Among these, the most important are dreams, and the dreams sometimes forecast the diseases. But not all the time dreams do forecast a disease, rather it can be taken as a psychic manifestation of certain people. Reference is there is their religious traditions, that seeing particular animals and plants in a dream is an omen of a particular disease. It can be cited that *Mundranga* (*Cucumis sativa : cucumber*) forecasts immediate attack of fever, an Elephant indicates malarial fever, Buffalo forecasts an unfavourable omen, a Pig forecasts death. Observing mango (*Mangifera indica*) or Jackfruit (*Artocarpus heterophyllus*) species forecasts the need of animal flesh for the patient. Sometimes they also react to plants like *Eucalyptus*. Somebody who will sit under it for a longtime would get affected by *Gachchi* (Leprosy). It is purely a psychological depression to feel that the whitish patches of the tree may spread over their body. *Solanum xanthocarpum*, seen in dream indicates early cure from dangerous diseases.

Events in which two or three persons die off a particular disease, makes others in the society psychologically sick. Finally others get attacked by diseases, though not in the same way as the previous patients were attacked. The fear of witch and evil deeds in witchcraft by evil-minded people irritates a whole village psychologically.

HEALTH CARE AND TRADITIONAL MEDICINE

To define traditional medicine is no easy matter by taking into account the concepts and practices being gathered so far. There is also no satisfactory and comprehensive type of definition which can cover all aspects of traditional medicine. Traditional medicine centres around two traditional systems of medicine, little traditional medicine - Folk system of medicine and great traditional medicine which includes all developed types including herbal application. (Ayurveda)

According to one definition, traditional medicine is defined as "the sum total of all the knowledge and practices whether applicable or not, used in diagnosis, prevention and elimination of physical, mental & social imbalances and relying exclusively on practical experiences and observations handed down from generation to generation, whether verbally or in writing (WHO). However, this definition is not very appropriate and comprehensive in nature as it does not include in it the sub-systems of medicine's theory and practices. Reddy (1986) thus argues that 'it is that of whole, which includes holistic knowledge and practices, oral & written functioned in diagnosis, prevention and curative aspects of illness and disease to promote total well-being, confide explicitly or implicitly on practical experiences and observations or know how techniques with or without local/

regional cultures having over tone of religion or not' The above definition has considered all sides of traditional medicine, with its primitive rudimentary form also, as it has put little emphasis on the medical system and religious culture of a society. Dunn (1979) defines a medical system as the patterns of social institutions and cultural traditions that evolve from deliberate behaviour to enhance health. With regards to it a traditional medical system is a collection of experiences and know-how phenomena of diagnosis and cure. This method holds to be a transmission of knowledge over generations. This experience of using therapeutic agents to cure common ailments depend upon their immediate environment which consists of plants, animals and other naturally occurring substances, their distribution and availability. The treatment by using those materials is often assisted by magic & mysticism.

Traditional medicine systems have remained with the Kuttia Kondhs since long. Still it is existing with them through their practices which in all the cases have a religious base. Their use of folk medicine, herbal medicine with a touch of magic is still prevailing, although the western medicine has already approached their door. It will be better to go through each differently.

Ali (1983) commented that "the Kuttia Kondhs believe in their traditional medicinal system because it fits in with their way of thinking. If they believe in wrath of gods, evil spirits and magic, it must be remembered that it pervades their whole life and does not apply to their view of medicines only. These tribals are mostly not exposed to new ideas and techniques which evolved among civilizations over the centuries and continue living in an insular present. Nor they have changed their beliefs and customs. Thus the belief in their taboos, totems and superstitions and these beliefs shape their thoughts, ideas and practices in their daily activities. Moreover the study of tribal culture indicates that public health is an integral part of social process in which wants, beings and functions, his body and mind, activity, emotions and social relations are interwined into an organic whole. Therefore any imbalance in the unity of functions of this whole or any part thereof may result in illness in any of the parts of the configuration. Against a background of such beliefs in supernaturalism as one of the strong causes of illness, it is very difficult to accord appreciation and acceptance by the Kuttia Kondhs of the modern health and hygienic measures".

Kuttia Kondhs are still in such conditions, as they were in very early times. They are still bound with their rudimentary indigenous thoughts, beliefs and superstitions.

FOLK MEDICINE

The concepts and practices in folk medicine are based upon the humoral

theories, cosmological speculations, magic in learned/oral medicine and religion (Reddy - 1986) It is a popular medicine to Kuttia Kondhs and sometimes they become successful in showing miraculous cures by using herbal medicine and other natural things available in their immediate environment. The folk medicine includes magic and herbal application simultaneously. The process may remain the same but the prescriptions of therapeutic agents vary. If the disease is cured, it is taken as a grace of the god through the witch doctor and practitioner. If the patient dies, it is taken as the god's will. Sometimes it is also believed that the practitioner has lost his efficiency somehow. As it holds, the efficiency is lost with wrong prescriptions which causes the death of people.

Kuttia Kondhs consider their medical practitioner as an influenced spiritual leader who maintains the spiritual practices and medical problems of the society. In the use of folk medicine, the practitioner uses magic and religion to conceptualize the ultimate reality of their culture and activities. Because of the practitioner's importance in the society disease has mostly been personified and its treatment is effected by the use of the practitioner's spiritual powers and sometimes by the application of plants or by both.

Accordingly in their society three types of medical practitioners are found i.e. herbalists, divine healers and witch doctors. A witch doctor seems to be very ancient traditional person. He is created with the ability to intercept the evil deeds of a witch or to exorcise the evil spirit that possesses the patient. Plants are also used by witch doctors as a part of the treatment. Divine healers depend upon their supernatural power of diagnosis who also administer medicinal plants which are supposed to have spiritual powers. Herbalists are those who enjoy the prestige and reputation of being the real practitioners of traditional medicine. Very old people are usually credited with such dignity. They have a good knowledge of the plants around their locality, with which they cure diseases. However, in the society of Kuttia Kondhs, no pure herbalist is found, rather the profession of herbalist is merged with that of the witch doctor and divine healer. The folk medicine thus includes in it the methods of treatment following magic, religion, supernatural powers of diagnosis, herbal plants and other plant parts, and animals also.

There are two methods to approach a disease through folk treatment. *Dakandi Pdukandi* and *Wechinja* are the first two tools the practitioner uses for a treatment. These two tools sometimes follows some offerings like a sacrifice to gods and goddesses and also they administer medicinal plants during these processes.

DAKANDI PDUKANDI

This method of treatment can be employed any time and any where. It seems

to be a mode of divine healing. Mostly exercised on children it has its influence on adults also more particularly on womens' diseases. In cases like exercising evil powers from body and mind, snake bite, early fever and any accidental occurrence of ailments are cured by this method. As far as children are concerned intensive crying, vomiting,, trembling, paleness of eyes, bloodlessness are attempted to be cured by *Dakandi Pdukandi.* Usually a sacrifice is needed and sometimes small chickens are seen to be sacrificed. It is a very common occarence usually, the *Kutaka* does it, at times, his students also perform it. The process seems to be the elementary tool with which the divine healer or witch doctor attempts to cure a disease.

In the process of *Dakandi Pdukandi*, the practitioner first takes the per mission of the Gods and Goddesses to start the process for the betterment of the patient. He starts with chanting in *Kui* language. In the first lines of chanting the *Kutaka* or the *Jani* who performs the function invokes Gods and Goddesses from all the corners of the world. He invokes the deities in *Kara* (?) tree and *Bidi* (?) tree. He invokes the deities connected with herbal medicine administration. After invoking, he starts telling the Gods and Goddesses about the sufferings of the patients. Through his spiritual talks with Gods and Goddesses, he tries to find out the cause of the patient's suffering. That the *Kutaka* and *Jani* can have bilateral talks with the Gods and Goddesses, is the prevailing belief of the Kuttia Kondhs. Through the talks, the Gods and Goddesses tell the *Kutaka* about the reasons of the diseases. As a reason, it is cited that either the patient has ignored the deities while he/she was in the forest or because of the patients negligence in praying to the deities. Finally, the invoked deities have a discussion whether the patient should be excused or is to be punished. Then the gods and goddesses tell the *Kutaka* whether the crime of the patient is excusable or punishable. If the patient is excused, then the *Kutaka* requests the deities to tell about the remedies to cure the patient. If the patient is not excused by the deities, then the *Kutaka* has to pray to the deities again to cure the patient. Accordingly the *Kutaka* arranges a sacrifice and worship to be offered to the deities to avail their goodwill.

WECHINJA

It is certainly a difficult process. Only the *Kutaka* can perform it. Mechanically other folks sometimes attempt it, but treatment is only effective if the *Kutaka* performs *Wechinja.* It is believed that the disease gets cured because of the *Kutaka's* hidden powers.

Wechinja is commonly practised for headache, stomachache, ache in other body parts, pain in the chest. The Kutaka first identifies the region of pain. He then puts his thumb stiffly on the affected part. After chanting for some time he puts an arrow on that part, its pointed end remaining to the exterior. Then the Kutaka

chews the shaft of the arrow. Surprisingly he brings out blood with insects. From an observation of the insects, he can tell about that evil god who gave the pain. However, different ailments are diagnosed with different insects which are usually extracted. In case of headache an insect like honey bee, colled Boirbisa is seen to be extracted. For stomach troubles, a long tailed insect is extracted out.

Violation to any tree growing near or over the Bademara (*Ficus benghalensis*) or pipada mara (*Ficus scandens*) causes headache. The extraction of Boirbisa stands as a proof to say that *Mara Penu* (tree god) affected the person.

'*Doali*' is a disease which occurs both in males and females. Its symptoms are : froth comes out of the mouth, senselessness and immobility. It is believed that *Khati*, which means a bad spirit, has attacked the person. It is also popularly known as Khati disease. To cure it the witch doctor keeps his thumb on the nipple of the left hand side chest of male folks and then chants some hymns. In case of females he puts his thumb in the middle of the breasts. When chanting comes to an end the witch doctor extracts juice from roots of *Vanda roxburghii* (*Khati asa).* The plant, if found growing on trees like madei mara (*Lannea coromondalica*), Mardimara (*Terminalia tomentosa*), Bela mara (*Aegle marmelos*), is chosen for the purpose. Vanda grown over *Lannea coromondalica* is very important in this regard.

At the time of chanting hymns the witch doctor takes some rice on a winnow and rubs it vigorously. This is a method of invoking evil spirits who are suspected to have caused the disease. Rubbing rice on the winnow is stopped when the witch doctor comes to know about the spirit who has caused the disease.

When a patient is found severely affected by an unknown disease, which is hard to diagnose, the witch doctor orders a '*Jaka dakandi* : *Jaka dakandi* is a worship performed on the roof of the patient's house. This worship is offered to *Yam penu* (the demon god). As a process, a bamboo mat is prepared with fourteen pieces of bamboo foils crossed at right angles to each other. A handful of earth is kept over the bamboo mat. Turmeric (*Curcuma longa*) powder is kept around the earth and in the middle of earth some rice is kept. The four sides of the bamboo mat is polished with hearth black. Then an arrow is put over the bamboo mat vertically, to one end of which a branch of *Ficus scandens* is tied. A thread is tied to the arrow and at the others end of the thread a leaf of the same plant is suspended over the patients head. The process follows a black hen sacrifice. It is believed that by doing this they satisfy the *Yam penu* : who orders the *Linga penu* (birth god) to give more life to the patient.

The prescription for *Yam penu* worship depends upon the symptoms of the patient. If the patient becomes extremely weak with high temperature, he refuses to take food and feels like vomiting, in these cases only established witch doctors

are consulted. It is believed that the outgoing *'Jella'* (life) of the patient returns back to him through the leaves of *Ficus scandens*.

EJu Penka Dakina (worship of the water god) is another witch-practice which is done as a remedy to diseases caused by some evil spirits. If between a couple, one falls sick for a long time, then the other arranges the worship. The worship aims at offering the water god for the life of the patient. The worship is organised at some water places. It is believed that the water god washes off all the sufferings from the patient. Thorns of bel tree (*Aegle marmelos*), twigs of *tuturimara* (*Solanum xanthocarpum*) and a tade (*Musa sapientum*) plant is usually required for the worship. The worship is organised on a Saturday. Sometimes non-tribals are requested to perform it.

Women who suffer due to water retention in their belly are instructed to perform a *Gangi penu* worship at water places. For sacrifice a Piglet is taken. As plant materials a twig of *Ficus scandens* is required. As medicine *Kranjiasa* (*Rauwolfia serpentiana*) root is prescribed.

For leprosy, *Gongi penu* worship is a must prescription. After the worship bark of Raga mara (?) is prescribed. The disease is regarded as a punishment of a village god (*Deukuda)*, who, if does not like to cure the patient, *Raga mara* will not be available to the witch doctor.

At the time of naming a child the ancestral spirits are invoked. A Simul pole (*Bombax malbaricum*) and bamboo twig are used for the worship. The child is given the name of one ancestral spirit. The worship of ancestral spirits assures the well-being of the child and a good physique.

Hence, the Kuttia Kondhs believe that most of the diseases are caused by evil spirits. Epidemic diseases are caused by the anger of clan gods. It is held by them that evil spirits enter through a medium; air, water or plants. The witch doctors have the capability to identify the powerful forces and the deities which influence and control the disorders. In Vidyarthi's (1977) opinion tribals believe in four types of spirits. It holds right for Kuttia Kondhs also. They are

> Protective deities or spirits believed to safeguard the welfare of the village Ancestral spirits *(Dukeli)* village goddess *(Deukuda penu* and *Satari penu)*, *Linga penu* (birth god). *Soru penu* (hill god).

> Benevolent spirits, are worshiped at the communal and mostly familial level regularly, otherwise they may cause disease, death and other calamities *Dharni penu* (earth god), *Wanga penu* (earth god), *Panga penu*, etc.

- Evil or malevolent spirits and deities controlling small pox, chicken pox, measles, abortion etc., are : Mounli penu, Mardi penu, Kamati penu (all are goddesses living on the *Ficus benghalensis* tree. They also cause disease to persons who violate taboos.

- Ancestral spirits are also very benevolent spirits who protect family members but get violated if they have been too soon forgotten or otherwise not recognised : Kukeli (Ghost). Diseases are also caused by sorcerers and witches working on hire or for personal reasons, spirits possession or the intrusion of an object into the body and evil eyes.

The Kuttia Kondhs thus experience a man-spirit interplay in their concept of disease and its cure. Human sufferings at the individual or societal level are subscribed to the affect of supernaturals. Malevolent and benevolent powers are by and large recognized. It is believed that supernatural powers dominate human beings. But the witch doctor using his art like witch-craft defeats such malevolent powers. Within the frame of the Kuttia Kondh's conception of disease and even of cure the supernatural has undoubtedly occupied a significant place. Even the infliction of obvious injuries like falling from a tree or being involved in an accident are attributed to spirits, ghosts and deities, who are believed to be mightier than human beings.

HERBAL MEDICINES

Herbal medicines fall under the great traditional medicine. Along with folk medicines the Kuttia Kondhs also administer herbal medicines. The range of herbal medicines is too vast. But the practice of it by Kuttia Kondhs is inadequate. It does not mean that they show poor response to herbal medicines, but they use very little. The herbalists, usually, the Kutaka and Jani do not practise it so much. The common folks also know about some of the herbal remedies for minor ailments.

It seems to be an established fact that the knowledge of herbal medicine is transmitted from generation to generation orally among the Kuttia Kondhs. But they do not admit it. They believe that knowledge of herbal medicine is a blessing of god. Gods and goddesses approach a person in a dream and order him to work as medicine man for the society. The know-how of herbal medicine and its application to cure ailments is supplied by them through the dream. Therefore, the medicine man stands as a dignified and respectable person who is chosen by the gods and goddesses for the welfare of the society. It is also believed that even if the medicine man posesses no idea about plants, the gods direct him to the location of the required plants in the forest with working instruction of administering the medicine. People other than medicine man are not permitted to use such medicine.

It is because the practice without the god's instruction loses the efficiency of the medicine.

In many cases the use ofherbal medicine in present times adopts non-tribal culture. The local non-tribals usually practise methods of administering herbal medicine : the knowledge being collected from ancient leaf scripts and written literature. It is difficult to trace what part of knowledge of herbal medicine known to Kuttia Kondhs is parted with local non-tribals or the vice versa. In this connection it can be stated that the knowledge and practice and very limited use ofherbal medicine by Kuttia Kondhs is not static, rather it seems to be dynamic by adoptation of non-tribal knowledge of herbal medicine.

The immediate community beyond Kuttia Kondhs are Panas and Gondas. Rajgond are Oriya speaking people who are far more developed than Kuttia Kondhs as a tribe. So Kuttia Kondhs depend upon the Rajgonds for treatment with herbal medicine in the Belghar area. People from the Jhiripani region rarely attend primary health centres. They depend upon herbal treatment until the case goes out of control.

The Kuttia Kondhs Development Agency (KKDA) has also provisions for providing western medicine to Kuttia Kondhs by prescription from the local Medical Officer. So they are now motivated towards western medicine which is available to them without any costs.

10

INDEGENOUS KNOWLEDGE OF SHIFTING CULTIVATION BY KUTTIA KONDHS

Tribal communities by virtue of their long association with the forest have enjoyed considerable freedom to use wood and fuel, to hunt animals and to exploit minor forest produce for their sustenance. The folk lores, art and music are full of ideas concerning their natural sorroundings. The forest not only provides them with food and shelter but also satisfies their ethos and sentiments. This intimate association has developed a symbiotic relationship between the tribals and the forest which is however known to us since time immemorial.

Shifting cultivation is one more additional revenue to their hunting and clearing of the forest. This implies some evolutionary stages of development among them so far as their living in the forest is concerned. Shifting cultivation can be defined normally as a continuing agricultural system in which temporary clearings of patches of forest are done for an increasing number of crop plants during shorter periods recurrent in subsequent years. Shifting cultivation is the same as "slash and burn" agriculture. The cultivators continuously change the field from one place to an other and slash and burn the underwood and trees found in these new areas.

In terms of Anthropology it is known as Swiddening (a burned cultivation), Ekwall (1955). It involves a periodic shifting of site and a cycle of cultivation that includes clearing of forests by slash and burn methods and then abandoning the field for the natural regeneration of vegetation. Shifting or Swidden cultivation has been defined as "Impermanent cultivation on hill slopes or on slightly level land, after cutting and burning the vegetation for rotation cropping for one/two or at best three years and then abandoning the Swidden plot or recuperation (Mahapatra, 1953).

In shifting cultivation no terrace or embankment is made which would

prevent soil erosion. Consequently after a season of rain most of the top soil is washed away and the fertility of the soil is lost. Hence to choose a plot, the swiddener has to move to another area of land for cultivation purposes without caring for the damage of the land and soil. Shifting cultivation is practised generally in interior hilly areas of tribal pockets where neither plain land is available nor any scope for terracing. Hence, shifting cultivation adopted by tribals is just a primitive and crude way of procuring agricultural products for their living. It is a farming technology based on a specific adaptation to forests and hilly environments. Shifting cultivation thus persists among them which however interplay with the ecosystem, social structure and economy of the primitive tribals. Mahapatra (1983) has proposed a typology of Swidden cultivation based on their extent of dependence on it as a source of livelihood. They are : (i) Exclusive dependence, (ii) Major dependence, (iii) Contingent dependence, and (iv) Marginal dependence.

Out of the different tribal and non-tribal groups, the Kondhs of Orissa mostly depend upon shifting cultivation. From a survey report (Patnaik - 1973) in Phulbani 8435.20 Square kilometers of land is under shifting cultivation at present. It is about 23% of the total land of Phulbani district. The Kondhs are shifting cultivators and their population is 1,95,000. The area affected in Tumudibandh area of Phulbani district is about 54.40 square kilometers. So it can be said that a vast patch of land is under shifting cultivation in hilly lands of the said locality.

Kuttia Kondhs have been recognised as the primitive tribe who stand first in population chart followed by Panas and Gonds. Practice of shifting cultivation is observed mostly in Kuttia Kondhs. Gonds also practice it to some extent and Panas however do not take up such practices.

The practice of shifting cultivation is not a recent development for Kuttia Kondhs. They are continuing it since ages. Shifting cultivation is more or less a regular habit to them. It also seems to be a way of their life, as the typical cultivation is established in the mythology of the tribe. They maintain a community life with individual owning of landed property. The individual claims to land are recognised after they clear a patch of forest. The shifting cultivation is popularly known as '*Nella Kama*', '*Bagada*[1]' or '*Dongar Chasa*[2]' by Kuttia Kondhs. In local Oriya language it is known as "*Podu Chasa*".

The term '*Nella*' is derived from '*Nede*' (middle part). It refers to the '*Soru nede*' - the middle of hills along their heights where the cultivation is done. Later on the shifting cultivation came to be known as *Nella* among Kuttia Kondhs.

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1 *Bagada - A cleaned hill land for cultivation under cultivation*
2 *Dongar Chasa - Hill cultivation*

The story begins with a piece of forest land which the farmer has been allotted by his tribal chief for clearing. The clearing process is done by the farmer as follows : The entire vegetation, including large and small trees are cut, bushes and creepers are cleared especially during the begining of the summer season. Larger poles and branches are removed from the site and they are used as firewood. They slash and burnt during April - May. After the first showers of rain in June, sowing of multiple crops is done on the processed hilly regions. The cultivation on mid hills is practised because of two reasons : First, the soil fertility is good and second, cattles can hardly destroy crops.

SELECTION OF SITE

Being a primitive tribe the Kuttia Kondhs lead a community life. In their socio-religious and political organisation, different headmen are chosen. For the case of shifting cultivation, the political head called 'Majhi' is the decision maker. After the winter harvest of Ravi crops when the people become free, the Majhi convenes a meeting of all households to discuss the next cultivation. The meeting is organised in a formal manner which heads of all households or their representatives attend. The Majhi presides over the meeting. He then tells about his selection of a new forest for shifting cultivation. Then the matter remains open for discussion by the members attending the meeting. Many factors are usually decided on choosing of a piece of land in the forest that relates to the fertility of soil, distance of the forest from the village, actions of the Forest Department, periods for recuperation, etc. Importance is given to the per capita share of land which could be availaed from the selected patch of land. The destruction of crops by cattles and he rbivorous jungle beasts are also given prior attention while choosing a patch of land for shifting cultivation. Emphasis is usually on soil fertility. While selecting a patch of forest calculating the abandoned period they could assess the vegetational cover of that area. If the patch is abandoned for a long period, then the vegetational growth will be more. Then the factor of labour is considered which is important for clearing the forest. If the vegetational cover is comparatively less, it implies, the soil fertility is very poor. Further, if the patch is found unused since long, other factors are also to be taken into consideration. They are either religious or administrative factors. In the religious point of view they feel that a patch of land may be auspicious or inauspicious. Due to heavy damage to crops by jungle beasts, death of any person by elephant or tiger, case of infant mortality in the place, if any, makes a strong feeling among the tribals that the patch of land is inauspicious. If the Forest Department has close watch over the land in the forest chosen by them, then the slashing and burning cannot be done due to administrative restrictions.

In most cases they try to select a land nearby their village settlements. This helps them in two ways; first, they can keep vigil their on village and *Bagad* and second, they can harvest the crops with less labour. Besides, a perennial source of

water supply to the cultivated fields is desirable. A source of water is important for the immediate need of drinking purposes for the people working in the field. Further, the villagers can give a close look to the protection of the cultivated crops, which otherwise might get damaged by cattle and other beasts.

The individual share of land is considered as the most important factor. It depends upon the size of the entire patch of land which every household of the village would share. But in practice, the land is not always shared by a number of households, Accordingly, land is shared among persons. Hence, man power is taken as the most important factor in terms of labour which is needed to clear the forest at the beginning and harvesting crops at the end of a season. Sometimes, bachelors demand different shares. Sometimes, it has been observed that in a family, all members contribute to the cultivation so far as the man power is concerned. For example, if in a family 'A' is the family head, 'a' being his wife has two sons 'X' and 'Y'. 'X' is married and 'Y' not. 'X' has a daughter 'Z' who is unmarried. So from a common patch of land 'A', 'Y' and 'Z' share differently.

After discussing the above matters categorically, the Majhi nominates a day to visit the field for aninspection. In the field visit the Majhi and religious heads are followed by senior villagers. After a close inspection of the field, by the people led by the Majhi, if all of them are satisfied with the required points, then a day is fixed for the next visit. On this visit the ritual performances are held. Sometimes, more than one field is inspected by them if the first one is found insufficient to provide land for all. Sometimes, they also make a comparison between the two patches of land to fix up the better suitability of it on the basis of requirement of the crops which would be available to the number of people involved there in.

FALLOW PERIOD

Fallow period means the gap between two successive clearing of forest followed by cultivation. The Kuttia Kondhs term it as '*Nellatu*'. Usually after one or two continuous corppings they leave that patch of land in order to get better 'virgin' land having more fertility. The fallow period varies from two to seven years in the Belghar area. The Kuttia Kondhs admit that in the past fallowing the fields was done for about 10 years. But at present the fallow period has been reduced to about two years. This is because of population explosion and area demarcation by the Forest Department for reserved and protected forests. The population pressure has definitely reduced the per-capita share of land as well as the yield. This indicates that (i) the land to man ratio is minimised because of people's exclusive dependence on shifting cultivation. (ii) the limited access to the forest due to the reason that, major parts of forests are reserved and protected by the Government in the Belghar area.

The population pressure is not only experienced in Belghar area but

throughout the shifting cultivation areas in India, for instance, David Spurgeon (1982) attributes deforestation to shifting cultivation as well as to population pressure among the forest dwellers. According to him :-

"This practice annually destroys ten million hectares of high forest and causes a steady decline in the fertility of the land ... In the past the soil's fertility returned to abandoned areas over a period of 25-30 years as a result of natural processes. But as population pressures increased the cultivators returned to their abandoned sites much sooner, and the period of natural bush fallow was progressively shortened".

This view of David Spurgeon also holds applicable to the Kuttia Kondhs practice of shifting cultivation in Belghar. But it is not always that population pressure is exercised over the forest by Kuttia Kondhs only. Other people such as Gonds who are marginally dependent on shifting cultivation also add population pressure. The demographic growth of Kuttia Kondhs is not so high to justify David Spurgeon's (1982) views.

In this connection, the limited access of Kuttia Kondhs to some particular forests impels them to return to the previously abandoned fields for cultivation. They are also cultivating in the reserved and protected forests. But they always take care to avoid being detected by the Forest Department at the time of clearing the forest. Therefore they sometimes choose the remote pockets of prohibited forests to start the cultivation. But usually, they like to cultivate nearby their village settlement to safeguard the crops.

From an observation of field status another cause of abandoning fields is found out, that the weeds after one or two croppings on the same site demands more labour at the time of clearing. It demands extra work for weeding. The recuperation of vegetation occurs side by side with propagation of weeds after the field is abandoned.

So, maintaining a long fallow period goes against their socio-economic conditions related to the shifting cultivation. It has been a way of their life on which they subsisted ever since.

MYTH OF SHIFTING CULTIVATION

Shifting cultivation is not only an age old practice of cultivation, but also it has been established in the myth of Kuttia Kondhs. Therefore, in most cases, they say that they are following their myth for practices of swiddening. This seems to be a reason why the Kuttia Kondhs feel, that shifting cultivation is a part and parcel of their tradition.

As it is described in the myth, they are true agricultural people. They are

practising agricultural methods for food production since they came out of the earth. As it is argued according to the evolution of primitive human societies through various stages like hunting, foraging, food gathering .... etc., then Kuttia Kondhs are found to be agriculture based people, and permanent settlers. The Kui gaani describes some mythical views of shifting cultivation. Although in the actual case, major part of the myth of shifting cultivation in Kui gaani is forgotten by the Kuttia folks. Only very old Kuttias give reference of Kui gaani to explain their traditional cultivation practices.

In Kui gaani, when people came out from the earth they brought many things with them. Many household objects, domestic animals, food and crops were carried by them when they came out. It was like changing from an old house to a new house. After coming out of the earth they survived by consuming foods which they brought with them and then started cultivation by sowing seeds which they had brought.

As the Kuttia Kondhs myth goes, they emerged out from the Sapangada hole and decided to live on earth. At the time of emerging out from Sapangada they brought with them bullocks buffaloes, pigs, goats along with other domestic animals. They also brought with them the 'Atpa bicha' literally meaning eight types of crop seeds. But it refers to all varieties of crop seeds.

Not only the crop seeds but also samples of different soils on which different crops were to be grown were also brought. Categorically as the song Kui Gaani mentions they brought soil on which pumpkin, tubers and cucumber were grown. Among the other types of soil were Kambit vira (red soil), Garli vira (fertile soil) Sitka vira (clay soil), soil from mouse hole, ant hole ... etc., so finally when people came out of the Sapangada, they had with them seeds and soil suitable for particular crops, and could then start cultivation.

Following the female folks, the male folks of Kuttia Kondhs came out from the Sapangada. The male folks were required to work for field preparation, clearing forests and making houses. Male folks are distributed with works like worshipping, cultivation, hunting ... etc., for which women folks are not efficient and eligible.

The story also adds that when a patch of forest is cleared for shifting cultivation, that patch should have a '*Dharni Stone*'' or if *Dharni stone* is not found there, a Dharni stone must be installed. Again, patches of forest cut for shifting cultivation must possess a bamboo bush in it. If bamboo bushes are not found then

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Dharani Stone — *Three stones established at one place linearly under a big stone, regarded as Dharni Penu.*

either the field is abandoned or other bamboo stumps are established or bamboo saplings are planted in the field. It is because bamboo must be there where worship is offered to Dharni Penu. In the myth it is established that bamboo took birth from hair of Nerandali near Sapangada, when Nerandali was taking a bath after coming out of sapangada

Kuttia Kondhs believe that if a Dharni Stone is found in a newly cleared forest patch it makes a conviction that the same patch must have been cultivated by their ancestors. They believe that their ancestors have established that Dharni Stone there.

NERI - NEDE - NELLA : CORRELATIONS

Neri means blood, Nede means middle and Nella means Swidden plots. Kuttia Kondhs have a linguistic correlation between these three terms. As a matter of fact, Nella is the Swidden plot which is almost in the middle part of hills (Nede). In many religious events sacrifice is performed in Nella for better production of crops. In ancient times, sacrificing animals was very common in Nella. Kuttia Kondhs also admit that in very ancient times they were sacrificing human beings in Nella. Kondhs (not specifically Kuttias) are well known for Turmeric cultivation on hill slopes. For better colouration in turmeric Kondhs were sacrificing human beings on turmeric fields. They had a belief that by offering human blood to Dharni Penu, good quality turmeric will be produced in huge quantities. It is human blood that gives the colour to turmeric. The person who is to be sacrificed is known as Saru. 'Saru neri' (human blood) is offered to Dharni Penu at 'Soru nede' (Hill middle part). This practice makes a connection between Neri and Nede. At present human sacrifice is no where to be found and animal sacrifice is common.

As the Kuttia Kondhs says, the idea of human sacrifice cam suddenly. Prior to human sacrifice they were offering tree blood. So in ancient times tree like *pterocarpus marsupium*, plants like *Musa paradisica* (Tademara), and vegetable species, species of *Dioscorea* (Kuna basanga Nangal Kanda Yam and *Cucurbita maxima* (*Kumuda* - Pumpkin) were being sacrificed. Sacrifice of tree and plant species stopped after human sacrifice started and when human sacrifice stopped, animal sacrifice began.

When people clear a patch of forest for swiddening, they take the permission of Dharni Penu. They satisfy her by offering blood after animal sacrifice. They have the prevailing fear that if blood is not offered to Dharni Penu at the time of the clearing of a forest patch, the deity gets angry. Therefore she causes some trouble in form of less production in swidden plots, disease and small mishaps in the day to day life of the Kuttia Kondhs.

From the above discription of the myth of the Kuttia Kondhs relating to

Dhami Penu the earth goddess, the Kuttia Kondhs believe that the appeasement of the goddess is only through the offering of blood, be it in the form of vegetable, human or animal sacrifice.

There is another myth associated with the belief of Kuttia Kondhs about how do they consider the blood and in what way plant - blood and animal-blood is similar. According to myth, plants took birth from Sambar's body. When the Sambar was slashed, blood flown from its body was converted to water. Plants depend upon water for their living. In this connection, if 'Neri' is common to both plants and animals, it may imply that 'Neri' is the active principle of living beings, that is, it holds life of organisms on the earth . It thus appears that, 'Neri' links the earth, living being and gods and goddesses, so far as the cult of sacrifice persists among Kuttia Kondhs. This may also suffice to say that Neri, philosophically though it does not accurately refer to blood or water, holds the life of living beings on earth , the Kuttia Kondhs attest.

The connection between Neri-Nede and Nella gives a conceptual meaning to plant-animal-nature and human activities involved in the process of shifting cultivation. It also however gives some idea about how the Kuttia Kondhs relate their myth with their present mode of living as well as sums up their thoughts and beliefs about shifting cultivation with its mythical background.

RELIGIOUS PERFORMANCES IN NELLA/BAGAD

After the selection of a site for shifting cultivation, the religious heads of the society directs a ritual to be organised at the site, before the processing of land for shifting cultivation. This ritual is called 'Nella Dakina' in which worship is offered to Dharni Penu (Earth goddess). 'Damanaka' the ancestral spirit of Kuttia Kondhs is regarded as the owner of forests. The 'Jani' takes the lead in the worship to Dharni Penu and Damanaka, to satisfy the earth and forest.

The worship is organised under a tree where a Dharni stone is found. The trees under which worship usualy takes place are Sargi *(Shorea robusta)*, Bengeri *(Pterocarpus marsupium)*, Mardi (*Terminalia tomentosa)*, Jambu (*Syzygium cuminii), Laka (Bombax malbaricum)* Then the Dharni Penu is invoked and is requested to allow them for cultivating that patch of land. This is called *Dedhi useni*. They sacrifice a hen or hug for offering blood to the Penu to satisfy her.

The next ritual is organised towards the end of field preparation and that is just before the first rain. In this ritual, the seeds previously stored for sowing are to be worshipped. They name it *'Bicha Supandi Dakina'*. The ritual is performed in the centre of the field where Dharni Penu is worshipped with *'Sunasella Penu'* (a hill god). *Sunasella Penu* is worshipped because, he first distributed crop seeds to Kuttia Kondhs after the latter emerged from Sapangada. After the performance

the priest puts some seeds on the earth, he humbly requests the deities for the preservation of viability of the seeds for quick germination. A hen sacrifice is given during this ritual.

The *Bicha Supandi* is immediately followed by *'Burlanga Kalu'*. This ceremony is organised mostly in a village. By that time people have already sown their seeds which had been kept in containers. They usually store the seeds in a container made of bamboo. They call it *Burlanga*. The empty containers are burnt at that time. A pig or goat is sacrificed in this ceremony. People are offered *Kalu* (fermented crop liquor of *Panicum miliare* after the function). Sometimes a common feast is organised with buffalo meat or with meat of sacrificed animals. The ritual is performed any time between May and June at an interval of every four to five years. Bones of previously hunted animals (*Kutra, Sambar)* preserved in Kuttia houses are burnt on that day.

In the month of June-July '*Takakalu*' worship is organised in the cultivated fields. The ritual holds the rule of a bullock sacrifice with buffalo sacrifice. But buffalo sacrifice is common for this occasion. Sacrifice of a bullock and a buffalo at a time becomes too expensive. So they sacrifice one of the above mentioned animals, which is cheaper. If a buffalo is not available a pig is sacrificed instead of the buffalo. In the ritual *Taka*-seed of mango *(Mangifera indica)* is cut open. The cutting of a mango seed symbolises an image of seed germination. *Taka Kalu* ceremony is observed when the crops attain the growth of about six inches in the field.

Towards the time of harvest or at the time of maturity of crops 'Dulu Dakina' is organised during October. '*Dulu*' is the goddess of wealth. In this ceremony she is worshipped with a view to procure more production from the field.

CLEARING THE FOREST

Clearing the forest patches means slashing of trees, shrubs and herbs in the area to prepare the forest patch for cultivation. Slashing starts during February - March. Kuttia Kondhs are generally free during this period. So they can devote more time for this work. After being allocated with patches of land by the Majhi, every household makes its own schedule for slashing. They put up both individual and co-operative labour to take up this work. Almost all women take special care in clearing the selected ground. They also help the male folks while cutting the large trees. Very large trees which can provide timber are not felled and smaller trees are cut leaving a stump of about 3-4 feet high. Climber cleaning goes side by side with tree-felling.

During the slashing, women also collect fruit of *Bauhinia vahlii, Buchanania lanzan,* its seeds are eaten as nuts. Flowers of *Indigofera cassioides (Girilu)* are

edible and are therefore collected. Children also keep engaged in collecting fruits of *Emblica officinalis*, *Tamarindus indica*, and leaves of *Bauhinia vahlii*, dust resin from *Shorea robusta* for sale. Apart from this some weeds (refer the chapter Social and Cultural life of Kuttia Kondh - II) are also collected to be used as spinach. Collection of broom sticks *Thysanolaena maxima* is also done to a larger extent, which they sell in the market.

People leave their houses and go for slashing every morning. Women folk follow the male members of the family carrying millet gruel or rice gruel for mid-day food in the forest. Use of family labour is the chief input in this type of cultivation. Since slashing is a difficult job, sometimes small families put up their labour on a co-operative basis to complete the work. When one individual needs the help from others for this purpose he gives a goat to the villagers to arrange a feast. The villagers who enjoy the feast help the sponsorer in clearing the forest-patch which is allotted to him for cultivation. Thus the work is done on a co-operative basis.

Slashing is followed by burning. When the whole patch of forest is cleared they set fire to the slashes. Some times slashes are gathered at one place or found scattered here and there. Fire is usually set during April - May when the slashes are almost dry. Poles are not allowed to set on fire because they can be used very well for household purposes. It is observed that not a single branch of *Grewia tiliaefolia* is burnt as it could be used in making cot frames and shafts, hoe handles and agricultural implements.

Fire plays an important role in weeding as in burning the slashes. Weeding sometimes needs more time and labour than slashing of trees. Weeds are mostly annual plants and usually complete their life cycle by May, the month when they are almost dry. That is why Kuttia Kondhs choose the summer season for burning. The first phase of weeding is thus done with the burning of the slashes. They usually set fire at night. So during the beginning of shifting cultivation, at night fire on patches are observed on hilly places in the forest.

The ash of the slashes help in making a thin upper layer of the soil. It also acts as an organic manure. The layer of ash helps the seeds to germinate properly. If slashes are heaped at places and burnt, the ash is then collected and sprinkled all over the patch of land to make the soil fertile. After all the field preparation for the ongoing cultivation is finished by the end of May, people wait for the first shower of rain. After the field preparation, individual lands are demarcated by stones and stumps temporarily.

AGRICULTURAL PRACTICE

HOEING AND SOWING

The cultivators depend upon rain to start their agricultural work. As the

cultivation is done on hills, in very rare cases a perennial source of water is found to irrigate the crops. This makes them dependent on rain. The hard soil becomes soft after one or two showers of rain. Ashes also get stuck to earth. By this good field condition is attained for sowing. A preliminary hoeing is also done before seeds are sown. Then a multiple cropping is done. Seeds of some particular crop are put on the earth by using dibbling sticks. Such seeds are planted with a regular spacing. The other seeds are sown at random. Usually the seeds showing long dormancy are put in dibbled holes and those which have short dormancy are sown. During hoeing and sowing women folks take larger interest and responsibility to complete the work. The Kuttia women keep a track of time so far as the productivity-cycle of the plants is concerned. Accordingly, the cropping is done at a particular time.

WEEDING AND WATCHING

Weeding is very important to grow crops on hilly lands. Weeds compete with the crops at early stages of their growth. This ultimately reduces the yield from such crops. So weeding is very important in this case. The operation takes place during early July when crops have attained half a foot height. The weeding work is mostly done by women and girls though men also casually extend their help. Not all weeds are thrown away. Some are also used as spinach. The weeds which after being uprooted can't regenerate are stacked at one place which when they decompose add to fertility of the soil.

PROTECTING MEASURES FOR CULTIVATED CROPS

The Kuttia Kondhs make small watch huts in their fields to guard the standing crops. The crops otherwise will be grazed over by the herbivorous beasts of the jungle. At an early phase of growth of crops they take much care to safeguard them. It is a family business which young boys guard by staying in watch huts. Large trees which are saved from being slashed are used in making such watch huts. People make watch sheds over branches of large trees. Watching from the height also favours the hunting of animals who come to graze the crops. When beasts like Sambar & Bison come in herds, people set fire on dried logs to drive them away. When the crops start maturing, the porcupines affect them more than other animals. So ,Kuttia people enjoy hunting porcupines at that time by keeping traps near their caves.

During vigil, the young boys keep themselves engaged in making various types of traps for animals and birds. The huts remain unaffected till the end of the harvesting of the crops. Towards the end of the rainy season almost all the people of the village stay in their *Bagad* in the day time. Young couples also get more scope for co-habitation in watch huts than in their home.

CULTIVATED CROPS

The crops grown by Kuttia Kondhs can be broadly categorized into two heads : Kharif and Ravi. The Kharif crop is cropped at the on set of rainy days in Bagad where as the Ravi crop is cropped at the onset of winter in foot hills and homestead lands. Kharif crop cultivated in Bagad carries many varieties where as in Ravi crop there are very few. (Cultivation of rice is not included in the above categories)

The Kharif crop is a multi-culture of cereals, pulses tubers and oil seeds. The cereals grown in Bagad are millet varieties. Vegetables are also grown with other crops. The Kuttia Kondhs cultivate *Masa (Panicum miliare)*, *Mande (Eleusine coracana)*, *Kredanga (Sorghum)*, *Pokanga (Zeamays)*, among cereals. Dry land rice is also sometimes grown. Pulses which they cultivate include *Kanga (Cajanus cajan)*, *Jhudanga (vigna indica)*, *Arka (Pennisetum typhoides) and Biri (Phaseolus mungo)*. As an oil seed *Kabang (Ricinus communis)* is the only variety. In tubers and vegetables, *Kunabasanga (Dioscorea)*, *Mundranga (Cucumis sativa)*, Kumuda *(Cucurbita maxima)*, Rani basanga (*Ipomoea batatas*), mara basanga (*Tapioca)* are important.

In the Ravi crops, Tila *(Guizoitia abyssinica)*, Sorisa *(Brassica campestris)* are the main crops on hill lands, particularly grown on lands at foot hills. Apart from these, winter vegetables also come under this category.

ZEA MAYS L. (MAIZE)

It is the most important cereal for Kuttia Kondhs. In terms of area and production, its yield surpasses other cereals. It is a tall annual grass having broad leaves arranged in two vertical rows. Maize is cultivated both on hilly and plain lands. The yield decreases because of frost. Kuttia Kondhs follow three methods of sowing : broadcasting, sowing behind plough, dibbling by making holes and putting seeds. Cropping time is June - July and harvested in October.

ORYZA SATIVA L. (RICE)

It is a staple food of Kuttia Kondhs. But they do not give importance to rice cultivation. Because they lack irrigated plain lands and whatever lands they have are non-irrigated. Therefore rice cultivation is not common to them. Some of them also cultivate rice by terracing near perennial streams of water. For dry land rice cultivation they depend on the rain and very less care is given to weeding and other mid-term practices. The rice cultivated in hill (up-land rice) is sown either by broadcasting or dibbling in plough furrows. Upland rice is cultivated in Kharif season only. Plain and low lands are cultivated twice a year.

Panicum miliare **: LAMK (LITTLE MILLET)**

It is a cheap and chief crop of Kuttia Kondhs. It is a hard and short duration crop. It is causally grown as a Kharif crop on poor soil. It is mainly a second year crop in shifting cultivation. It is grown mixed with cereals, bajra, ragi, black gram etc. Sowing is done in June -July, harvesting in January.

Eleusine coracana**, GAERTN (FINGER MILLET / RAGI)**

Finger millet is also known as birds foot millet, coracana millet and African millet and in India it is known as Ragi. It is one of the principal staple foods of Kuttia Kondhs. It is grown on highlands as a Kharif crop. It is sown in June-July and harvested during November - December. Its hay is fed to cattles. The corn powder is cooked as gruel.

Sorghum

It is one of the most important food and fodder crop cultivated on dry land by Kuttia Kondhs. Seeds are sown in lines after ploughing. Usually it is grown as a Kharif crop. Sowing is done in June. The majority of Kuttia Kondhs cultivate it. It is harvested by December. Mixed cropping with other cereals, pulses and vegetables is very common. Harvesting is carried out manually. They are threshed by beating with sticks or with bullock power.

Pennisetum typhoides

It is known as pearl millet and Bajra. It is grown over soil of poor fertility as a Kharif crop. The crop is sown immediately after the onset of monsoon in June by broadcasting. It is harvested by October - November. Both food and fodder are got from it. The 'ears' are threshed under the feet of cattle. Powder of its seeds are used in making gruel and cakes.

Cajanus cajan **L. MILLSP (PIGEON PEA)**

Red gram or Pigeon pea ranks high amongst other pulses in the market. It is because of its high market demand for consumption. It is an annual shrub with groovy silky branches, cultivated by Kuttia Kondhs under shifting cultivation. It is a Kharif crop. It grows better in red soil *(Kambit Vira)*. It is grown as pure as well as a mixed crop. In mixed cropping it grows with maize and millets. It is a deep rooted crop and can not withstand frost. Sowing method broadcasting and dibbling, seeds are sown in June - July and harvested by January - February. There happens to be no loss in seeds, even at delayed harvesting as its pod do not shatter seeds. Raw seeds are cooked with rice and dried seeds are cooked as dal. For Kuttia Kondhs it is mostly a cash crop.

PHASEOLUS MUNGO L. (VARIETY-*RADIATUS*-L) (BLACK GRAM)

It is a herbaceous annual plant grown as a mixed crop with other pulses. It is a warm season crop. Kuttia Kondhs cultivate it as Kharif crop. Sowing is done in June - July and harvested in November - December. After harvesting it is stacked and kept for drying for a week and threshed by beating with sticks or trodden by bullocks.

Vigna indica (JHUDUNGA)

It happens to be the most important among the pulses grown by Kuttia Kondhs. It is a herbaceous annual creeper. Leaves, stem and pod are violet in colour. Cultivated as a mixed crop with other pulses, produces better in fertile soil. Sowing is done by broadcasting and dibbling in June - July. Legumes at early maturity are used as vegetables. Harvested in December when the seeds dry in the pod. Kuttias like its kidney shaped seeds and not the pod in any case. Legumes are only collected and tied together for storing. Seeds are marketed as cash crops for its use as lentils.

RICINUS COMMUNIS. L.F. BR. (CASTOR)

Castor is an important commercial crop which is industrially valued for the oil which its seeds contain. It is an evergreen bush or a small tree, needs hot dry climate for proper development of fruits and seeds. It is planted as the first crop in shifting cultivation by putting seeds in dibbled holes. It can grow better even if the soil has no fertility. Sowing in June-July, harvesting February-March. Dried fruits are collected by men and seeds are extracted by women. Seeds are usually sold for cash. It is a Kharif crop. It's seeds are sown earlier than all other crops as it matures late. For marking of individual land people plant it on the borders of their land.

GUIZOTIA ABYSSINICA DC. (NIGER)

Niger is known for its seeds which yield a drying oil of considerable importance. It is a Ravi crop grown by Kuttias on foot hill lands. It is a herbaceous annual plant with deep yellow coloured flowers. Light red-soil is suitable for the crop. Seeds are broadcasted after ploughing in October and harvested in January & February. After the crop reaches maturity the plants are cut with sickles from the base and stacked in the threshing yard for a week. It is then exposed to the sun for two-three days. Then the seed is threshed by beating with sticks. It is very carefully winnowed before it is taken to the market. It is an important cash-crop for Kuttia Kondhs.

Niger seeds are sometimes provided by Kuttia Kondh Development Agency (KKDA) to good farmers. So they take interest in cultivating it. The crop

needs no manuring and irrigation which is of great advantage to Kuttia Kondhs.

***Brassica campestris*, L. (RAPE SEED / MUSTARD)**

It is grown as a Ravi crop on foot hill lands. It is an annual herb. Usually sown in October November after a good ploughing of the field it is grown as a pure crop. The crop responds well to organic manures. It is harvested during January - February. The harvesting is done by means of hand sickles. The plants are made into bundles and stacked in the sun for a couple of days. Then it is threshed by beating with wooden mallets. The threshed grain is separated from the husk by winnowing. It is a cash crop of Kuttia Kondhs.

Like Niger, Rape seed is also provided by KKDA sometimes. Therefore they take interest in cultivating it.

***Dioscorea alata*, L. (GREATER YAM)**

It is the most widely distributed species of yams. Stem is green or purple with four rows of wings, twines to the right. No spines are present. Leaves are longer opposite and ovate. Tuber cylindrical with white or purplish and fleshy. Plant does not flower normally. *D. bulbifera* is characterized by the production of large number of *bulbils* (aerial tubers) on each plant, arising in the leaf axil. The Kuttia Kondhs take yams which is a hot favourite with them as it is their staple food found all round the year. Usually it is cultivated as Kharif crops. Propagation by use of small tubers (seed yams), pieces of tuber on bulbils, usually intercropped with other crops in swiddens before or at the commencement of rains. Large yams are usually dug out by hand in January - February. Digging by digging rod is labourious as great care has to be taken to avoid damaging the tuber. They eat it after boiling.

Porcupines damage this crop to a great extent, who predatev over it by digging them out.

***Manihot esculenta*, CRANTZ (CASSAVA)**

It is the staple food of poor Kuttia Kondhs. It is a perennial shrub with enlarged tuberous roots. The plant is green or brownish in colour. It's fibrous roots, develop into tubers. It grows best in warm moist land in medium fertile soil. It is grown both as a pure crop and also mixed with vegetables. Kuttia Kondhs cultivate it in hill lands as a Kharif crop and in homestead land as Ravi crop. It is propagated by branch cuttings from mother stock plants twice a year, June and November. It is harvested in November and April when leaves begin to look yellowish and fall. In delayed harvest it yields more. It is eaten after boiling. It has wide acceptability due to its sweet taste. Porcupines also damage this crop.

SOLANUM TUBEROSUM, L. (POTATO)

Potato is a starchy staple food. But it does not have that acceptability by Kuttias as compared to yams. Normally, cultivated as an annual Ravi crop in plain lands. Kuttias do not grow it widely because of shortage of plain lands as well as for the practice which the crop needs. It is very much susceptible to forest during the early stages of growth. Sowing time is November. It is harvested in January - February.

IPOMOEA BATATAS, L. LAM. (SWEET POTATO)

This is regarded as the most important starch vegetable crop grown by Kuttias. It is a slender, prostrate, herbaceous vine, producing succulent tuberous roots. It needs a warm. moist climate and is grown in beds or ridges. Cropping time in July - August and harvested in December. It is eaten boiled. Its sweet taste has made the Kuttias to regard it as *Rani basanga* (Queen tuber).

CURCUMA LONGA, L. (TURMERIC)

Kondhs of Orissa are famous for cultivation of turmeric. But Kuttias cultivate very little. It is regarded as sacred and use is in ceremonial and religious functions. It grows best in deciduous monsoon forests. It is a pure culture. The crop is propagated as fingers or rhizomes during May - June as the Kharif crop. Crops mature by December when the leaves turn yellow. Rhizomes are usually dug out carefully by hand. Fingers and rhizomes are then separated. The rhizomes are boiled in water, sometimes by adding cowdung for a brighter colour which is polished over body. The fingers are ground and used in cooking. The buffer stock is sold. In very ancient days human sacrifice was being done in turmeric fields for its good colour.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS USED

The tools and implements used in shifting cultivation are very simple and crude such as hoes, crow bars tinny mattocks and picks. Two types of country ploughs (*Nangeli*) for hilly land and plain land are used. *Sechipala Nangeli* and *Kasna Pala Nangeli* are used which is pulled by bullock and by buffalo respectively. The bullock plough is used to cultivate stony hard soil. The shaft of the plough is usually made from *Dengen mara (Xylia xylocarpa)*. But if *Muje mara (Dalberghia sissoo)* or *Sargi mara (Shorea robusta)* are used it's durability is upto 5/6 years. The bullock plough has a pointed iron plate and the buffalo plough is not so pointed.

Yoke for ploughs are mainly made of *Xylia xylocarpa*, *Kendu mara (Diospyros melanoxylon)*, *Gamber (Gmelina arborea)* or *Bengeri (Pterocarpus marsupium)*. *Daman mara (Grewia tiliaefolia)* and is used to make small parts of yoke.

For ploughing, two types of yokes are used one is *kila Juadi* and the other is *palka Juadi*. *Kila juadi* is pulled by bullock and *palka juadi* is pulled by buffalo. Another type of yoke is also made which is used for work - animals who pull carts. For weeding and levelling purposes *'Date'* (harrow) is used which possesses a number of wooden teeth.

DESIGN OF CROPS IN BAGAD

Swiddening is a multiple cropping system. But during the onset of this cultivation, Kuttias take some care in the arrangements of crops in the field. After the slashing and burning of vegetation, marking the individual field area becomes an important factor. Fields are marked out by crop fencing. Usually, the castor seeds and maize seeds, and sometimes sorghum seeds are used for fencing. The seeds are put in dibbled holes on the boundary of the field, so that the field can be marked. The above mentioned crops are tall species and so if they are planted with a particular spacing makes a distinguishing fence. The border of one field planted with castor seeds of one cultivator follows the plantation of maize and sorghum for the other person whose area begin from the same boundary. The other side boundary of the second person may be planted with castor seeds. It goes on like this to differentiate patches of individual property.

The plantation of castor, pigeon pea, maize and sorghum as boundary species is beneficial to the Kuttia Kondhs. The above named species except maize take a long period to complete their life cycle. They also have a long dormancy. Maize which has a shorter life cycle compared to other can be collected easily on maturing from the boundary fence. This also keeps the other crops undisturbed.

In the second phase of sowing following the boundary species, all other crops are sown which include other pulses and vegetables like cucumber, pumpkin etc. Seeds of yams are put in dibbled holes on the boundary-fence, because its coiling stems can easily extend to castor plants. Among the pulses Jhudung (vigna indica) also has a coiling stem which needs support otherwise it lies prostrate on the ground. So at the time of sowing castor, Pigeon pea, maize, sorghum ... etc., the creeper like herbs are not planted to save the juvenile seedlings of the former by the coiling of the later.

The pulses and other vegetables thus are cultivated at random inside the boundary. Some of the boundary marking species are also sown with them. The ginger, Turmeric if grown are made into pure cultures with whom, the bird chilli species also share space. This seems to be a fair planning for harvest of bird chilli. The cassava is also planted at random. But to save the crop from damage by percupine who is very fond of cassava and yams such crops are regularly watched. Percupine traps are also kept at such places, when the crops attain medium maturity.

The finger millet, little millet and sometimes paddy are grown as pure crops. Paddy is cultivated at foot hills, essentially near a perennial source of water. The millets can be cultivated on hill lands. Sometimes the little millets are cultivated in the centre being surrounded by finger millets. It is because the finger millets being somewhat harder than little millets in stem rigidity, saves the latter from heavy wind during growth and maturity. This planning enable them to save the grain of little millet from shattering. At the time of harvest, little millets are harvested earlier than finger millets.

So a proper planning and good management of the cultivated species assures a good yield, as very little of the crops are damaged in the field.

Crops Cultivated	Type of Land	Kharif/ or Ravi	Type/Time of Cropping	Time of Harvest	Subsistence/ Cash Crop.	Whether used as Fodder.
1. *Panicum miliare* KK Masa/Kueri O : Suan Eng Common (Little Millet.)	Dryland	Kharif	Millet July	Dec-Jan	Subsistence	Yes
2. *Eleusine coracana* KK : Mande O Mandia Eng Finger Millet	Dry	-do-	Millet June - July	Dec.	do	Husk used
3. *Sorghum* KK Kredanga O Jonna Eng Sorghum	-do-	-do-	-do- June-July	Dec.	do	
4. *Pennisetum typhoides* KK : Arka O : Bajra Eng : Bajra	Dry	Kharif	Millet June	Dec.	Subsistence	Husk used
5. *Vigna indica* O K Jhudunga	Dry	-do-	Pulses June	Dec.	Both as subsistence & cash crop.	Legume coat used

Crops Cultivated	Type of Land	Kharif/ or Ravi	Type, Time of Cropping	Time of Harvest	Subsistence-Cash Crop.	Whether used as Fodder.
6. KK : Kaudaka O : Kating	Dry	Kharif	Pulses June	Dec.	Both as subsistence & cash crop	Legume coat used
7. *Phaseolus mungo* O/KK : Biri Eng : Black gram	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	Cash crop	Legume coat used
8. *Zea mays* KK : Pokanga O : Makka Eng : Maize	-do-	-do-	Cereal June - July	Oct.	Subsistence & cash crop	Pigeats the rest part (cob)
9. *Oryza sativa* KK : Kulinga O : Dhan Eng : Paddy	-do- (Foot hill)	-do-	-do-	Dec.	Subsistence	Husk & Straw
10. *Ricinus communis* KK : Kabang O : Jada Eng : Castor	-do-	-do-	Oil seed June-July	Feb-Mar	Cash crop	Not used
11. *Guizotia abyssinica* O/KK Tila Eng Niger	-do- (Foot hill & Plane Land Winter	-do-	Oil seed October	Feb.	-do-	-do-
12. *Brassica campestris* O/KK : Soris Eng Mustard	Dry Land	Ravi	Oil Seed October	Feb.	Cash crop	-do-
13. *Cajanus cajan* KK Kanga O Kandula Eng Pigeon pea	-do-	Kharif	Pulses June July	January	Subistence & cash crop	Legume coat

Crops Cultivated	Type of Land	Kharif/ or Ravi	Type/Time of Cropping	Time of Harvest	Subsistence/ Cash Crop.	Whether used as Fodder.
14. *Capsicum frute scens* (Pata-Rajeni) KK Pata Rajeni O Dhanua Lanka Eng : Bird Chilli	Dry Land	Kharif & Ravi	May & June	Nov - Dec.	Subsistence & cash crop	No use
15. *Curcuma longa* KK Meranga O Haldi Eng : Turmeric	-do-	Kharif	June	Dec.	-do-	-do-
16. *Zingiber officinalis* O/KK : ADA Eng : Ginger	Foot Hill Home Stead	-do-	September	Dec.	-do-	-do-
17. *Cucumis sativa* KK : Mundranga O : Kakudi Eng : Cucumber	Dry Land	-do-	Vegetable June - July	October	Subsistence	-do-
18. *Cucurbita maxima* *O/KK Kumuda* Eng Pumpkin	-do-	-do-	-do-	Nov.	-do-	-do-
19. *Lagenaria vulgaris* KK : Anka O Lau	-do-	-do-	Vegetable August - September	December - January	-do-	-do-
20. *Dioscorea alate* *D : bulbifera* *D : pentaphyla* *D : glabra* *D wallichi(wild)* KK Basanga O Matialu Eng Yam	Dry Land	All Season	Vegetable (Tuber) June-July	June - July	Subsistence	No use
21. *Ipomoea batatas* KK:Rani Basanga O :Kandamula Eng:Sweet Potato	-do-	Ravi	-do- August	Dec.	-do-	-do-

Crops Cultivated	Type of Land	Kharif/ or Ravi	Type/Time of Cropping	Time of Harvest	Subsistence/ Cash Crop.	Whether used as Fodder.
22. *Tapioca* KK : Mara Basanga O : Gachha Kanda Eng : Cassava.	Dry Land	Kharif & Ravi	Tuber June - November	Nov.- April	Subsistence	No use
23. *Solanum* O/KK Alu Eng Potato	Plane Land	Ravi	Bulb	January February	-do-	-do-

TABLE - IV

Name of the crop	Quantity of seeds sown in Kg.	Value in money as per market	Yield of each crop in	Money value (market in Rs.	Marketable/Hours hold consumption
Finger Millet	8	Rs.32/-	200	800/-	Consumption
Bajra	2	Rs. 9/-	30	135/-	-do-
Sorghum	2	Rs. 9/-	25	115/-	-do-
Little Millet	4	Rs. 8/-	65	130/-	-do-
Castor	5	Rs.30/-	100	600/-	Market (80Kg.) rest for successive cropping oil purpose.
Pigeon pea	4	Rs.30/-	150	1200/-	120 Kgs to market.
Jhudunga	5	Rs.35/-	125	750/-	100 Kgs to market
Kating	3	Rs.15/-	75	300/-	Market
Black gram	3	Rs.24/-	45	225/-	Market
Cassava	30 plants				
Maize	1	Rs.6/-	1000 nos	200/-	Consumption
Pumpkin			80 nos		-do-
Cucumber			300 nos		-do-
Bird Chilli	0.20	Rs.10/-	8	400/-	Market 5 kgs.
Niger	4	Rs.30/-	125	1000/-	Market
Mustard	3	Rs.30/-	100	700/-	Market
Potato					
Ginger					
Yam	5	Rs.25/-	200	1000/-	Consumption
Sweet Potato	3	Rs.15/-	50	250/-	-do-

PRODUCTIVITY IN SWIDDENS - A CASE STUDY

This case study relates to Gunugutu Majhi of village Burlubaru. He is a political head of the village. He is an elected member of the Gram Panchayat. He has three sons and two daughters. One of his sons has passed matriculation and is now a student of Government College Angul. Working member in his family are four i.e. he & his wife and two sons. He is the richest man in Burlubaru village. He derives income from swiddening, plain land paddy cultivation and by selling milk of buffaloes and cows. He possesses about 12 acres of swiddens in three hills and two and half acres of plane land. A budget of his input and output in swiddens is given.

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT ANALYSIS

Even before the sprouting of civilization, forests have become a foster mother to agriculture. It can't be however denied that the societies have passed through the stage of shifting cultivation which in a sense was the earlier sylvicultural practice. (Since times immemorial the practice of shifting cultivation persists among primitive communities as a seasonally regulated sequence of procedures designed to open up and bring under cultivation patches of forest land usually in the hilly regions. The environmental crisis born from the practice of shifting cultivation has become a great problem today.

Shifting cultivation, is not a problem as long as the land-man ratio is favourable. With the growth of the local population the fallow period between two cropping seasons is reduced leading to rapid depletion of soil fertility. Larger trees of the forest have to bear the brunt of shifting cultivation so it has been condemned as ruinous and wasteful. (It is the cause of drying of springs, accelerated soil erosion, destruction of valuable forests, ecological imbalance affecting the atmosphere and rainfall. It is the sole factor for deforestation, loss of diversity, both flora and fauna and environmental crisis in a natural habitat).

Forest ecosystem is complex consisting of vegetation and wildlife. The ecological balance has been shaken enough by destructive activities of slashing and burning. Continuous slashing and burning of forests have not only minimised the vegetation cover, but also interfered in the community and succession of plants and trees. By repeated burning the lands become dry and hard. Hence, retrogression has set up in bringing xerophytic conditions. With continuous slashing and burning the pattern of vegetation has also been changed. In some cases it has been observed that the stocks of timber trees have already been burnt (forests around *Kusumunda*, Belghar). So when the shifting fields are abandoned for recuperation, shrubs only appear, old stumps of under trees regerminate, but timber species are disappearing. The forests which are moist deciduous types by nature with close canopy give

massive output of water vapours by transpiration. This may change to dry deciduous types with minimised water output which may also cause the lowering down of water level of the soil. At the time of the burning of the forests, wild life of that particular region migrates to a safer region and so the plant and animal interaction in the said area is hampered. May be it is safeguarded because the animals are thus spared from being burnt by fire and are able to have future interaction.

Some important plant species of the locality which have high economical value particularly the household artifacts of Kuttia Kondhs are endangered. Such species have lost their identity in some particular parts of forests, where they were found abundantly before. Particularly the species like *Dillenia pentagyna, Dalberghia sissoo, Gmelina arborea* are rarely found in the ,locality. *Diospyros melanoxylon, Grewia tiliaefolia, Pterocarpus marsupium* are in decreasing trend. Many important species are found to be threatened.

Animal species like deer, four horned antilope, Sambar, wild boar are very rare now. According to Kuttia Kondhs such animal species were once found like domestic animals in the forests, they are now being threatened. Further they also give a picture of desertification of forests, the change in the plant and animal communities. The source being their oral lore and perception.

Leaf falling of tree species in forests are some times the theme of a song for entertainment. It goes like

"Rael aku gada gada
Sargi aku pada pada
Mardi aku biri bara
Sikeri aku sar sar"

The oral lore is more often used as a metaphor to indicate the nature and sound of leaf shedding their leaves by above trees. The *Rael Mara (Dillenia pentagyna)* has broayleaves which when falls make a heavy sound. The *sargi (Shorea robusta), Mardi (Terminalia tomentosa) Sikeri (Accasia pinnata)* shed their leaves with a sound as mentioned earlier. People of older generation explain this phenomenon as a retrogression in the evolution of plants. In their myth, it has been described that, *Dillenia pentagyana* was the first tree born from the Sambar; the precursor of all trees and plants. Its leaves are broad as the ear of Sambar from which it evolved. But in course of time the broad sized leaves of *Dillenia pentagyna* hampered the growth of other trees growing under it as its leaves acted as a barrier for distribution of sun light to other trees. Again, with a stormy blow of wind, such trees were easily affected. So nature tries to bring out small leaved trees so that

sun light can be equally distributed to all plants and even with less water absorption they can survive. As their words go 'Ejusilae' (Waterlessness) and 'Wedasilae' (lightlessness) are the destructive factors for the *Jella* (Life) of trees. So in the sequence when the above factors become more influencing on the life cycle of a tree, the tree species become smaller and smaller and give rise to many other plant species. As it goes *Dillenia pentagyna* gave rise to *Shorea robusta* and then it moved as *Shorea robusta* to *Terminalia tomentosa - Accassia pinnata - Phoenix sylvestris - Phoenix acaulis - Thysanolaena maxima - Bamboosa bamboos - Arundo donax*. This retrogressive evolution is known as '*Sal to Salia*' hypothesis. As a matter of fact, the Phoneix species, *Thysanolaena maxima, Acassia pinnata* are more or less xerophytic by nature. So from a deciduous forest of sal after continuous cycles of shifting cultivations bamboos arise. This explanation definitely gives some views of progressive desertification.

The problem of soil erosion due to shifting cultivation calls for immediate attention. Kuttia Kondhs do not make terraces or embankments at the time of swiddening to prevent soil erosion. As a result in times of heavy showers of rain the top soil is washed away. Again, due to continuous slashing, the vegetation can hardly prevent soil erosion because anchorage of soil by root system of vegetation becomes very poor or negligible. Even in some patches of land, the soil erosion has been so severe that, the lands seems to have no soil but stones only. Many patches of hilly lands around Belghar area have been severely affected by soil erosion.

SWIDDENING - A NECESSARY EVIL

Kuttia Kondhs are traditional swiddeners and it is hard to stop it. On one side they are getting better yield from this practice and on the other side no visible alternatives are found which can meet the subsistence requirements of the Kuttias. One will definitely prefer a multi-culture of food crops than a pure culture of the same. So, the Kuttia Kondhs give priority to the multiple cropping in swiddens than cultivating paddy in low land fields.

The multiple cropping in swiddens provides for their food, fodder and cash crops, whereas the paddy cultivation can give no cash as paddy lands are very few. The yield of paddy is insufficient to meet their demand of food for the whole year. The swiddens are their second home. It appears that swiddens are their nurturing habitat and the village is a stable and resting habitat. So it is not practicable to remove them from such habitats.

Swiddening is a necessary evil in this regard as it has been and still is a way of their life. They are aware of the loss of the quality of the environment but they are bound to continue with it. The livelihood of a human society who is dependent on swiddens is considered more important than the loss within the environment. Further the regeneration of vegetation during fallow periods is optimal and citing

this case they feel that the nature still has the co-operation with their practice. The regeneration is fast and so they do not feel that the productivity of soil is so much depleted.

From the multiple cropping system, the soil is also benefited. As it is, they cultivate much of leguminous crops in swiddens. Scientifically speaking, such crops add sufficient nitrogen to the soil from the atmosphere. The leguminous crops have the ability to fix the atmospheric nitrogen in the soil in forms of nitrogenous compounds (oxides) which can be easily assimilated by plants. Further when they harvest crops, they collect the crops and seeds but do not clear the plant species. This ultimately adds sufficient humus to the soil which increases soil fertility. If compared to the increase in fertility of the soil by decomposition of leaf litter of the forest vegetation, the crop plant residues are doing no less. Though due to innudation of permanent vegetations the problem of soil erosion becomes more acute.

To stop the continuing slash and burn cultivation, the Podu Control Scheme was launched by the Government. The project continued for a period of five years as it started from 1987-88 to 1991-92. The Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA) was managing the Podu Control Scheme in the Podu Control Project at Belghar area of Phulbani District. 58 number of villages come under the Podu Control Project in Belghar area. The total project outlay was Rs.377.70 lakhs, out of which to Rs. 145.90 lakhs of funds were allocated till the end of March 1991. Progressive utilization of funds fill the end of March 1991 was Rs.116.06 lakhs, the balance of funds available till the end of March 1991 was Rs.29.84 lakhs. The funds likely to be available during 1991-92 was Rs.231.80 lakhs. Ultimately approximate allocation of funds per village was Rs.6.52 lakhs. The Podu prevention control aimed at the development of Kuttia Kondhs. Its main objective was to stop Podu cultivation . Though it has not been practicable to stop the practice completely, controlling it to some extent has been possible.

Since there seems to be no immediate alternative to prevent shifting cultivation, it calls for measures meant to improve the techniques of shifting cultivation, diversification of cropping patterns and increasing productivity of the lands put under shifting cultivation so that the practice can be progressively confined to a small area. However, the growth of scientific knowledge led to the recognition of the important protectionist rule of forest in controlling soil erosion, simultaneous precipitation and maintaining ecological equilibrium.

Shifting cultivation, though is a determinant of deforestation and environmental crisis, is not purely an unscientific practice.

Shri M.S. Sivaraman, one time member planning commission (1953) held

his opinion that ...

"It is a mistake to assume that shifting cultivation in itself is unscientific land use. Actually it is a practical approach to certain inherent difficulties in preparing a proper seed bed in steep slopes where any disturbance of the surface by hoeing or ploughing will result in washing away of the fertile top soil. The tribal people therefore, take care not to plough or disturb the soil before sowing. The destruction of weed and improved tilth necessary for proper seed bed are achieved with the help of fire. In most of the interior areas where communication is not developed and sufficient land suitable for terracing is not available. Jhuming alone can be done for the present and as such every effort should be made to improve of the fertility of Jhummed land"

11

LIFE IN FOREST : A MODE OF PRESERVATION AND CONSERVATION OF KUTTIA KONDHS

LIFE IN FOREST

Love for nature is a unique characteristic of Kuttia Kondhs and their association with it is since time immemorial. Their association with the forests has given birth to their myths and legends, ideas of evolutio and a specific identity - that they are a forest dwelling community. Their love for the nature and the forests are reflected in their cultural traditions, religion and in their social organitations which still function as a legacy of the past. Forest as a part of the Nature has cultivated in them the religious ideas, moral values (expressed in their myths and sentiments) and has designed their pattern oflife and living in concentric forest-clad patches, hills and mountains. Their ideas of living inside the forests and their love of forests as a part of the nature attract the remarks of Alfred Hillebrandt, The celebrated orientalist of Germany, in connection with the Hindu's love of nature in India. "Love of nature in India goes as far back as its literature. The changes through which we have passed, have not dominated India. It has maintained a cramming for the peaceful tranquility of the forest, where the penitent found an escape from wariness of life, for the holy bathing places and pilgrimage which glorify his legends and also for the mountains, upon whose sparkling peaks, Gouri and Shankar reside. It has better preserved the contact with nature than many other people". Similarly the Kuttia Kondhs love for Nature can be elucidated. The community lives in the peaceful tranquility of the forest, maintaining a life of no worries, finds its place in between the penu at the top and the bottom, has a myth of origin from forests and has preserved the contact with forests vis-a-vis Nature since primordial times till today. The Kuttia Kondhs are accustomed to a style of living where they feel that forest is closely interwined with them and their culture is attuned to it.

In Kui language the Kuttia Kondhs describe the forest as their living space and in fact their very existence itself. They understand the forest with reference to Sapangada - gada or a hole at Sapangada. From here, they say, all living beings including man emerged. The Kui language is deeply anchored in their thinking pattern and dwelling in the forest landscape. The sense in which life and dwelling in forest is understood by them is in contrast to the migrants who come to stay (in the forest) and do not understand the forest as a living space. For this reason, the language of migrants does not address itself to the ideas of living in a forest. Kuttia Kondhs feel, that Kui language is a contemplaton of their living space. The language carries various aspects of their living space. For the Kuttia Kondhs Kui language permeates a sense of well - being specific to their forest living space.

Kuttia Kondhs, as culture-oriented, intend to continue their practice of shifting cultivation which is the oldest trait of their tradition connected with livelihood in the forest habitat. It is but natural for the tradition-bound people to keep themselves engaged in the age-old shifting cultivation. The settled cultivation which was addopted later on also forms a significant part of their livelihood. The Shifting Cultivation is their subsistence cultivation whereas the settled cultivation relates to their cash crop cultivation. Their participation in the market and governmental development programmes is restrained because they do not see any viable alternative mode of earning a livelihood.

The Kuttia Kondhs by combining subsistence crop cultivation along with cash crop cultivation view that the loss of forest (caused by the denudation) and deforestation cannot be compensated, by a complete switch over to cash crop cultivation. The uncertainty of the cash market, according to them, needs the stability of a subsistence crop cultivation along with the cash crop. In the existing circumstances their mode of earning a living in a forest as well as the non forest dwellers tradition (of living outside it) are conditioned to both. Their experience and knowledge are assimilated in both the systems with more inclination to shifting cultivation.

In the distant past, Kuttia Kondhs say, there were no tradition of settled cultivation as a means of their livelihood. Their ancestors were clinging to the method of shifting cultivation which was their subsistence crop. Then there was no market. Gradually the scene changed. Idea of a market came to them through the non tribal people, especially in this context, the Pano people who carried to them the essential market materials and goods. To get such goods the Kuttia Kondhs had to spare a portion of their subsistence economy or the crops harvested from shifting cultivation to the Panos who brought to them such goods. So the subsistence crop i.e. the crops cultivated in shifting cultivation served two purposes (1) to meet the consumption needs of the household and (2) to meet the need of market items. The demand of market items gained importance in the tribal life. For

example, the clothes. Kuttia Kondhs believe that when they came into being they were keeping themselves nude, although nobody had seen such a distant past. Further, awareness led them to use leaves from the trees in forests to wrap around their private parts. This continued till the handloom clothes were brought to them by Panos - the migrants, to their villages. They took interest in such clothes. In turn they had to part with a huge quantity from their subsistence crops as cost of the cloths. They thus came to know about the marketable items. They realised the utility of such clothes in comparision to their leaf wrappings. This is the Kuttia Kondhs idea of knowing the market. It may seen like a tale or fictions that the first market good brought to them made them aware of the market. But the present day Kuttia Kondha hold that, it was the beginning of their awarene towards a market. Gradually, other items of market reached them through the non-tribals. Their orientation towards market goods cultivated a larger interest in them. Gradually their demands increased and they participated in the market directly without communicating through the non-tribals who were more or less their inmates in forests. At present, the Kuttia Kondhas are fully participating in the market economy. They thus adopted to settled cultivation side by side with shifting cultivation, one for subsistence and the other for market (cash). This orientation towards both subsistence and cash economy dragged the tribals towards markets and left them at a place where they remained at a transition from their indigenous tradition to the market tradition. But the habitat is yet to be changed. They are still a forest dwelling community and the market tradition is a supplementary addition to their culture. The market has become a part of their cultural complex.

The Kuttia Kondhs living inside the forest has made them to keep multidimensional relations with the forest world. They have old relationship with forests. Their dependence on the forests is not only on economic grounds but also for their social, cultural and emotional needs. Their dependence is not only limited to firewood for domestic energy as well as warmth and timbers for constructing house, but also for food in form of various fruits, seeds, leaves, succulent shoots, tubers and medicines. But those Kuttia Kondhs who live in the society of forests also encroach government forest lands. This they do with a feeling that they are the first inhabitants of forest which is their property exclusively. This is a common saying heard from old traditional Kuttia Kondhs. They encroach forest lands for cultivation and settlements. Both the needs are equally important. Life in a forest is dependent on two main things - food and shelter. Cultivation on forest lands is very much preferred by this tribe for two reasons, firstly forest lands to them appear to be more productive than any other type of landand secondly, forest lands are in the vicinity of their habitations. They feel that it is forest that provide lands for all to cultivate. Owning forest lands satisfies not only their economy, both subsistence and crop but also the emotional needs. This hill-land cultivation became a relic of primitive cultures of Kuttia Kondhs which was later known as shifting cultivation.

Their culture persisted on hilly, forested and relatively inaccessible areas. The beginning of shifting cultivation was marked with one or two crops. The same method of practice, continues till today. After the first cultivation the forest tract is left for 15 to 20 years before he returns to it. This interval is regarded as a resting period for the land. This long rest period given to the hill lands put an effect on their group life and made them nomadic. It was then, that started to think of a well made social organization and a settled life, when along with shifting cultivation the settled cultivation was started. Kuttia Kondhs are still staying as back water of this evolutionary stream sticking to shifting cultivation. The practice has by now been converted to the very ethos of Kuttia Kondhs. Clearing of forests for shifting cultivation is more or less a community effort for, they are mostly organised by co-operative labour system. The allocation of plots in the cleared land to individuals or families is also a community decision. The practice is therefore, an edifice on which the community structure revolves. The practice gives the tribal people a sense of belonging to the community. For this, they feel that shifting cultivation has carried their life in forest habitations.

But shifting cultivation is not the only thing for which Kuttia Kondhs depend upon the forests. As, has been pointed out in the chapter "Social Meaning of Resource—", they support their life system on two types of economy, agriculture economy and hunter - gatherer economy. This makes the mode of the tribes dependent on the forests on economic grounds. The Kuttia Kondhs dependence on hunter-gatherer economy needs no more mention. For, being a forest dwelling community, hunting and gathering are not new to them, rather it is too old a way of maintaining themselves. Being a primitive tribe, they have passed through the stages of hunting and gathering mode of life to the shifting and settled cultivation. This is the chronological order of development of human civilization as a whole and this idea can be applied also to the Kuttia Kondh society. Their pattern of livelihood is still conditioned to the forests and is away from the mainstream of civilization. Hunting and gathering in forests is running along with shifting and settled cultivation.

Since long the Kuttias have been occupying the forested region. Though they have lived in isolation for long, they are living in harmony with forests and drawing their sustenance largely from forests. Their life is connected in one way or the other to forests right from the birth to death. Forest has been the last succour to them in times of distress like famine, natural calamities etc. It has been pointed out earlier that periodically they visit distant patches of forests, for, some of their traditional requirements however insignificant they may appear to others. Forest has been providing all their necessities. For a long period in history they subsisted with reasonable standard of health and abode mainly because the forest provided them with food, clothing, shelter, medicines ..etc. No forces either natural or man-

made disturbed them in their forest dwelling.

In the Kuttia Kondhs economic life, forest has been occupying the central position. A change in forests or any thing that affected the forest, affected their life directly or indirectly. Forest represented and also represents for them a whole way of life, a home, a culture, a worship, food income and everything.

Kuttia Kondhs cultural and social life is closely interlinked with their forest habitat which is regarded as a deity on whose blessings the tribe survives. Not only are they familiar with a number of biological species around them, but also they possess lots of understanding of ecological inter-relationship of the various components of forests. They have appropriate knowledge and skills of gathering minor forest produces from the forests.

Kuttia Kondhs depend upon forests for fuel-wood, charcoal, poles and logs, gums, resins and oil, carpentry and crafts, medicines, mushrooms, wildlife, leaves...etc. which they use for themselves or dispose them in markets for cash. This gives a good benefit to them in consideration to jobs and other source of incomes. For household needs they get fuelwood and charcoal, building materials, poles, fodder and forage, fruits, nuts, honey and materials for thatching and weaving, medicines ...etc. On environmental considerations they derive benefit from forest which provides fertile soil for cultivation and a better yield, water resources, shade, protection from wind and rain. Thus they acquire a lot of benefits from forests in various ways. They are so accustomed to these benefits that they can not live without it. To get benefit from the forest, not only the able bodied workers but also the old infirm as well as children frequent it as a part of their daily routine.

Their sentimental attachment with the forest world impel them to regard it as penu's (God) gift to them. Their folklore, oral traditions have portrayed their relationship with forest. Many of their rites and rituals, festivals are done in forests which is an indication of their cultural attachment. In such rituals many forest produces are used in one way or the other. Many plants, roots, leaves, flowers, climbers, grasses needed in performance of their magico-religious rites, are procured from it. In their cultural traditions they pay great reverence to trees which are considered as representation of godly beings or symbols of gods or as abode of gods and goddesses. Those trees form a greater part of their indigenous forests.

Their indigenous knowledge is shaped from the experiences they gather from forests and natural phenomena. This enables them to forecast a weather, and to forecast a cultivation. Their indigenous knowledge has enabled them to be unique among the indigeneous communities.

Kuttia Kondhs believe in a give and take relationship with the forest. On material grounds, they feel , they can not give anything to the forests. They believe

in both i.e. 'live and let live' for forests that are virgin in terms of plants, trees and animals and 'let live and live' for forests that are heavily exploited. This is better marked from their sacred feelings attached to the forests. Great number of forests and hills constitute their sacred geography with specific godly attributes to each of their parts. A list of hills and forests denominated by various thoughts, feelings, legendary tales and religious attributes are mentioned in the sacred geography in the chapter "Denomination of forests and its parts". These sacred attributes of the tribe to forests or their parts give an idea of their conservation and a friendly relation with forests. Living amidst the forests is their interest which has led them to regard it as sacred forests, sacred hills and sacred groves etc.

Kuttia Kondhs are now regarded as outsiders in their own home by the non-tribals who visit them with specific purposes. The commercial exploitation by those people have broken the tribals interest of conservation and preservation. In the name of development of the tribe, attempts are being made to put the Kuttia Kondhs in crisis. They are put to multiferious problems and dangers. In all the developmental activities, Kuttia Kondhs feel that they are very small participants or beneficiaries. They also feel that they are half way through being driven out from their home exploited and alienated by outsiders. They are feeling insecure and desolate.

The symbiotic relationship of the Kuttia Kondhs with forests need a little elucidation here. On one hand, the forest supports the tribal people and on the other, the Kuttia Kondhs preserve and consume the forests by use of their indigenous knowledge and traditional processes and feelings. This is their feeling since the day Kuttia Kondh came into being. He feels that forest is for him and of him. It conditions its culture and society. Kuttia Kondh accuse that those who have not seen the forests are posing themselves as their preservers and conservers.

The Kuttia Kondhs collectively claim that they should not be deprived of their rights and demands on the forests. For, they point out that they are the first inhabitants of the forests, they have been brought up on its lap and they have developed their cultures in a manner of symbiotic association. They regard the forest as their main resource; they regard lands as the successors of forests in terms of resource (the logic in favour of it is given in the chapter "Social Meaning of Resource and Rationality of Management) and for all these benefits they accumulate from forests the immediate sustenance of their lives, they act and do for its preservation and conservation.

From the above discussion it prompts us to indicate the interrelation of Kuttia with forest. Thus the tribe and the forests are two counterparts of nature as understood by them. A number of steps of their interrelation are arranged in a sequential and balanced way. To them their life means forest. This is the essence of their lives in the forest.

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LIFE IN FOREST : THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF DISCOURSE

Kuttia kondhs know of the forest as a place of work, where they make clearings to shape it into a home, a village settlement. They are socialized in casteless society which gives freedom to know-taste, touch, smell, see and hear all forest products. The non-tribal dwellers of plains know the forest as a reservoir of natural renewable resources and not as home. They continue to live in caste ridden society which restricts freedom to know the forest in any way other than a reservoir of resource.

Their socialization in the modern world begins with their contact with traders and government officers who impel them to live in areas where forest productivity (forest produces and produces from shifting cultivation) is substantially reduced or where there is restricted supply of forest produce used for daily life.

In areas where the Kuttia Kondhs traditions of work such as, of food collection, of shifting cultivation and of horticulture are alive and active, their method specifies minimum requirement, of time, space, materials, work relations and knowledge for it and leads them to be counter productive by the nature of work. There they are not subjected to any crisis. Their social life in relation to the forests remain in a way far from a crisis when they experience a sense of social relation with the forest through work patterns and deduce their constructive thoughts for a good and desirable life and perfect well-biing. However, their concept of well-biing and to feel easy with the forests in a forest habitation is a result of their friendly dealings with the forests, with a relation of mutual aid to each other. Their respective experiences about their well-biing and associations with forests is commensurate with the question of preservation and conservation. This notion of their well-being, work, rest and leisure in relation to forests shape their respective discourse of the phenomenon of preservation and conservation. Therefore, their sense of well-being is specific to their forest living spaces. Accordingly Kuttia Kondhs believes their relation with forests is shaped appropriately with regard to time, place and action. This has two aspects. Firstly, specific situations and events spell out their specific relation with forests and secondly, a situation may provoke to shape a dealing with forests. But in either case the Kuttia Kondhs use their full intent intellect to shape the situation to go in favour of them and the forest, for, their well-biing is determined with that.

About their well-being, Kuttia Kondhs are sensitive to the modes of doing and thinking which they feel is appropriate in consideration to time, situation and the subjects, forests or themselves. Their quest is to accomplish peace and well-being which is always derived from the wise mode of interaction. Therefore, the Kuttia Kondhs continue to live in the manner they are familiar with and this they

think is the most appropriate behaviour and response to their notion of well-being. They are reluctant to live a life in the manner the outsiders and non-tribals live. They are aware of the changes the government attempts to bring about. They may be uprooted from their natural habitat and the forests will not be available to them to continue to earn a livelihood. In these conditions the Kuttia Kondhs feel that their well-being and notion of good and desirable life in the forest is endangered.

Time and again the Kuttia Kondhs have reiterated their desire to continue their practice of living in forest. They have expressed this view with the assertion that they do not wish to abandon the place of their dwellings and their practice with the forest for a livelihood. For, Kuttia Kondhs believe that their well-being lies in that which they do not want to lose. This is not merely their sentimental attachment to their place of origin. On the contrary, it is the most practical work to do. This response is based on the view that one must continue to do what one knows best. For, the master of art always acts with a constructive thought. They know how ill-equipped they are to successfully earn a sustainable livelihood in the market and at the same time they are aware of how ill-equipped the government is to prepare them for participation in modes of living outside the forest. Lack of an ensured alternate livelihood hence becomes the crux of the problems.

The Kuttia Kondh's life in forest has been confronted with a large number of problems. They have developed a complex that they are no more regarded as a forest dwelling community by others. They like very much to be regarded as a forest dwelling community for, their ethos and sentiments are very much associated with forests. A very old Kuttia Kondha man of Muskasouru village Dati Majhi by name may be taken here as an example. In his everyday life he used to go out from his home after having food to watch the forests. His Bagad was some distance away from his home. There was a large rock on which he sits the whole day. To him the rock is as dear as his home. He talks to nobody, likes to keep quiet. He sits in deep contemplation and thinks on his own. He was consulted many times during the investigation. He is regarded as a resource person about Kuttia Kondh's traditional way of living. But it was quite hard to get a response to a question. But he took a great interest one day to divulge all his feelings when he was asked about what pleasure he gets by sitting on the rock and looking towards the forests the whole day. His emotion burst out. He became emotional and responded to the question in kui language, translation of which is given here.

"What I get from here is not known to me exactly. But I find this place more than anything else in my known world. Since my boyhood I am sitting on this particular place, watching the forests, cattle, streams flowing down from the rock. But at present I feel as if the place is calling me all the time. Because I have already reached the time (age) to leave my friends and relatives. I can't watch the forests, this enchanting landscape and have the pleasure anymore. Therefore, I am

spending most of my time here. For, once I am out of life it would mean being out of forests also. The same thing happens to me at present. I feel, if I am out of forest I will be out of life too.

This can said to be an emotional outburst of the man. But it is a fact, and a reality. There is a secret charm which Kuttia Kondhs get out of forests. They admit that throughout their whole life they have got everything from the forest. Forest will live forever but they will not live. The truth is that 'life is mortal'. They feel forest is standing there only to cater to the needs of the Kuttia Kondhs and to preserve their lives. Both are true.

Kuttia Kondhs believe that their society will exist, with its traditional structure, configuration, culture, beliefs and ideas. This they consider from many angles of their socialization with the forest world. They want to live as a part of the forest with all their good will for its preservation and conservation. The point at which the Kuttia Kondhs halt to give explanation about their life in forest in the very social context is, 'we want to live, not exist'. This is the very perception of Kuttia Kondhs about their life in forest. There lies their life, their notion of well-being and feeling of long eternal continuity of the race.

LIFE IN FOREST :RELATION BETWEEN TRIBALS AND NON-TRIBALS

"We are Adivasi. The Panos are not Adivasi. We live in the deep forest, they live in plains. We are the first inhabitants, they followed us. We emerged from Sapangada, they came afterwards. We love forests, they fear forests. Forest is our dwelling place. Kuttia is the king, the Pano is his minister. We are living for forests, they are living for us. We produce from fields and forests, they take them to market. Yet Panas are our immediate non-tribal people with whom we deal a lot. We vary in great many respects, yet are friends. They provide us with salt, dry fish, Mahua liquor and buffalo when we need".

This is what Kapera Majhi of village Saperivatta once said about the Kuttia kondhs relationship with Pano people. Who though they live with them in the same way, yet are not oldest inhabiants. Very concisely what Kapera Majhi said about the business of Panos and Kuttias, the status difference between former and the latter, the mode of livelihood pattern in between them encapsulates the relationship between the two communities. It is quite clear that both the communities are regarded as forest dwelling communities so far as the present discussions is concerned. The Panos are not fully tribal communities, rather they are migrants to the abode of Kuttias. Further, both the communities in the same patch share their livelihood as the forest dependents. Kuttias depend directly on forests whereas the Panos depend on it indirectly. The Panos depend upon forest through the Kuttia Kondhs and also for its produces. In the same way-Kuttias are known as shifting cultivators of the area for, Panos do not practice it they cultivate plain lands. A Pano

seldom has direct interference with forests for products. Obviously they depend upon them for firewoods and other minimum requirements of household use. But sometimes they collect it from the near by areas which do not have a very thick vegetation. What Kapera pointed out, probably is true. The pano community fears the forests as it does not have enough ideas about them, especially about the core region. The Panos do not even know enough about the places where specific materials are available.

This in general is the behavioural differences between the Kuttia Kondhs and the non-tribal Pano community so far as their relationship with forests is concerned. Both the communities differ a lot in their social and cultural behaviour, ethnicity language, customs, traditions, costumes etc. Still their lives in forest has made them to be similar in certain respects. Panos are lower caste Hindus and Kuttia Kondhs are a primitive tribe of Orissa. Both the societies share their livelihood from forests. directly and indirectly. The life of Kuttia Kondhs around Panos in the forest, and their relationship may be taken for a detailed understanding of the influence of one community over the other. This approach to study is basically an attempt to exactly evaluate the participation of Kuttia Kondhs in the market economy and their self perception about the market economy and their culture in the context of 'life in forest'.

Kuttia Kondhs are the first settlers of forest. Reasons for which they came and settled there and that time when they came and settled are not exactly known other than what they say. Their myth of origin relates that they were presented by nature directly through the Sapangada-gada. It is difficult to prove it historically but the fact is that, they evolved in the process of history similar to other communities.

Kuttia Kondhs of the present day know the Panos as migrants from plain areas. They came as visitors. Their interest was limited to the specific nature of their work. Some came in search of grazing land, others for specific forest produces. Over a period of time they settled in the neighbourhood of tribals. Their relation with the tribals was then amiable. As Kuttia Kondhs point out, the Panos were then dealing with them as. they did not know the forest landscape or they had little idea about the forest landscape. As strangers they maintained a friendly disposition, ready to co-operate whenever required. With the exception of salt this mode of behaviour provided for all other material necessities. But the tribals maintained their livelihood in the same manner as they are doing now. They had a rational idea of a good and desirable life which kept them on the track of relationship with the forests, inhabiting in the surroundings.

Kuttia Kondhs point out that the Panos were then the communicating agent between the hills and plains and more so between the forest and market. From the

plains they brought to the Kuttia Kondhs salt, match box, dry fish and many common requirements of daily life. The Kuttia Kondhs were attracted by the test of these. The tribals got the commodities from Panos through exchange in kind. For a measure of salt, a measure of Mahua flowers, paddy, cow-pea, pigeon pea was fixed. The quantity of crops that the Panos were taking in exchange then was many times more than the commodities they sold. This was the first relation of the tribals with their neighbouring non-tribals in terms of exchange of materials and goods. This dealing with Panos gave Kuttias the first idea of the market and the process of marketing.

Kuttia Kondhs feel that the Panos are inferior to them. Though both the communities were more or less depending upon a similar type of livelihood and food habits, culturally they are different. Kuttias are quite ego-centric about their origin which developed their ego with a feeling that they are presented by nature and are the first inhabitants. Besides, in behavioural pattern in the society, the Panos were taken as outsiders and like servants they carried goods to Kuttia Kondhs. In this way they were providing their services to the Kuttia Kondhs. The Kuttia Kondhs did not allow the Panos to live with them in their villages with this feeling of inferiority. Panos lived in the outskirts of Kuttia Kondh's villages, in comparatively plain areas. Their selection of settlement was basically on a consideration of easy communication with the market and the Kuttia Kondhs. Therefore, the Pano communities surrounded or encircled the Kuttia communities and lived in junctions between the market and the forest. Whenever the Kuttia kondh people took interest in markets, they were dissuaded "friendly" in a way by the Panos. The Panos provided the items that Kuttia Kondhs required. So the tribal people were getting materials from Panos and did not feeling like going to the market. Thus the direct participation of the Kuttias were checked by the Panos.

Gradually this service of the Pano community to Kuttias loosened and they became closely familiar with each other. In course of time there started a rivalry for space between them. When the market economy crept into the Kuttia Kondhs more Panos migrated to the area resulting in a rivalry between the two communities.

In due course governmental development programmes started in the areas of Kuttia Kondhs. Those programmes cultivated in their simple mind the lure of a market. They could fetch a good amount by selling their produces. Further, the developmental programmes motivated them to follow new traditions of work, to earn more with less inputs, introduced to them the cash crops and made them interested for direct participation in the market. The motivation for direct participation in market gained momentum in Kuttia Kondhs' society.

Developmental programmes brought other infrastructural facilities to the

Kuttia Kondha areas. They were motivated to participate with the provisions made for them through developmental programmes and infrastructural arrangements. The initiation of developmental programmes also brought many problems for the tribal people. The Kuttia Kondhs argue that they are yet to know what developmental programmes are being organized for them. There was no problem for them to maintain a livelihood in the forest. They argue that they are still to understand what was the crisis with them which called for developmental programmes.

With the launching of developmental programmes in the Kuttia Kondh locality migration of non-tribal people to the Kuttia Kondh locality became more and more. The workers in the infrastructure provision for developmental programmes account for a limited number of non-tribal migrants who have come earlier to the place for a temporary period. With the developmental programmes came permanent migrants who settled there as business people. Thus the market became broad and competitive.

The forest legislation came up with new provisions and regulations for the forest dwelling people. More and more patches of forests became restricted, protected and prohibited in the Kuttia Kondh locality. The tribals were given limited access into the forests as restrictions were imposed on them for shifting cultivation. The forest department people accused the tribal people as destroyers of forests through shifting cultivation. Restrictions were also imposed on their material needs from the forests. The government of India waived all restrictions on family planning (Appendix.c) of Kuttia Kondhs for they are regarded as a primitive tribe whose population growth rate is below the state average. Thus the Kuttia population grew up. The man to land ratio in shifting cultivation became less. The Kuttia Kondhs became restricted from all sides. In the mean time, in the name of developmental programmes, the Forest Department, the Kuttia Kondh Development Agency and other developmental agencies gave priority to horticulture, plantations and other forestry programmes. The tribal development agency and the Agriculture Department started motivating the tribal people for plain land cultivation programmes for which they also supplied seeds, fertilisers ...etc. In the name of development programmes, attempt is being made to drag the tribals to the mainstream, in order to weaken the tribe's relationship with the forests. As a result the tribe is dragged to participate in market directly. Many other factors are also at work. All those are responsible to remove the tribal people from the forest.

The tribal people feel that they are subjected to a combustion process. The fire has already been set. The sparks have already lit-up the crisis. The Kuttias feel that they are being killed indirectly. They point out that in the threshold of developmental programmes they are about to lose their livelihood. Their subsistence is being snatched away from them. The developmental programmes

have not got enough appreciation from the old tribal people, for they like to continue their life in forest as in the past.

LIFE IN FOREST : CONFRONTED WITH CRISIS

Kuttia Kondhs very clearly point out the crisis that is met with their pattern of living in the face of obstacles. Their crisis is due to various factors. But they are able to recall that they were subjected to a crisis with the approach of the developmental programmes in their area, which plan for upliffment of their standard of life and generation of awareness and actions to improve the quality of life. The Kuttia Kondhs feel that through these programmes there is an attempt to bring a change in their notion of well-being, preservation and conservation attitudes. So gradually they are impelled to adopt the other notion of well-being ; an improvement in standard of living, a boost up of the economy and orientation towards the so -called civilized world. The Kuttia Kondhs have not been able to find out yet what was wrong in their own standard of traditional living.

To exactly determine and evaluate the Kuttia Kondhs' understanding of a crisis, informal approach and group discussions were organized many times at different places. As pointed out earlier they are still in confusion and are not clear of what is the crisis with them. The crisis is understood through recent changes and developments in which they are not interested. The feeling of the Kuttia's to government programmes is expressed in the following statements. They short list the activities under developmental programmes with many questions.

"Our happy life in forest is in jeopardy for, we feel the forest legislation is prepared in a way that we cannot stay in forests anymore. Because we are deprived of our rights on forests, we are banned to continue shifting cultivation which is our only subsistence crop. Motivation and awareness generation programmes under Podu Prevention Scheme and increase in forest areas as protected and prohibited forests are more or less addressed to stop shifting cultivation. We are left to continue shifting cultivation in our nearby areas continuously. But by continuous cultivation on one plot we will not get a good production. For, continuous cultivation without a prolonged resting period of the land, at least for two years will hamper the soil fertility. Thus the production will not meet our household consumption. Then what shall we sell in market for cash ?

"We don not think, our practice of shifting cultivation has converted any patch of forest to a barren land. The forest regeneration is maintained properly by leaving the fields for a reasonable resting period. From our experience and observation we have seen that after two years resting the fields develop a good regeneration and become like a bushy forest. During slashing we do not cut large trees. For a good regeneration of forests atleast two years resting period is necessary. But we do not feel we can do shifting cultivation any more. For, the

penalty charged by the forest department against cutting of a new patch is beyond our capacity to pay. Then we will be put in jail if we violate forest rules and regulations. Who will look after our children when we are in jail ?".

"Our practice does not hamper the soil at all. We do not plough the forest track deeply. We only slash and burn the vegetation and then wait for the showers of rain after which we sow seeds on forest floor or put seeds in dibbled hole. So there is no chance for soil being washed away with rain. Could you show us a patch where soil is washed away and the forest floor has become rocky ?".

"We are hardly interested in gathering minor forest produces, because we do not get enough time for that. By the time the minor forest produce in the forest is at its peak, which is in summer, we keep ourselves occupied with other work. We even do not get time to collect Tamarind. We do not collect Sal resins, rather we collect Sal seeds. We collect Mahua flowers, we collect broom grass whenever they come to our notice. We do not go for it specially. We collect thatching grass. All those are for food or for household maintenance. We do not want to go for a minor economy from sale of minor forest produces, rather we look for a major economy from crop resources. Then how did we destroy large trees and what business do we have with such trees ?".

"Our dependence on forest materials for household work like poles for construction of houses, fodder for our cattle, roots for our consumption are very much limited. We go for poles to construct a house. We are not constructing houses every year. Once a house is constructed, it lasts for a number of years (say about ten years). Hence we require building materials from forests in an interval of ten years. Of course, within that ten years some ten more houses are added to the village. Does the forest get exhausted or denuded when poles are collected for one house in a year ?".

"We are cautioned not to continue shifting cultivation. It has been suggested to as to continue plain land cultivation. For that we are also being provided with seeds. and irrigation facilities whenever possible. We are provided with seeds of cash crops in which other people and not we have interest. Those crops cannot cater to our consumption needs. Seeds are being provided but where shall we sow them ? Does it mean that for more of plain lands we will clear patches of forests at the foothills ? Has the government made any provisions for plain lands ?"

"We are being motivated to continue horticulture. Saplings are being provided. We will have to crop them in plain lands that are under our possession where we now cultivate cash crops like mustard and niger. Whatever fruits we like, we have cropped them. Our jack fruit production is enough to cater to our needs.

Papaya is not very regular in our food habit. One guava tree per family can cater of need to a family. So what shall we do with the huge quantity of fruits? Again if we cultivate such crops in our kitchen garden or plain lands then where shall we crop chilly, mustard, niger and paddy? Can we fetch that much of money to purchase rice and other needs from the market by selling the horticultural produce?

"We have got wages for our labour devoted in plantation works. We are told that such crops will come to our need. Our need is very little from such crops. For us a jungle means simply as a collection of many types of trees, bushes and creepers. But such plantations do not make a forest. They are like the Papaya trees in our garden. Crops from such trees are economic for those who take interest in planting them. We only devote labour for wages. We do not have any interest in such trees. Can a Sal tree be compared to an Oak tree ? Can a Mahua tree be compared to a Champak tree ? "

"We are being motivated to sell our collections of minor forest produces to government collection centres like TDCC and AMCS. But do they have ready money always to purchase minor forest produces ? Again do such agencies give us rice in advance during our lean periods ? ".

"We are given temporary employment in developmental work. We Kuttia Kondhs do not like to work as daily wage labourers. But for our need we are working for making roads and buildings. Do the government want that we should become landless labourers and lose our indigenous culture for ever ?".

" When we face a number of crises, we are being motivated to participate in market economy. What is left in our hands which we will sell in the market and get cash to do our needful ?"

"We are provided with loans to purchase plough -bullocks etc. We do not have enough plain lands. We do not use plough-bullocks for shifting cultivation. We are not also provided with any plain land. Then what shall we do with plough-bullocks and loans?".

"Many outsiders point out that our living pattern is of poor standard and irrational clinging over superstitions. Those who regard it as such do not know our culture and tradition. What is superstition to others is not irrational to us. That is a way of our culture. There lies our happyness and pleasure. Our culture is important to us like yours. If our culture has no value then why is the KKDA taken interest in taking us to Adivasi Exhibition ground at Bhubaneswar, every year in January ?"

These are some of the major crises which the Kuttias feel and express today. This crisis was not felt or experienced by them in the past. These are the problems

frequently confronted with now. They feel it a crisis and developmental programmes is a problem, for the Kuttia Kondhs do not adhere to the developmental wants and they do not believe in the developmental manifestos. Those actions have brought to them many changes in their society. They now feel frustrated as their indigenous cultures is confronted with problems and from crises.

These changes, greately affect the Kuttia Kondhs as the tribal forest dwellers and the non-tribal forest dwelling communities like the Panos.

The Kuttia Kondhs are pushed to the modern market economy by the non tribals, against their interest and will. There they suffer a crisis in their mode of living and mode of earning a livelihood. On the one hand, changes in regard to the forest deprive them of its produce, legal restriction also limit their acess to forests where they are not completely destroyed. On the otherhand, there are not enough scope to earn a livelihood in the market which would compensate for the loss of forest produce.

The market place, the communication between forest and market and between Kuttia Kondhs and outsiders have under gone many changes both theoretically and practically and it also has resulted in the changes of attitude towards each other as well as in the attitude towards the places be it forest or be it market. Market has been the place where the Kuttia Kondh has learnt the crisis. He is in a transition. There is a line drawn in between the market and the forest. Kuttia Kondhs are on that line. They do not know whether they can maintain their well-being in a market tradition or in a forest tradition. Obviously the notion of their well-being in the market tradition is different from that of the forest tradition. But at the same time he feels it hard to break up his association with the forests. This is a cultural transition. This is the converging point of two cultures through two language system. One addresses to the life of the Kuttia Kondhs in the forest (which is in Kui language) and the other addresses to the life of them in the market. This transition is important and instrumental to study the bilingual discourses.

LIFE IN FOREST : BILINGUAL DISCOURSE

The Kuttia Kondhs are amidst a technological development. To be able to continue to live in the forest in the face of technological changes, they are required to know and learn Oriya language which is the medium of speech in the exterior of their territory. They have been introduced over a period of several years to a process of modern technology. Their acquaintance with its tradition has been through a variety of developmental programmes undertaken by the government and non-governmental agencies. The main thrust of these programmes is to persuade the Kuianka to abandon shifting cultivation and to participate in the wider differentiated and alien market. The people whom they meet in these contexts speak

Oriya and few of them attempt to learn Kui. To get benefit from the process of technological changes the Kuttia Kondhs make efforts to learn Oriya. At the same time they wish to continue shifting cultivation. This is the transitional point from where the bilingual discourses take place.

In Kui and Oriya the tradition of knowledge of the world and of modes of living are different. They observe the worldview, the speech and perceive different modes of seeing, thinking and living. In the market place these languages respond to a discourse. The main question of the discourse being in what way is the forest a living space in which man, plant, animal are parts of one social order. And what is that environment in which the idea or notion of open space is accessible to all living beings ? These are the questions to determine and evaluate the social and cultural values in relation to their environment. This is discussed in the chapter "Cultural Values in Relation to Environment".

These questions are important because they are generated from Kuttia Kondhs experience in the modern market place. The discourse on the modern environmental crisis and the developmental programmes oriented to compensate the crisis as far as practicable, their experience raises the question, whether mode of dealing with these crisis need to consider the principles that underlay the practices of 'conquest of nature by science' are also valid for being present in this world in a way which ensures all living beings access to 'open space' for existence.

In the context of a bilingual discourse, the language of a stronger culture absorbs the language of the weaker one showing that when one language becomes important the process of cultural exchange and learning come to a standstill. The situation in the market place does not allow scope for exchange.

Kuianka teaches Kui in two steps. First in Oriya it explains the particular and general aspects of its mode of living. Then these aspects are explained in Kui language. In Oriya language they use examples and cases to illustrate the points they wish to stress. From them analogies and metaphors become accessible for a detailed enquiry. In Kui the Kuttia Kondhs describe the forest as their living space and their tradition of living. This is explained in the context of living space-Sapangada.

Oriya in contrast is a language of the inhabitants living outside the forest. The sense of dwelling in the forest is understood by them in contrast to modes of living known to forest dwellers. While Kui is contemplative of the living space of Kuttia Kondhs, Oriya is not.

For the Kuttia Kondhs, Kui is carrying the various aspects of their living space, Oriya is not. For them Kui presumes a sense of well being specific to their forest living spaces.

Oriya is an instrument to draw the Kuttia Kondhs into developmental programmes and consequently into the unfamiliar living world of the market and of people living outside the forest. A Kuttia Kondh's observation is not only words and pronunciations from Oriya but also its infiltration into Kui. Several people in recent times have begun to use Kui as an instrument to get into the social discourse of development and of the market. An example may be cited of Pano community here which used the Kui language as an instrument to go through the social life of Kuttia Kondhs in forests, in markets and at the construction sites. This discourse encourages the preservation of Kuttia Kondhs oral traditions, as proficiency in Kui songs and folklore is valued in social discourses of Oriya speaking people. One example cited here adds to the understanding of what preserves the Kuttia Kondhs' oral traditions. Annually, at Bhubaneswar in a festival (usually on 26th January) organized for the presentation of tribal culture. People from some Kuttia villages go there, sing, dance, exhibit their artifacts, housing pattern, life style in village ...etc. This mode of preservation is not motivated by a desire to preserve the tradition of life in forest.

The influence that Oriya has over Kui is an indication of change in the living circumstances of the Kuttia Kondhs. Kuttia Kondhs consider the importance of Oriya, the question is not to preserve the purity of Kui. It is the preservation of a tradition of songs and folklore which equip them to live in the new changing circumstances.

Preservation here is understood as a way of living in changing circumstances so that it contributes to the well-being of Kuttia Kondhs. Their tradition of living in a forest from this standpoint is more than a collection of songs, folklores and other oral traditions. Preservation, viewed from this perspective is a practical mode which seeks to accomplish appropriately the notion of well-being and life in forest. Language preserves succeeds in inducing a learning of different ways to know, understand and accomplish appropriate acts. In the social context the life situation created for the Kuttia Kondhs offer their contact with the people who live outside the forest, customary standards of judging appropriateness is progressively exposed. The emergent social discourse, from the bilingual discourse is shaped by their facility to speak Oriya and Kui. Within this discourse appropriateness seeks to preserve their well-being as understood by them.

In their view, the facility with Oriya exposes their way of life, one example of this exposure is the distance from culture and social life of Oriya speaking people. In the past decades, several attempts have been made to make the Kuttia Kondhs give up shifting cultivation as a mode of earning livelihood. Programmes have been implemented to induce them to begin production for the market. Several cases have been tried for destroying forests by shifting cultivation. Shifting cultivation rehabilitation programme has been prepared to upgrade forests. All these efforts

have failed either to make the Kuttia Kondhs give up shifting cultivation or to ensure their active participation in the market. The result of these failures is that the Kuttia Kondhs are adjudged as irrational people who do not understand that their well being is not in the continuation of shifting cultivation nor is it in their living in forest.

Irrespective of any criticism, the Kuttia Kondhs continue to lead their lives in the manner they are familiar with and this they think is the most appropriate response. They are reluctant to share because they believe that to share a way of life is also to share the language with which it is shaped. And to share a language is not merely exchange of speech, but it is also a sharing of ideas, views, emotions and concern for each other's well-being. At the same time they are aware that the changes which the government want to bring about may overtake their lives. They may be uprooted and that the forest will not be available to them to continue to earn a livelihood. In these conditions where lies their well being ?

Time and again the Kuttia Kondhs have reiterated their desire to continue their practice of living in forest. They have expressed their views that they do not wish to abandon the place of their dwelling and their practice of shifting cultivation.

The Kuttia Kondhs believe that their well-being lies with their life and living in forests. This is not merely indicative of their sentimental attachment with the forests : their place of origin, on the contrary it is the most practical working place. This response of Kuttia Kondhs is based on the view that one must continue to do what one knows the best. They know how ill-equipped they are to earn a livelihood in the market.

Their mode of living in forest is a testimony to such living. That too with a perfect understanding of their well-being, they feel such a living is complete. In its absence i.e.in the absence of living in forest they will starve to death.

The Kuttias have given their rational thought and arguments in favour of their living in the forest. They have a strong conviction that their living essence is preserved in the forests. They are a part of it. They have shaped their idea of well-being with regard to their dependence on the forests. Three instrumental realities have however, been found on the basis of which the Kuttia Kondhs opine that their well-being will not be hampered till they live in forests where the 'anima' of their well-being is preserved. Such instrumental realities are the practice of shifting cultivation, the kui language that they speak and their non-acceptance of the developmental programmes undertaken by the government for the upgradation of their standard of living and quality of life. They hold that they maintain a mode of interdependence with the forests.

The idea arises if the anima of the well-being of the Kuttia Kondhs are

preserved in the forest, how do they perceive the 'anima' of well-being of the forest ? This becomes a main query which has basis on the Kuttia Kondhs strong conviction that the forest is living for them and they are living for the forests. They admit that they have both constructive and destructive dependance on the forests. They believe in : 'live and let live' and 'let live and live'. In this circumstance the enquiry of the 'anima' of the well-being of the forest becomes the main quest. For, without that it can not be justified that the Kuttia Kondhs have a constructive dependence on the forests and take care to keep the forest alive for the sake of their long term sustenance. This is however, associated with the Kuttia Kondhs' ideas of preservation and conservation. They hold that they are preserved, and their culture and languase are persevered by the forest. The enquiry is thus enviable to exactly evaluate the tradition of work, ideas, values, appropriateness of thought and deed for the preservation and conservation of their life sustaining ethos and resource base-the forests. And this becomes the last quest where their notion of well-being and their perception of well-being of the forest world coincide.

LIFE OF FORESTS : ASPECTS OF PRESERVATION AND CONSERVATION

The crisis with which the Kuttia Kondhs are met with, has made them worried about their life in forest. But this crisis has generated an awareness of the notions of self-regeneration of 'anima' -the living active principle and of keeping their boundaries between human and non-human nature in the forest. Kuttia Kondhs are as much a part of forests as forests are a part of Kuttia Kondhs. That relation to non-human nature, which here refers to plants, trees and animals can be ordered differently. The responsibility of self-preservation, therefore is simultaneously a responsibility of preservation of forests both in human and non-human beings.

The Kuttias attribute that the forest has a self-regeneration of 'anima'. In their perception self regeneration is the continuous process of coming into being of the mysterious aspects of nature. From self-regeneration originates knowledge of plants, food, medicine, witchcraft and of the universe. Further originates the necessity to maintain boundaries between human and non-human nature. Since both are animated by systems of self perpetuation they tend to intrude into each other's boundary. The forest is capable of dissolving human settlement and man is capable of cutting down forests.

The human and non-human nature in a forest is also given in their myth, folklore, religion, magic, witchcraft, agricultural rituals, ceremonies and festivals. Their ideas of the preservation of forests are deep rooted in their social and cultural traditions. For the preservation and conservation of forests, one part is played by the forest itself and the other part by the Kuttia Kondhs themselves. As pointed out earlier, it is the anima - the living active principles of life which is the basis of self

- preservation and conservation of human, or non-human and of forests. Therefore. the forests take care of its preservation and conservation on one hand and on the other, is cared, preserved and conserved by the Kuttia Kondhs.

There is no such visible step which Kuttia Kondhs adopt for the preservation and conservation of forests. Only notion they have about this aspect is embedded in their social processes, religious performances and other cultural traditions that depend upon and grew from the forest world. Further, their indigenous knowledge, their oral tradition, myths, legends, songs, their tradition of work, ethos and sentiments are shaped with their long association with the forest world from which their notion of their preservation and the conservation can be spelt out. The Kuttia Kondh's work pattern is both conservative and preservative, as well as constructive and destructive. In their work pattern, in forests both the constructive and destructive dependences observed. But in the overall phenomenon, it is their cultural tradition that keeps up an ethical relation with the forests- which is their major aspect of conservation and preservation.

Preservation and conservation if seen from a different angle, particularly from the crisis to which the Kuttia Kondhs are subjected to present amply provoke the thought to find notions of preservation and conservation from their traditional way of life and somewhat changed tradition of life and work pattern, in relation to the forest. The points discussed earlier in the section 'Life in forest' confronted with crisis, the crisis itself speaks volumes how Kuttia Kondhs defend themselves from being regarded as destroyer of the forest. They show their rational thought through these crises to make a point that they have a closely linked interdependence on forests, and also have a symbolic association with it which means continuous give and take relation in between the two. From this standpoint of their interdependence on forests, the Kuttias the governmental development programmes, which the tribe feels will break down this symbolic relationship.

Therefore, for Kuttia Kondhs, preservation and conservation practice cannot be sequentially arranged in words, but can be seen through the actions pertaining to the subject. After a thorough study of the social and cultural life of the tribe from many angles : from both anthropological and sociological enquiries and ethno-botanical enquiries, we have come across certain points which can be claimed to be the notion of preservation and conservation.

In a forest both human and non-human living beings find place. The ethnography of plants that has been dealt with in the description of plants in the tribe's folklore is an index of the tribes familiarity and attachments to ethos and sentiments to such plants. It is in this ethnography, useful informations about preservation and conservation of plants are recorded. Plants and trees are not only considered on the frame-work of ecology and economy but also they have multiple

attachment to the plant world around them. The protection accorded to many plants by this tribe viz : Bamboo *(Arundo donax)*, Siali *(Bauhinia vahlii)*, Semul *(Bombax ceiba)*, Sunari *(Cassia fistula)*, Salap *(Caryota urens)*, Amla *(Emblica officinalis)*, Akanbindi *(Cissampelos pereira)*, Daman *(Grewia tiliaefolia)*, Mahua *(Madhuka longifolia)*, Sal *(Shorea robusta)*, Asan *(Terminalia tomentosa)* and many other plant species is well known. There are also instances of entire biological communities such as all acquatic communities on a rock, pool and plant life in patches of forest receiving protection because of their associations with a deity. There are also sacred feelings of the tribe towards plants and trees,which are regarded as a symbol of a deity, an abode of a deity, a representation of the deity. As a phenomenon, by staying around forests and plant world, they have developed an intimate relationship, so to say a symbiotic relationship with the plant world which leads to the feeling of a continuous naturally co-operative process in between the tribe and the plant world- a notion of their preservation and conservation of plants and trees. Much in this regard finds place in the chapter "Social and Cultural Aspects of Plants and Trees" which speaks about the preservation and conservation of plants and trees.

The tradition of maintaining sacred groves as a part of village social life is one of the most valuable legacies which originates essentially from the forest dweller's disposition and practice of nature conservation. In the sacred groves are preserved the climax type of vegetation completely immune to human interference. Many a number of taboos are associated with those sacred groves. The Kuttia Kondhs are not out of such a tradition. They have a large set of ideas in this regard that is embedded in the sacred geography of the Kuttia Kondhs. They have taboos, myths, legends associated with parts of forests, hills, groves, graveyard ..etc. Apart from preservation of rare and endemic species, the sacred groves also serve the function of preservation of biological diversity of flora. From the religious representations of Kuttia Kondhs associated with their sacred geography, some ideas about their modes of preservation and conservation of the forest world can be extracted. Their whole set of ideas about the forest, its denominations and hills, the religious feelings associated with such parts have been described in the chapter "Denomination of Forests and Its Parts". For the Kuttia Kondhs the middle ground extends from the earth on which one stands up to the canopy of the trees. The space above the canopy and the space below the earth is occupied by air, water, mud, soil and fire respectively. The middle ground is filled with 'anima' - the living principles present in all beings and the anima is mobilized in a naturally co-operative way for one being to take care of another - thus helping the preservation and conservation of all the beings. Forests have got place in their folklores which develop a fear complex in the Kuttia Kondhs not to undertake destructive activities more than the normal.

Forests are cut, cleared for settelment sites. Associated with the settlement are many cultural feelings. The forest is regarded as a deity who looks after the people in the settlement. Before a settlement is set, permission from the deity of that part of the forest is sought. Then the patch is cleared and settlement is made. Side by side with the settlement setting the Kuttia Kondhs believe the presence of deities in and out the settlement. With complex of sacredness and fear of such deities, they worship the forests and the deity. This is the secret of the notion of preservation and conservation. The religious feelings associated with forests and deities and with their settlement have found place in the chapter 'Society and Culture-1'.

They pose themselves as people of an agricultural society. Being mostly adapted to shifting cultivation on hill lands they regard the gods as the owners of the hill lands. Hence before cutting of a forest for shifting cultivation they seek the permission of the god who is held to be the authority of that region.

This is not the only item that gives an account of the Kuttia Kondhs' reverence and association with the forests. The deep contemplative thoughts of the tribe about their living space, work tradition, ideas and notion of well-being and living in harmony with nature are appropriately sketched in the chapter. "Cultural Values in Relation to the Environment", 'Social Meaning of a Resource and Rationality of Management', 'Life in Forest - A Mode of Preservation and Conservation". References are given on the tribe's deep rooted association with the forests in thoughts and philosophies, culture, tradition, language and lores.

The most important aspect of the idea of preservation and conservation of forests of this tribe lies hidden in the myth and oral traditions which are dealt in the chapter. - "Oral Transfer of Knowledge as a Phenomenon".

The aspects of preservation and conservation of forests are concealed in the whole go of life of the Kuttia Kondhs in association with the forest. The notion is reflected in all aspects of their culture and traditions that have grown with time in relations to forests.

LIFE IN FOREST : KEEPS ITS CONTINUITY

The life in forest of Kuttia Kondhs is connected with three main things- the culture, the subsistence crops and the emotional attachment of the tribe to the forest. Since time immemorial this continuity of life in forests is maintained. The life the tribe calls '*Jella*' and the well-being as '*Nehijella*' gives many philosophical understandings which the tribe has developed in course of time. The cultural set up of the tribe that tells of the forests and the nature in all aspects, has been designed in a manner to suit the maintenance of Kuttia Kondhs' life system in relation to the forests.

The forests have contributed to the lives of the tribals substantially through food, clothing, shelter, medicine and many other material requirements. In an emotional way it can be said that the forest has supplied '*Jella*' i.e. the life force to the Kuttia Kondhs which have contributed to the '*Nehijella*' i.e. well-being of themselves. This is maintained through multifaceted dependence and interdependence between the tribe and the forests.

The Kuttia Kondhs have both constructive and destructive dependence on the forests. The shifting cultivation is an example of destructive dependence of the tribe on the forests. But it is the main source of earning a livelihood of this tribe. They also take care of the forest wealth, preserves and conserves by all possible means.

The life in forest has by now confronted with great numbers of problems and crisis originated from such problems. This has put the tribe in a transition. The tribe though regarded as a forest dwelling community cannot thing the forest as its own and is debarred from the forest resourses at his will for his need. Yet that tribe has not abandoned its practice of shifting cultivation. He wants to live with it. For a tribal feels that he can not earn a livelihood from the market. In the absense of sufficient plain lands for cultivation, he can only think of the hill slopes to continue shifting cultivation which is restricted by the Government. He is conscious of the crisis which is surmounting day by day. Obviously the problem knocks at his door and it is time for him to think for the knowledge, for the life in this sweet forest remembering their line of the Kui Gaani.

Edu itere budhi itere
Inisatisi adine Inisatisi ranjine.

And life does not cease to function . It continues.

CONCLUSION

Kuttia Kondh is one of the sub-groups of the Kondh tribes. It is a dominant tribe amongst Kondhs so far population as is concerned. They are the primary dwellers in agencies area of Southern Orissa. Phulbani district is one of the thickest populated tribal belt of Orissa which is about 40.31% of the total tribal population. The forest coverage of this district is about 1,336 kms and occupies about 60% of its total geographical area. This is tropical most and tropical dry deciduous forest. In the east of Phulbani, Ganjam and Puri districts are situated and in the west Kalahandi, Balangir and Dhenkanal. Originally it was a virgin forest, densely populated with various types of flora and fauna, that could keep up the forest ecosystem in ideal condition. In course of time, due to population growth of the tribes amidst the forest and irrational attitude of the people around, gradually the forest eco-system was disturbed. Besides, the limitless demands created by the sophisticated modern man to utilize the huge trees and other vegetations of the forest hastened the process of diminshing of the floral growth to a great extent. Although the original virgin forest has lost its charm and floral population has come down remarkably, Phulbani continues to be the 'homeplace' of this primitive tribe, the Kuttia Kondhs. They are found to live in small patches amidst the forest, around the forest and in the foot hills. They are emotionally attached to the plants and trees as well as to the other inmates(fauna) of the jungle. Till now Kuttia Kondhs are strangely involved in these traditional beliefs and keep up their social costumes and traditions etc, which they have imbibed from their predecessors. In other words, they religiously follow the old traditions by clinging to the environment. They have a strong perception that they were the first human being who came to the earth. According to their beliefs they primarily originated beneath the earth and made their progeny. Later on, all of them together emerged out of it to the tena firma. Since then they have lived in the same landscape generation after generation where they are living now. No scientific exploration is needed for their perception. They

simply stand by their own beliefs which they have inherited from their parents.

At first in the eco-system many flora and fauna have been evolved and various species created. Many new species of both flora and fauna evolved again out of all these species created earlier in the living kingdom in the forest. Kuttia Kondhs attained the highest order of living being(the man). Since they were the primitive forest dwellers and continue till as a mass in the forest, it is quite natural that they could well understand the feelings and vibration caused by the biotic (living) and abiotic(non-living) and maintain the reciprocity.

There are many legends, myths, ganni(songs) related to Kuttia Kondhs way of life, beliefs, tradition, costumes, rituals, cultural development etc. But there is no written script available about them and there is no structure to document these, although Kuttia Kondhs speak a language there is no systematic and significant approache to establish the language. Hence the traditions and culture which are embedded in their legends, myths, ganni etc. are transmitted from generation to generation orally. Gaanis are often sang by people in various occasions, legends are told by older generations to younger generations and so on. Interested persons, those who have strong beliefs and involvement in their traditions try to pick them up and pass on to successive generations. They have a strong perception till date that they could maintain their old tradition and the Kuttia Kondhs would not perish from the earth. With this conviction in their mind, they continue with the environment where they live and satisfy themselves with the minimum requirements, they cherish for their livelihood.

Kuttia Kondhs by nature are very rigid about their tradition and never want to part, from their communities to other communities(outsider). Hence their knowledge about their tradition becomes concentric(within themselves). People around them get to know something about them by observing their way of living, behaviour movements etc. and thereby they try to formulate stories about them. By hearing them one cannot obtain the exact sense of indigenous of Kuttia kondhs. In order to get the indigenous knowledge about them, one has to be with them. It is said "a man can be studied in his own sorounding. Formality is a barrier in communication. Informal way of mixing with Kuttia Kondhs is no doubt a great task. One has to be very careful and cautions before undertaking such a difficult job. The team working in the project `Indigenous Knowledge on Kuttia Kondh` were continuously living amidst the forest, where Kuttia Kondhs are residing in groups. One of the scholars Sri Mihir Jena could speak Kui language because of his long association, with, participating them in their seasonal festivals etc. Gradually he made them feel that he was one among them and developed confidence in them. Once Kuttia Kondhs accepted him as a family member and allowed him to be with them in the family, he became a great friend to the Kuttia

Society. The other participants of the research team took advantage of the situation and thereby could imbibe themselves with these feelings to Kuttia Kondhs and became their family members as well. Gradually they started to study their perception. feelings, beliefs and other hidden stories that are not visible to common invaders. It is also a fact that once Kuttia Kondhs accept one as their friend in true sense of the term, then there is no difficulty at all for an outsider to achieve the goal. This is the methodology the team had adopted to break the ice and entered the arena of Kuttia Kondhs society and documented various perceptions of Kuttia Kondhs to record the scripts of 'the indigenous knowledge on Kuttia Kondhs'.

Since this tribe resides in low levelled huts(Kuttia) they are called 'Kuttia Kondhs'. Kuttia Kondhs are specifically identified for their traditional gannis like Kui-ganni/Kui ganni', kapaka ganni, Bara ganni etc. They feel that these gannis are their hereditary properties which they rightly inherit from their old generation. They sing and dance with rythems of gaanis in different ceremonial ocassion of their society. Out of all these ganni Kui Ganni has its specificity where one can understand their perception about the origin and evolution of life in this earth. According to it, they argued that Kuttia Kondhs were the 'being' which originated primarily under the earth which was dark then. The primitive men of their society took birth exclusively from a female named 'Narendali' whom they consider to be the Supreme lady. Hence they originated exclusively from virgin female organ. Many progenies were obtained from the lady and she gave different assignments to different people whom she produced. They were all females. Narendali organised the group inside the earth in such a manner which could play a vital role in running the society with required commodities in future. She also created certain domestic animals like pigs, cattle, buffaloes etc. Under her direction they could also learn the use of fire. She also created certain seed crops there and so on. She also commanded to some body else to do tatooing. Not only that she also nomenclature different persons as wizards, astrologers formulating taboos and beliefs of the society. Similarly the use of rice, bamboo and certain other plants viz. Pedilanthers Eithymelides and Aegle masmelos were known to them when they were still under the earth. As per the perception of Kuttia Kondhs when the population growth of those beings became unlimited they had to come through a pore/hole, from underneath the earth to the crust of the earth. The point of the earth which from original society of Kuttia Kondh emerged out is known to-day as 'Sapangada'(Sapana-taking birth and gada-hole). In fact when she came out of the earth with her society through Sapangada- it was completely dark then. Above the earth there was no sun or moon in the sky and both sky and the earth the mingled together were resting on one line. Emerging out from complete darkness to another darkness created a problem Nerandali. They tried to push the sky up by means of poles of huge plants followed with metalic poles. The sky went up and the sky and earth was separated by these persons by their will power and

force. Later on the Sun and the moon in the sky became visible to them. With the light, they could see the beautiful landscapes covered with various types of beings (flora and fauna), hills and mountains, streams, rivers and ponds. They were overwhelmed by the scenic beauty of the Nature that they never had seen before. Hence for the first time, they crossed the barrier of darkness to light.

The Another perception of the Kuttia Kondhs derivedfrom the ganni is that while Narendali was engaged in creating large number of population beneath the earth first of all she created only female folk. When she realised that there was a necessity of a man for doing some physical strenuous work in the society, she evolved a man. Though countless ladies followed by a male folk were created by the Supreme lady, along with forming lineages, lower caste communities etc, she did not feel like assigning dominating power in the society to man. However at last she chose Betamangera to be head the society and function in different customs and , rituals etc. On the whole the supreme lady appeared to be the best organiser who not only produced unlimited children like a queen bee laying large number of eggs inside the bee hives continuously, but also evolved people of different categories who would function for smooth running of the society. Because of the witty performance of Narendali the society did not face any difficulties while coming up from the pil at the earth. Seeds of different crops which they brought from underneath along with soils latter on was used in shifting cultivation. This is the indigenous knowledge of Kuttia Kondhs society with regards to their origin and evolution of life in the earth- Sapanagada. The first culture they developed on earth was agriculture- shifting cultivation. Hence they had to choose the suitable sites on hill slopes for shifting cultivation for their food on which the entire Kuttia Kondhs communities depended. They used different types of crop seeds in a field in order to get multi crops for their food. Hence, since their inception they were associated with this particular type of cultivation- the shifting cultivation. Still they maintain it in their way of life. They strangely feel and express emotionally that the way of life they are leading now is their only identity as 'Kuttia Kondhs'. They stare blankly when a question is put to them about the exact time of their origin in this earth. Sometimes they answer they cannot fell the exact time of their origin, because there was no sun in the sky then day and night. According to their perception, sun is the sole indicator of time. They are aware of the 'past' because they have memories of the traditional myths, legends, lores, ganni etc. They can conceive of the 'present' from their day to day life in the society, but they cannot conceive or think of 'future'. Since they have a are religious bent of mind, they simply rest on the supreme power- the God for the so called 'future' from scientific point of view "if true could not have a memory, there would not have been time", and the unfolding events is called time. Thus then 'past' and 'present' are convincing phenomenon and about the 'future' they are silent. Narendali could not see the sun in the sky when she along with her kiths

and kins came to earth may indicate that the landscape was so densely populated with gigantic plants, trees, timbers reaching the height of the sky that the sun was not visible to them at first sight. But according to their perception there was neither the sun nor the moon in the sky when they came out of the earth through a hole- 'Sapanagad'.

In their society the lady who cooked for the guests or family members has to serve the elders first then the youngsters and the end she is to take the residual food. This idea they perceive from their Kui ganni where Narendali served the people she brought to the earth in the similar manner. This perception of food distribution is strangely prevalent among them till date as per the conception they assimilated from ganni.

Kuttia Kondhs have a perception that all biotic or non-biotic factors of their surroundings are 'beings' (each of them has life). This they perceive from the knowledge they have acquired from Kui-ganni that bamboo- the most useful commodity of their society, originally took birth from broken left over turmeric etc (biotic/non-living) materials. According to their indigenous knowledge, once the being is originated and established in nature, they may multiply to similar beings in successive generations.

Before establishing settlements, Kuttia Kondhs were wanderers and were travelling from place to place inside the forest choosing an ideal plot of land for their shifting cultivation- their main food and other forest produces to satisfy their hunger. At that time also they had specific indigenous knowledge of certain useful plant species viz. *xylia xylocarpa, colocasia* sps *Dioscorea* sps, *Lagenasia* sps, *Baulinia valilii, Madhuca longifolia, Buchariasia lankara,* Sencarpus anacardium, as well as certain oreluides granj or bamboo. They were also familiar with certain hard wood viz. *Shorea rebusta, Pterocarpus massupium, Terminelia trementota, Dalbengia sisso* etc.

Kuttia Kondhs are the inhabitants of the forest and they believe in work and hence they put hard labour (community) throughout the day for shifting cultivation, collecting edible items from the plant source hunting animals for their delicasy etc. In their tiring life process, it is felt that they have also emotions and feelings towards nature. For instance the erchanting songs of the birds in the forest make them extremely emotional. They go on tracing the sound and run_hitha and thitha to spot the bird. They never disturb it, because they have a perception that if they disturb it by any means, they would face danger. Hence happiness and fear in their mind and heart go together with their enjoyment. All these things they imbibed from Bara ganni. This enjoyment gives relaxation to their mind and heart in their tiresome life. Some things they have imbibed from their gannis, many things from

their legends and some from their myths etc. and all of them preserve there for generations together. They develop strong beliefs on the narrations of ganni, myths etc. and with these beliefs they perceive things generations after generations.

Kuttia Kondhs are collectively known as 'Kuianka'. The first culture of kuianka was agriculture- the shifting cultivation- the production of their staple food to satisfy their hunger. They were in complete darkness when they emerged out of the under earth(Patala). All of a sudden when they visualised the land scape on the earth's which was crust provided with majestic mountains and hills, plants and trees, rivers, stream etc. they were simply dazed. They were happy to see the vast heartiful area provided for their living. They could not conceive of the phenomenon of nature. They could also see the sunlight for the first time and moon in the sky. They were happy, amazed and terrified. With happiness and fear they looked around for the persons who have created that, but in vain. Then they perceived of a Penu(God) who might have created the vast nature for them. According to their beliefs, Penu was none else but supernatural power. They simply identified such a person Penu as a 'being' (a living entity). They perceived such a being (God) should be worshipped and then onwards started deifying the Godly beings who could protect them from all types of danger andprovide them with necessary commodities. They believed that when people emerged out first from under earth they lived at Sapanagada, the second lot went to the plain land for their living and the last batch went to hill slopes. Likewise the entire population of Kuianka dispersed themselves over the landscape. They thought of Dharani Penu(earth God) she who they think has provided them with the area for their agriculture and living. They perceived that different penanni(both male and female deities)were settled on the top of the high mountains to look after them. They perceived that on the highest top of the hills/mountains where there was no water and which was beyond the reaches of man, Godly beings could settle there. Likewise they perceived different Gods settled on the barren hill tops, hills having plateus etc.

Kuianka were originally no mads-moving from place to place for their basic need- food, to do their age old traditional practice - shifting cultivation. For shifting cultivation community labour was needed and hence they were moving in groups from place to place amidst the forest. In due course of time only to the growth of population, they felt the need of their permanent settlement. The only suitable places they could think of for settlements were the plain land and hill slopes- an ideal place where they could get water source and other necessary commodities within their reach. Then they gradually started to settle even on foot hills. Once they settled in groups, families and clan in a village they kept to the boundary line area of their settlement. This is the perception of Kuianka which they adopt today even for their settlement. Before their settlement in a place they go for rituals where they

worship Dharani Penu by sacrificing animals like pigs, buffaloes etc They have the strong belief that unless they satisfy the Penu with the help of society priest they may face danger.

In the west of Sapangada which is provided with dense forest of different plant species, a female deity(Sarupenu) is there. Similarly in the north, the high mountains are occupied by other deities, where both married and unmarried women can enter, but not the male folk. They have a belief that if the vegetation over these areas by any means is disturbed, they may face natural calamities. With this perception when they thought of such mountains on religious grounds, the forest of these areas were protected. Thereby their settlement was restricted only to South of Sapangada. However, these beliefs of Kuttia Kondhs are no more observed due to population growth. Now the settlements have been started in all direction of Sapangada.

Kuianka's indigenous knowledge in pre-requisite conditions for a settlement depends upon several factors viz. social, ecological and religious understanding of a place. As per their convenience they prefer plain areas and hill slopes for their settlement. Similarly the shifting cultivation is restricted to mid hills and base hills. Plain area is chosen by them for kitchen gardens, cattle sheds etc. Settlement site is divided into two halves and each half is meant for constructing houses courtyards, cattle sheds and kitchen gardens. Nearby area provided with water ghat is used for market crop- the paddy cultivation.

The size of settlement depends upon the availability of space. It varies from one to two hundreds and sometimes eighty to ninety hundreds. Due to some reason or other, if other villagers migrate to this place, automatically the village settlement expands. Whatever the type of settlement may be the space area, population growth and drinking water provisions must be taken into account for such settlement. If epidemics spread over the settlement and people die, Kuianka abandon this settlement(old settlement) and go for a new settlement. In such a situation of choosing a new settlement, Kuianka have a strong belief that unless they go for traditional rituals with the help of society priest and satisfy Dharani Penu by sacrificing pig or buffalo etc., a calamity will be fall on them. This is the perception of this tribe which they traditionally maintain. They never go to physicians or medical men to learn the cause of the diseases. As they are basically God fearing men, and blindly believe the super natural being - they prefer to satisfy the traditional deities first rather than any enquiry. Hence in the process of deification of Gods and Goddess if they suffer they strongly feel that they probably could not satisfy Penani in correct ritual procedure of the society. They also perceive that Penu's desire can not be over ruled by them. Likewise their living in settlements(old and new) goes on.

The hills. mountains standing around them are specifically named after different deities (male/female) and each deity has a special function as per their perception. The hills/mountains pennanis names are chanted often by the priest while carrying out any ritual of the society. On the other hand, out of fear complex they develop a sense of gratitude and beg blessings from such pennani in different spiritual or ritual performances for their family comforts. They have also a belief that Gods and Goddesses have their social life and hence that they are 'beings' and so special offerings are necessary to satisfy them. Then only the Godly beings who are invisible to them may hear their prayers and bless them for better living in the society.

The oral literatures, myths, legends which are the only parameter to study the culture of ethnic groups and races from their day to day life. So history becomes a narrative phenomenon of the period from the origin of myth of the ethnic groups till they were identified as a particular race. The functional aspects of the ethnic groups intermingled with ethos and modes ultimately become the culture of that particular ethnic group. This convention holds good in all the races of mankind. The study of culture of the ethnic group brings to light its code of conduct, beliefs, morals etc. which are acquired through ages differentiating it from other ethnic groups either living in the same regions or elsewhere.

Kuttia Kondhs emerged out from Sapangada with their culture identity as a tribe. They were known as the most dangerous race for their heinous and horrified practice of human sacrifice. Human sacrifice evolved out of their fear complex that they perceived because of the assumption of existence of supernatural being s (penani) spirits and ghosts in their surroundings who may sometimes act as either benevolent or cruel to their society and for that they have to satisfy them by sacrificing persons of their own race.

Kuttia Kondhs sub-groups/class of the society first originated beneath the earth like mixed vegetation at Sapanagada. Each class has a set of characteristic, a common origin, thoughts and beliefs etc. The origin of clan of Kuttia Kondhs is mythical and this class carries many families descendent from a common stock. *Timaka* clan is considered as the priest in the society, who is supposed to perform religious rights. Priest is superior to political headman-Jani and Majli, each of them Jani and Majli originated from different classes. The investigations of the project identified about 21 class of Kuttia Kondhs society(out of 33 class originated from Sapanagada as per their Kui ganni). Kuttia Kondhs society is a patrimonial society. Indigenous marriage is prohibited in the society. Most of the marriages take place by elopement or capture. Arranged marriage is also there. They develop kinship with each other (may be male or female) andcut jokes with brother/sister in laws of the families. They also entertain guests as per their financial ability. They offer

tobacco powder mixed with lime to the guest. Guests are either invited to home or toddy drinking places(Madangbasa) Guests are offered gifts like agricultural produces, live stocks viz. cock, goat, pig etc. at the time of their departure. Offering a seat to the guest goes with their custom. Saluting the guests is a recent addition to their custum. If a girl offers wine to a boy it symbolises their love. In marriage, death name giving ceremonies etc. they enjoy food with buffalo/goat meat,. In Meriah festival gifts are generally sent from maternal uncles village to nephew's village where buffalo meat isprepared and enjoyed (the people of both the villages). Sharing of food by the people of two villages indicate their kinship with each other. If two estranged persons take baffalo meat together it means they have buried the hatchet.

Social gathering in different occasion bring the people together to exchange their feelings, ideas, thoughts as well as sharing griefs and sorrows. They give specific regards to intimate friends.

Kuttia Kondhs earn their livelihood by gathering food materials (fruits, tubers, spinach) from the forest, group hunting and shifting cultivation. As per their agricultural calendar, they divide the whole year on the basis of climatic conditions: Summer, Rain and Winter. The entire family remain engaged in shifting cultivation children participate especially in swiddening. Sometimes they engage outsiders to participate in shifting cultivation and share the crops among themselves. So on community basis the shifting cultivation is practised. They also go for millet cultivation and paddy cultivation etc. This principal food is made out of rice, ragi, finger millet along with some vegetables. During lean period they take mango kernel, wild tubers, spinach collected from forest. In rainy season they consume the viable bamboo shoots and edible mushrooms to satisfy their hunger. They get a square meal during late rainy and Winter seasons. Majority of them simply starve during lean periods and at that time they mostly suffer from malnutrational diseases.

Daily drinking, festival drinking and occasional drinking are seen among the tribes. In ancient days liquors were prepared from Mango *Mangifera indica*, Jack fruits, *Artocarpus heterophyllus* Banana *Musa spienterm*. Now-a-days they prefer liquor from sago palm and date palm tree.

Women folk of Kuttia Kondhs are very hard working and are considered as representatives of Narendeli- the mythical heroine. The woman folk work do all the household works cooking like, taking the responsibilities of other matters of the household affairs, children care, guest entertainment as well as helping the husband in the society. In mythical Kui ganni it appears that the society gave first priority to woman and men came afterwards. This is no more seen in the society.

Women are also prohibited to take buffalo/pig meat and are not allowed to attend common feast and even to participate in group dance in village. Barren women are looked down in the society. So also the widow and divorcee. The old ladies are the worst suffers in their society.

The old costumes of Kuttia Kondhs are different from the modern Kuttias. In older days men used to wear loin cloth of 1 and half feet. long and less than a foot broad to hide the private parts, while women wore two pieces of cloth called capta. Now-a-days both women and men folk as well as girls and boys prefer modern dresses like the non-tribal. That shows the influences of the outside world.

Traditionally both men and women folk wear peculiar types of ornaments made up of silver, brass, aluminium even gold. Wearing of such ornaments signifies their cultural identity. Women pierce their nose in three to four places. They also pierce the middle of the nose to wear nose rings. They pears be ear lobes atlast in 20 to 30 places to wear rounded rings. With contineous wearing of these heavy rings ear hangs down. Heavy round necklaces and necklaces with coins are also worned by women. They love to wear anklets antore rings. The women make three four holes on either sides of the nose as well as one hole in the middle to wear ornaments. The make twenty thirty pores on the edge of ear to put up rounded rings. The ornaments become so heavy ears hang down-wards. Rigid rounded neckless and neckless with coins are also be worn by women. They also wear anklets. toes areadorned/rings. They also wear waist hand. Number of bangles are worn by them up to the elbow. This specific types of ornaments are not often seen to be worn by the Kuttia Kondh community today. The girls prefer to wear plastic bangles. Instead of ornamental hairpins on the head they like to put plastic flowers. Indeed a remarkable change ! Modern ornaments in Kuttia Kondh communities are observed because of the influence of modern non-tribal societies. Their traditional ornaments seens to have losts charm for them since their not seen weaving them very often.

Tattooing is a cultural tradition done mostly by women folk of Kuttia Kondh. They have a perception that if they do not go for tatooing, they will become ghosts after death. However, a remarkable change in the get up of women folk in their society have been marked. That is also due to the tremendous social influence of other non-tribal societies.

As per their perception, birth is a new life to ancestral spirit. According to them when a person dies, his/her soul becomes a spirit and that spirit would take rebirth in course of time. So mourning after death is not very rigid in their culture. Whenever the person wants to take to a dead man of his family, may do so calling the spirit through witch man/priest of the society.

According to Kuttia Kondhs' perception, Gods and Goddesses are omnipresent. They are there to look after the well being of Kuttia Kondhs. As per their belief, without them their existence on this earth would not have been possible. They still perceive that every God and Goddess has a family life of his/her own and each of them is a being. Hence suitable sites and places are chosen for them for their abode.

The culture of Kuttia Kondhs has been evolved from their myths, legends, gaanis etc. and some changes have been noticed in their culture which is due to the changing times and their interaction with the outside world.

They are no more restricted to the forest and are often exposed to modern societies for their cash, crop practice and other things. The culture of the non-tribals have influenced them to same extent. Hence the change is obvious in the cultural pattern of Kuttia Kondhs. However, the God fearing society of Kuttia Kondhs still maintain their culture so far the religious performances are concerned.

According to Kui ganni originally the earth was burning when the Kuttia Kondh's community first emerged out of Sapanagada. Narendali directed her man to make the barren land to a forest. Forest consists of hills, mountains herbs, shrubs, climbers, trees bushes where many fauna live. The waterfall, stream, ponds, rivers etc are also included in the forest eco-system. The highest order of being the Kuttia Kondhs lived therein and started nomen claturing the forest. According to their beliefs plants came first to the forest, followed by animals.

They have a perception that growth of plants is not dynamic and they grow to a particular height and then stop. This however, is a contradiction to the scientific principle of development, growth of a plant. According to their beliefs if the plants go on growing they may reach to the sky and disturb the Sun and again the earth will fall in the clutches of darkness. In that case they would be deprived of the Sun's light and lose their life. After much difficulties under the direction of Nerandali, Kuttia Kondhs' predecessors had pushed the sky high above the earth. When they found the Sun mingled with the earth. Later on, Sun shone its way and the earth was flooded with light. Their predecessors identified different types of forests by giving different names They included (1) timber yeilding plants in the forests (2) low land vegetation in another forest (sal forest) (3) one rocky and relatively barren forest wherein hill tops mostly Ficus species are found (sal forest). (4) another forest for cremation purposes and (5) another forest having succession viz. herbs, shrubs and trees etc. to the climax. There is no parallel link in between their perception of forest and the modern scientific clarification of forest with regard to floral population. viz (1) North deciduous forest(sal forests) (2) Moist peninsular high level forest (3) Moist peninsular low land forest (4) Moist peninsular vally (5) Moist Sal Savanna (degreaded stage) and (6) terminalia

tomentosa forest. Hence there is a lot of confusion in their perception regarding the categorization of the the forests. Similarly they differentiated the hills according to their own perception. According to them, different nomenclature have been given to the hills according to them (1) Steepness (2) shapeliness of slopes (3) down ward slopes and so on. (4) the virgin green hills where they make their settlements. Different names in Kui language is given to the hills around Sapanagada by Kuttia Kondhs. Here they classify the hills according to the population growth of major plants species. However, geographically not all these hills are situated in Phulbani. Some of them are in Koraput and some in Kalahandi district of Orissa.

With reference to forest they perceive two Gods viz. Earth God and Hill God Earth God(Dharani Penu) is considered as more powerful God. They have identified about ten different Gods on the Hills viz (1) God looking after the welfare of the living beings, cattle and crops. (2) Temple God, (3) God providing instruments (4) Rain god and so on. Out of all these hills, they perceive Sapangada, and Dumbuli as having mythologoical importance while *Sriamdeu* and *Hati Salla* are significant for the caves.

Both flora and fauna are associated with the forests. Although Kuttia Kondhs consume certain minor forest produces which they collect they prefer meat and vegetables. They know various techniques of trapping birds and animals in dense forests. They have a strong perception about the animal and birds interaction in the food chain. With the experience and knowledge they could easily find the spot in forest for hunting a particular type of bird or animal that they desire.

According to Kuttia Kondh's perception when Sambar is sacrificed, God is more contented and satisfied than any other animals sacrificed in ritual etc. Sambar was thus important and worshipped by Kuttia Kondh since time memorial. When it was killed for flesh, different parts of the animal grew into different plants (narrated in Kui ganni). It is also an age old tradition among this tribe that when a Sambar is killed, its flesh is distributed to every family in the village. Thus worshipping and sacrificing Sambar continuous as an old tradition. They have chosen the best animal of the forest for sacrificing purpose. The left over parts of sambar are also preserved by people for different purposes which they have acquired from their myths and legends. This signifies the religious bent of Kuttia Kondhs and the importance they attach to their culture..

Kuttia Kondhs believe in dreams. Different types of animals seen in the dream, by an astrologer or a priest of their society indicate different types of rituals, ceremonial functions etc. This is the perception that they have inherited from their myths and legends and till date they holding on to this traditional practices. Kuianka after the settling around Sapanagada, developed their culture

from the environment (forest). Thus environment became the sole educator/tutor to them. They developed this culture due to their deep interactions. inter-relations. inter-plays with the environment. When many beings viz human beings, animals, birds, reptiles. plants and trees coherently in nature, nature becomes a bigger being. It is not a small structure, rather the largest structure. with functionary units. Hence Kuianka(a being) is a part of Nature (being) ecologically, culturally and spiritually.

Concept of birth is altogether different according to Kuttia Kondh's perception. They perceive the idea from Kui ganni which says Narendali, (a female) to children in the give birth the earth without union of a male core of. When the entire population of Narendali came out from the core of the-earth to the terra firma , Kuianka could know the physiological process of birth that the union of male and female sexes only could lead to a progeny. The emerging out from darkness to light is a metaphor. Kuianka simply believe the traditional ganni because they are traditionally oriented. When they came to light. the natural environment helped them to started understand the real sense of the mythical term. (birth countless children from a female sex only) there love and attraction for the opposite sex is spontaneous and natural. They have realised that. The custom of marriage between a girl and a boy has evolved in their culture. Still Kuiankas believe, that the myth of origin and evolution of life is as correct as is their social custom of marriage. There is logic behind it. In other words they are simple believers of their old myths, legends, gaanis without interpreting the real sense hidden there in. Similarly they which do not analyse idea they got from the ganni about their origin and evolutioninside the earth. the supreme lady 's direction to her people to create land scape, hills. mountains. open space plants and trees above the earth. Whether their predecessor after coming over the earth conceived the idea of forest or environment or they had perceived the situation of their necessary commodities while still in the darkness beneath the earth is a million dollar question. But Kuianka perceives this idea strongly because they traditionally believe in it since generations. Hence whatever cultural phenomenon is written in ganni may be there production of knowledge of the primitive Kuianka which they got from the environment. Similarly many such events of culture of Kuttia Kondhs have been narrated in their ganni which Kuianka follow traditionally without sparing a thought over it. Thus many cultural values which Kuianka naturally developed from the environment by the process of interaction. inter-relation and interplay with the environment was known to the supreme lady Nerandali when she was still under the earth. which was completely dark. It still a debatable issue whether those are real facts or ganni is just a reflection of the society and its culture evolved then which originated from Nature or Nerandali presumed all these things before emerging out of the earth's care.

Dharani Penu(Earth God) who Kuianka adore consists of three relatively

smaller stones(Vertically placed) which are kept in front of another large stone. They found this penu in Sapanagada when they emerged out of the earth first. Then onwards they hare continued worshipping Dharani Penu when a site is chosen for shifting cultivation. If they are satisfied with the site and no such Penu is available there they bring three small and one larger stone from Sapanagada and arrange the image in the field. After the ritual function of Dharani Penu they start cultivation. Because Sapanagada is an auspicious place for them where they found Dharani Penu, they maintain the same adoration for the earth god as their original predecessor did. Deifying everything in the name of God 'is their cultural tradition which they have learnt from the environment. Ecologically they perceive that Dharani Penu came through regenerating process and became a being. This god is responsible for the increase fertility of the soil, quick regeneration of the follow land, more of crop production in shifting cultivation etc. If she is angry with Kuianka, they may face disaster. To overcome such dangers they go for ritual prayers in order to satisfy Dharani Penu.

Because of their deep and continuous association with the environment Kuianka gradually started being acquainted with many other new edible plants, fruits bearing trees, crop seeds which are required for their food and shelter. According to Kuianka perception they could know all about these, when Dharani Penu told them in dream through their astrologer/ priest. The flow of water and stream in the nature is the indication of working away Kuiankas sufferings and diseases. They perceive Kapka ganni indicates the cultural values of Kuianka. It is in nut shell, application of Kuiankas' knowledge to feel their identity, dominance understanding the components of the living space the environment. Like Basa ganni it also adds to the knowledge of the environment.

Thus Sapanagada symbolises the living space of Kuianka- the environment which came with its thoughts, beliefs and the entire cultural pattern of this tribe. In otherwords not only the Kuianka , but also their entire cultural feelings and values of different aspects of their life emerged out from it. When they developed fear towards mystery of nature viz. the storm, cyclone, etc, which were beyond their perception they were deified as Penu(god).

Environment is the source of resource for Kuttia Kondhs. Scientifically environment includes three major resources viz. lithosphere (stones, soils, mountains and hills) hydrosphere(water) and atmosphere(air). There is no specific term to express 'resource' in Kui language. They say in their language 'Kamma aate means useful in work- the thing they use for their specific needs. That is the general understanding among Kuianka about so called 'Resource'. Another Kui term they use is 'Si-eete' means to give'. That may also be included in the term 'Resource'. Hence in broader sense 'work and give come under resource- as per their belief. They divide the Nature (environment) into different units viz. Soil,

tree, forest, hills, cattle, buffalo, sun(Weda). Each item may be considered as resource according to Kuttia Kondhs perception on the basis of work (Kamma aate) and give (Si-eete).

When Nerandali emerged out from Spanagada she could think of creating every thing by her supreme force, excepting, Sun, moon and sky. She brought Biha (seeds) from underearth which signifies the process of regeneration and re-production- hence it is a resource as per their mythical understanding. However this is the first subsistence of resource of Kuttia Kondhs. In due course of time after landing on earth they came to understand 'Nature' (environment) from the legends, songs associated with their culture. In the pre-historic time Kuttia Kondhs were nomads(wonderer), going hither and thither around the forest collecting roots and tubers for their food. Everything appeared to them as miste,. Slowly changes occured. The first culture was agriculture (shifting cultivation) for their substaince. Besides cultivation they became dependent on 'Nature' for their other needs. They denominated the forests and hills according to the availability of flora and fauna and that too in the name of deities. Yet the nature was a mistery to them. They only felt nature was their living space. Nature was mystry to them. Out of fear they started worshipping nooks and corners of forest and thereby developed religion which were included in their culture. Earth/God, Agricultural Hill god, water god became resources for them. Sun who gave them the idea of day (light) and night(darkness), gave the idea of time and memory could create weather became the supreme a resource to them. Similarly the wind, trees, animals, sky, moon each of them became resource to them. According to their perception living space is a 'being'. Nature was understood in metaphorical way through Penu and it became a resource. They have a strong perception that if they satisfy penanni in different manners the resource would never be exhausted. Forest became a second home to them and they developed social and spiritual bondage with the forest. So forest became the most social form of resource to them.

Shifting cultivation became their main livelihood. From multi cropping methods, they could get to use the resources. Kuttia Kondhs give highest priority to man power than to production in agriculture. Shifting cultivation is done by community labour, may be family members or outsiders. They are quite rational in resource use, production processes and management in their cultivation. They adopt similar outlook while managing the domestic front.

Settled agricultural economy is the dominant form of economy among Kuianka. Hunting and collecting minor forest produces also add to their economy. They also get ready cash by marketing the surplus agricultural goods that they cultivate in their land. All these income are added to their economy. Because of the non-tribal middle man, Panos and other traders, Kuttia Kondhs get exploited. They have to sell these goods to them at throw away price. Hence Kuttia Kondhs

do not get the exact price for their products. Thereby their economical standard becomes very poor even if the whole family put in their labour in the field or elsewhere round the clock or whole of the year excepting the lean seasons

According to Kuttia Kondhs perception seeds came first followed by crop plants and trees. In the embryonic stage of development plants look similar to human beings and animals. In the latter phases of growth new organ formations take place differently in plants, human beings and animals. They believe that certain plants were used for sacrificing purposes to god much before human sacrifice. Out of those plants *Pterocarpus marsirpium's* sap is blood. The sap of this species looks like human blood.

Mythological perception of Kuttia Kondhs is that when originally Sambar was killed/sacrificed, its blood gave rise to stream(water), left over pieces converted into plants and its stool gave birth to stones(hills and mountains).

According to the logical view point of Kuttia Kondhs when two religious plants viz. Shorea robusta and Terminalia Tomentosa were crossed (got married) a new plant species was born. This mythological conception of Kuttia Kondhs of marriage(crossing) between two different plant species gave birth altogether to a new plant can be interpreted scientifically. According to science when plants florish in nature for a pretty long time, all in a sudden a new plant species is obtained and the process is called natural hybridization. By that the newly born plant of such hybrid exhibits its vigour. So their mythological view point may appear to be scientifically correct. The most important thing is to be noted here, their closeness to the environment and continuous observation of the plant species by which they could differentiate and identify a new plant species which they had not come across earlier. According to them plants also have sex and out of the union of two opposite sexes seeds are obtained. Likewise many such plants have been perceived by Kuttia Kondhs which have got mythological importance.

Many medicinal plants have been identified by Kuianka and their medicinal properties are known to them. Out of these medicinal plants certain orchids and parasite plants have been identified by them as medicinal plants. As per their belief parasites have got medicinal values, while their host plants are poisonous. Achyranthus aspera(a herb) is used by them as tooth brush which gives protection to the gum. When it is taken during pregnancy woman give birth to a male child. It also has the curing properties of diarrhoea. It is also used in witch [illegible] ds for crop protection etc.

Kuttia Kondhs perceive that plants have a social life and they communicate with each other. They classify plants on the basis of utilitarian and mythical grounds. In a forest ecosystem the relationship between plants and Kuianka is

multifarious and multidimensional tree worship, tree marriage, tree as a symbol of sex and fertility, magics- religious beliefs of plants etc. Plants as a source of medicines are well preserved in oral tradition in Kui ganni, Kapaka ganni, Basa ganni, Enda ganni of Kuianka culture. As per their perception plants and trees are the oldest and longest living beings on the earth and they are sacrosanct and symbols of images of Gods and Goddesses. According to them spirits (good or evil) live in trees and trees are the abodes of deities. As per their belief spirits prefer to stay in large trees and these spirits are the cause of diseases and distress. They believe that trees are the natural representatives of Gods, who look after the welfare of the Kuttia Kondhs society. Hence they consider both trees and spirits as parts of the nature. The have the old age traditional belief in tree worship cult. They use trees as symbol which is observed in folk lore, myths and rituals. They have perception that trees where deities reside have a magnetic power which attracts supernatural beings. Tree stumps are designed to different shapes of God. The Jagannath cult of Puri in Orissa is made out of the tree trunk of neem(Azadirachta indica). It is considered to be a tribal god as per the myth. Trees thus became the connecting link between man and the deities. As per Kuiganni tree is evolved from Sambar(an animal). The first crop grown by Kuttia Kondhs was from the seeds which their first man brought to the earth when they came out of the earth at Sapanagada(Kui ganni).

Kuianka are basically religious minded people. This practice has been developed within them because of their fear and love towards resources(Nature/ Environment). It is however narrated in their Kuiganni, Kapka ganni, folk lores, oral lores. Lores are the basis of the part of their religion. Religious headman of the society performs various rituals in a year adopting the traditional practice. This practice is governed mostly by their faith in the resources rather than the knowledge about them. Religious faith gives them strength and moral support. Because of their tremendous faith in religion they could withstand all the dangerous situations created in the forest like cyclone, storms, falling of stones from huge mountains due to natural corrosion and erosion etc.

Religion among Kuttia Kondhs includes totemism, animism, magic and ritualism etc. Because of the multifarious religious practices observed by the society and each being intermingled with the other in such a manner, it becomes difficult to trace out the real origin of this religion and its culture. There is no such systematic approach to understand correctly their system of religious culture.

Anybody who observes closely their religious performances get confused in a similar manner like Kuttia Kondhs who once got confused to see the vastness of nature having massive mountains, hills embedded with thickly populated vegetations, roaring water falls stream and the endless sky and moon and stars above his head when he first landed on earth at Sapangada.

They consider the man who performs magic and witchcraft as superman in the society, because they have the perception that this man could bring peace to their mind by his performance and keep them away from danger. They have a strong perception that when a person dies his soul becomes a spirit and that spirit clings to a particular tree. So they start worshipping that plant to satisfy the spirit. According to them majority of spirits are evil and only a few of them are harmless. More specifically they pay great respect to their ancestral spirits through rituals. They have the belief that if they do so theywould overcome the evil deeds possibly created by the spirits. On the whole they are more afraid of spirits than the Gods and Goddesses.

They have a belief that many plants have been evolved from 'Sambara' which is an animal. They preserve very carefully its jaws, bones, horns etc. in their houses as they believe these are auspicious. The best hunting animal as per their consideration is 'Sambar'. They sacrifice 'Sambar' in rituals. So hunting and enjoying its meat and praying to a particular so called auspicious animal(Sambar) goes side by side in their society culture. Now-a-days Sambar has became scanty in forest. It is considered as a threatened animal species. So the Government has included this animal as a protected animal species in the forest (animal preservation act). Hence this auspicious animal is no more available to Kuttia Kondhs. In good olden days they used to sacrifice Sambar in Meriah festival. Now they have substituted buffalo in place of Sambar.

Deification of nature, animals and plants are the traditional phenomenon in the culture of Kuttia Kondhs. They believe that plants are the specal gift of god and hence they worship plants. For instance they worship all the species of Ficus, Syzyium Cumini and Mangifera indica and certain other available species in their surroundings. They also name their children after the sacred tree species. They have a belief that if they chant often utter the name of such sacred plant species they would be blessed by gods. Hence vegetation has got tremendous influence on their religion.

They have the perception that Timka, a clan, was born from bamboo shoots. According to their mythological understanding many clans of their society have been born from different plant species. The very nomen claturing of the forests, hills and mountains by them after the deities imply that they are deeply religious and God fearing. They believe that transfer of the soul of one person to other living body like birds, animals etc. could be achieved by wizards. That implies that their attitude towards religion is inter mingled with their society culture.

During pre historic time human sacrifice was performed in Meriah festival by this tribe. They had a belief if the blood and residual parts or different organs

of the sacrificial human being is put in their agricultural field they would get bumper crops for their livelihood. After Lord Bentick's. Act to stop human sacrifice in their society, they substituted 'Sambar' to be sacrificed in Meriah festival. When Sambar became a threatened species and wre not earily available to them they chose buffalo for the purpose. The substitute chosen for sacrifice purposes is done on the basis of the colour of the hide Kuttia Kondhs are black, Sambar is black likewise the buffalo is also black. That is the only belief depending on which they go on substituting human being to different animals.

Kutaka of the society is assigned to act as magician and witchman. They are also accepted by them both as astrologer and medicine man who get the highest status in the Kuttia Kondhs society. When Jani participates during magic and witchman functions, he has to perform duties as per the direction of Kutaka and he is not entrusted to put forth his views independently. Transformation of man(human being) to a tiger(animal) is generally done by Kutaka by going through different ritual steps while enchanting mantras. This is popularly known in Oriya as 'Palatani Bagha(conversion of man to tiger). Kuttia Kondhs strongly believe that the process of transformation of man to tiger is true as they are living being. Nobody has seen this phenomenon, but still there is a saying that in the interior places of dense forests a few old ladies do this. There is no such scientific truth behind it and no body has been the process of transformation still Kuttia Kondhs have a strong perception that it is there in the society. Because the society is polluted by non-tribals, Kutaka has lost that power- Kuianka have a strong perception that diseases like small pox, measles are spiritual diseases. When they suffer from these diseases instead of going to a medicine man they rush to Kutaka/ Jani of the society to do the ritual to erradicate the diseases. The contagious diseases through water and air as well as malaria through Anopheles mosquito is one frequent occurrence in their families. In all these cases they do their traditional rituals for healing. Kuttia Kondhs seldom choose herbal medicines, because they have the perception that all the ailments can easily be cured if they satisfy their specific deities who they think are responsible for spreading these diseases when they get dis-satisfied with them. However now-a-days Kuttia Kondh Development Agency (K.K.D.A.) provides western medicine for the purpose. These medicines are seldom used by the Kuttia people and only educated youths go for such medicines, never the tradition bound persons.

For agricultural purposes especially for shifting cultivation(the original culture of the society) they believe in worshipping Dharani penu(earth god) before processing the field for multi crops. Dharani penu is nothing but three small stones put in a line which are guarded by another big stone behind them. This penu was originally located by Nerandali at Sapanagada. She named the stone as 'Dharani penu'. This have been of course has been narrated in Kui ganni. Then onwards

Kuttia Kondhs pursuing the mythological ideas and practices of till to-day.

With regards to concept of disease they leave everything in the hands of God. They have a belief that since the nature is the gift of God, he is the only person who could save any type of problems they face including diseases. They perceive the phenomenon of curing diseases that they have inherited from the oral lores, ganni etc. prevailed in their society in olden days. Accordingly they go for psychic manifestation to ieradicate diseases. It is said Kutaka that Jani first get the advent of a particular disease before hand in dream as they capable of conveising the deities. During the ritual Kutaka goes into on trance and prescribes certain specific rituals followed by a particular type of animals etc for sacrifice. They have the perception that when a person commits enough sins, he/she suffers from leprosy and hence they are very much afraid of leprosy. The plant 'Euculyptus'. They consider that it causes leprosy and so they are against Encalyptus plantation in government's afforestation programme in their fallow lands.

While patches are observed all over the Eucalyptus plants like the white patches seen on the skin of a leprosy patient. They can not stand the sight hence they reject this plant and do not ever allow Eucalyptus to grow in their localities. There is no basis or scientific truth behind this rejection this plant. Morever no mention has been made in their traditional ganni, myths etc regarding this. It is really peculiar to Kuttia Kondhs community that once any thing good or bad gets imbibed in their mind, it becomes difficult to erase it. Many such social taboos are there with regards to occurrences and spreading of diseases, which Kuttia Kondhs believe and hence they suffer to the maximum yet the life of Kuttia Kondhs goes on.

There are still certain folk medicines prevalent in the society. These medicinal uses and practices are generally organised by the priest. The botanists, ayurbedists and many other researches have entered the arena of folk medicines of Kuttia Kondhs and have started doing profile of them, experimenting scientifically to establish the active principles etc. On the other hand Kuttia Kondhs remain undisturbed, they suffer from various diseases but do not looking for the old aged folk medicines easily available to them. Everything they leave to god for their happy living.

Kuttia Kondhs demand that shifting cultivation is a part and parcel of their age old tradition. From the mythical conception they perceive the idea that Nerandali with her kith and kins when she came out from beneath the earth to Sapanagada she brought 8 types of crop seeds including soil samples for the shifting cultivation. At Sapangada she found Dharani Penu and many bamboo bushes . Then onwards when ever they go for shifting cultivation they are very concerned about the existence of Dharani penu and bamboo bushes (auspicious items).

Shifting cultivation may be termed as slash and burn agriculture followed by abandoning the field for a few years for natural vegetation to regenerali. It is also termed as swiddening (a burred cultivation). Shifting cultivation is only done by tribals. Later on gonds have followed suit, but not Panas(non-tribal men). It is also popularly known as Dongar Chasa.

1973 survey indicates that in Phulbani 8435,20 sq. kilometers of land was under shifting cultivation. It is about 23% of the total land of Phulbani district. The population size of Phulbani was 1,95,000 then, shifting cultivation is done in hill slopes or slightly level land. It is just a rotation cropping for 3/4 years (Previously the interval was 8/10 years) interval.

After traditional ritual and worshipping the Dharani Penu at the selected site the processing of land starts,' followed by another ritual to the seeds in the middle of the field. Another worship is done to the empty container of the seeds stored earlier. Likewise many worship are performed and in each worship/ritual there must be a sacrifice of a hen/pig/buffalo(animals). Towards the harvesting time another ritual is performed invoking good of wealth with a hope to get bumper crops.

The agricultural instruments they use are very simple and limited in number viz. hoes, crow bars, tinny maffocks and pirus, country plough etc. In this practice they primarily depend on rains(monsoon). Hoeing is done before sowing the seeds and that too in multi cropping styles. The seeds are put in the field by using dibbling sticks. Woman folk take the responsibility of such dibbling process choosing carefully the seeds of long and short dormancy. Weeding takes place in the month of July. Spinach are used as leafy vegetables and the rest are kept for green manure/ fertilizer. They keep watch on the crops from watch huts made in the field, sheds on the branches of large trees. While watching the crop they also get the opportunity of hunting herbivorous animals like Sambar, Bison even porcupines. They go for kharif(cereals, pulses, oil seeds etc.) and Rabi(til, mustard etc._ crops. The only difficulty is that due to Reserve Forest Protection Act they are unable to get a site of their choice now. Even then they go for shifting cultivation in reserve forests stealthily without the notice of the forest officials. If they are caught they have to give heavy penalties to the government through their nose. In some case they are even sent to prison.

Analysing the shifting cultivation, it appears that it has tremendous impact on the environment. By continuous slashing and burning a site, in a short interval of time, the xerophytic condition of the soil is attained. Large timber trees remaining in the middle of the site are burnt and thereby forest ecosystem is lost. Gradually the forest has started becoming dry deciduous forest. Cutting of huge trees at random creates the lowering down of the water level in the soil and by that

many bushy plants are found to be endangered and sometimes die. Due to lack of water grass species dry. Herbivorous animals deer, four horned antelopes, Sambar are found to be threatened. Thinning of forest means making the inmates of the jungle homeless. On the whole the entire forest ecosystem is in danger.

Kuttia Kondhs have no documented scripts of their traditional lores, myths, ganni, legends etc. The only phenomenon through which they could keep up the indigenous knowledge of their tradition is 'oral'. They speak a particular language called 'Kui'. Amalgamation of Kui and Oriya become inevitable in their society because of the entry of certain non-tribals like Gonds and Panos (oriya speaking people). According to Kuttia Kondhs myths two types of people were first found in this world viz. Rajianka(who took up education and remained in plain land and became acquainted with paddy cultivation) and Kuianka (occupying the lower status than the former got into shifting cultivation). But Kuianka got its identity because of their indigenous living process in the society. Kuianka regards himself as the lord of the hills, mountains and forests, while Rajianka lives in the rest part of the world. This broad classification appears to be interesting and beautiful, but could the Kuianka conceive of this world. The piece of forest Kuianka occupied from time immemorial appear to them as the only forest and other than this is 'rest of the world'. Whatever the case may be once the idea sticks in their mind it can not be removed by arguments or logic. Hence let us accept their indigenous knowledge that they have inherited from their predecessors.

The expression of Kui term sometimes give altogether a different direction to our understanding. For us 'work' is an event and 'Knowledge' can be tested from the work process, methodology ideas, innovative thoughts etc. 'Nella kama' is a Kui term mean the work. In shifting cultivation context they use the ward- Nella kama. It includes cutting, slashing, burning, hoeing, weeding, sowing and harvesting the crop. Although Kuttia Kondhs mean the entire cultivation process of work which could be done by the application of knowledge but the meaning of the word does not elaborate the sense..

Thus the process of work, an event, in Kui word(Nella kama) is found to be very lengthy. This exactly signifies the 'indigenous knowledge of Kuttia Kondh'. They are linked with their traditions and hence everything in their social process is attributed to 'knowledge'. Hence Kuianka indigenous knowledge is still in its rudimentary form, but their skill is relatively advanced. Their indigenous knowledge refers to their understanding/perception about the different social processes of their life. Oral lore is a part of their indigenous knowledge. Oral lore may be of any type and is known by their Kui term ' Katha'(tales). Katha acquired by different age groups seems to be different to a great extent. By analysing the event of Katha understood by one age group to another age group one would find that there is big gap in their understanding. In the gap there are lots of facts missing

and more so the theme is ignored. In such a situation to get the oral tradition information, one must be conversant with their language and become an intimate friend to them. Besides this one has to participate in their various fauctaons in different seasons, time and place. Then only one can interpret the important situations in themes and basis of their tradition etc. One can also get points of both the theoritical and practical aspect of their indigenous knowledge.

Apart from lores, ganni, folk tales, oral tales are also there and they are plenty in numbers. They speak of it at in different time and place, may be in camp fire, working in a field, while passing along through a jungle and any other leisure time. Many stories are there, but only a few kuiankas know about them. Ganu(songs) is observed in mass participation, Kerandi(oral lore) is sung by small set of groups Kereena (proverbial tales) having double meaning is discussed among small groups.

Kereena is widely accepted by the youths of Kuianka. Elderly women and youth enjoy it as joke. Many riddles, metaphors are embedded therein, which however gives ample amusement to the participants in informal meetings.

Ganni can easily be interpreted by their lip composition. Persons among Kuianka having little bit of educational background sometimes compose songs spontaneously with reference to the situation. Once it is appreciated by the participants, he gets encouraged to compose more and more song. Ganni or songs are a rich and colourful heritage of Kuianka. It is the symbol of masses and not an individual. Ganni is not considered as a shine or memorial of any particular individual. It appears as if the mixed compositions of many poets. Kuttia Kondhs could pick up the theme, purpose and thoughts of the song embedded therein, because they know the language. Translation of the song can not give the exact picture of real theme and thoughts of the song. Their tradition is sacred to them and hence they want to preserve them for ever. Their song are sung and never recited among Kuiankas' society. Likewise they have many types of songs which are sung in different occassions.

Kuianka remains busy throughout the day intheir multifarious work. So he can not pick up lores easily unless he is free from has heavy burden of work, simply because of the fact that hearing and recording in mind are altogether two different things. Only during festivals, rituals, ceremonies and specific seasonal functions Kuianka get ample time to transmit their knowledge orally. Those whosing as a hobby sing often and enjoy singing. They can better assimilate the knowledge of the lore from the elders, but many such knowledges remain side tracked and are never mentioned in oral traditions.

Forest is reflected in the Kuiankas cultural tradition which act as a legacy

of their past religious ideas and moral values. Their long association with the forest gave birth to their myths, legends, idea of association, appreciation and identified themselves as the forest dweller community. Forest is a place for meditation. Indian hermits used to visit the top of the hills in forest for meditation, where there was no social disturbances. Forest is a source of peace and hence people go to forest and reside there for sometime to wipe out their worldly worries. Forest is a religious place for Hindus. People go to forest to have a holy dip in the sacred spring, stream, waterfall and hence it is a place of piligrimage. In Hindu mythology Siva and Parbati(forest god and goddesses)used to live in the peak of the mountains. From there itself they could hear the worries of the worldly people and solve their problem. Forest is lovely and green. Many species of flora and fauna are there to maintain the forest eco-system. Phulbani forest is a tropical moist and dry deciduous. Amidst this forest Kuianka emerged up and started living there. Since they used to live in concentric patches there evolution of ideas, thoughts , thinking power remained concentric. Once they landed there they started doing shifting cultivation (multicrop production). They were fully contented with their environment since they could get their food (shifting cultivation, minor forest produces, spinach etc), shelter(timbers bamboos etc) and clothings (leaves, bark to give coverage to their private parts). They remained undisturbed for a pretty long time. They lived their in peaceful co-existence with the environment. Out of love and fear of the forest they became God (supernatural being/force) fearing and they started dedicating every thing in the name of god. The idea of spirit came to their mind out of fear complex. They also started worship there. In due course of time another non-tribal communities Pano entered in to their arena. They started doing an important role in the Kuttia Kondhs society. Kuttia Kondhs practically were remaining nude till Panos brought handloom cloths to them. Pano acts as a temporary migrant to the forest. In exchange basis Pana used to take forest produces- Kharif and Rabi crops from Kuttia Kondhs gave salt and clothings to them. They remained friendly for a pretty long period with Kuttia Kondhs. Because Kuttia Kondhs remained much away from the market and never wanted to go out of the forest. Pano was the only communicating link between Kuttia Kondhs and the market. In the beginning Kuttias were nomads and wanderers. They used to wonder from place to place to choose a suitable site for shifting cultivation. However, in due course of time Kuttia Kondhs started their settlement and developed their society. With the development of the society certain cultural changes occured. After cultural development of the society certain enquiries come to their mind. Population growth of their society gave birth to a new problem mainly, the food problem. Then they started doing settled cultivation and that become a significant part of their livelihood and the realised that it is a cash crop. So they wanted to do marketing themselves. Then onwards market became a part of their cultural complex.

Now the Kuttia Kondhs are very much conscious of their rights and demands. Still they continue to do shifting cultivation. Which they feel is their birth right.

With the association with Pano (non-tribal and low caste Hindu) Kuttia Kondhs however, developed the sense of responsibility for their better living. Originally Pano relationship with Kuttia Kondhs was amiable. They used to supply necessary commodities to Kuttia Kondhs from the market in exchange of forest produces. Both the communities(Kuttia Kondhs and Panos) are different in their social, cultural behaviour, ethnicity, language, custom, heritage, costumes etc. Panos are considered as experts in market economy. The direct market participation by Kuttia Kondhs was checked by Panos. In course of time rivalry developed between them. Government developmental programme made Kuttia kondhs learn marketing directly by selling their good. The motivation made by the government for direct participation in market gained momentum in Kuttia Kondh's society. Kuttia Kondhs are yet to understand their crisis and hence are unable to cope up with government developmental programme.

After the Indian independence round about 1950 government became conscious of the upkeeping of the forest wealth of the state. Forest wealth includes both flora and fauna and their produce. Government started declaring certain forest as reserved forest and started encroaching the area in the forest. Some important region of the forest are protected and natural sanctuaries have developed there etc. The tribals, the real dwellers of the forest got disturbed. In the process of shifting cultivation tribals fell huge trees and plants to clear and burn the vegetation etc. Besides they hunt for animal protein(meat). Forest was not much disturbed at the time when the tribal population was limited. With the growth of tribal population more spaces are required now for shifting cultivation and more animals are to be hunted for their families. When green started decreasing in the forest, the herbivorous starved with less vegetation in the forest animals became homeless and hunting made them scared. So living inside forests for such animals became difficult.

Thereby the food chain among the plants and animals, birds and reptiles etc. are disturbed. Forest ecosystem is gradually lost. In addition to that Panos, the real exploiters encouraged tribals to get timber wood and other forest produces from the forest. The other traders also take advantage of the tribal people for their business. By paying small wages to the Kuttia Kondhs both Panos and traders get their goods from the forest. Tribals get satisfied with minimum wages which helps them for to purchase other commodities from nearby markets.

Hence, government took major steps to provide alternative means for tribals for their plain land cultivation (mostly the paddy) with which Kuttia Kondhs

were not acquainted earlier. The . horticultural mono plantation programme etc. are introduce by the government to encourage tribals to go for such cultivation. Many such programmes have been introduced by the government to uplift the tribal standard of living. On the otherhand tribals who have clung to their old tradition were reluctant to accept them. Education is the medium through which the social taboos, beliefs etc of Kuttia Kondhs could possibly be eradicated. Hence government introduced formal education center to educate the tribes. But it failed to intrest the tribals. Now government has introduced the informal education for them. Many non-government and voluntary organisations also have participated in informal education system in tribal communities.

On the other hand Kuttia Kondhs talk about their crisis and claims and disagree to leave their age old tradition and culture. They argue that they have left certain flora in the hill tops as they deified them as Gods and Godessess. In the process of shifting cultivation they do not plough the land, simply they put seeds by making holes in swidden methods. They never cut the tall tree on the site of shifting cultivation. The left over stumps grow in due course of time and make the forest green again. They leave a recess of 2/3 years to fallow land to develop the green bushes. Hence the question of erosion of soil does not arise at all in the theory of shifting cultivation. This is their view point.

They also argue that it is their birth right to live in the forest. They know in details of the whereabouts of plant species and animal species in the forest. They are the protector of the forest. They strongly advocate that they are conscious of the resources. If they ruthlessly destroy them, how do they continue to live in the forest ? They demand by saying ' we want to live in the forest, we do not want to leave ever'. They have maintained the peaceful co-existence with the forest and they can not accommodate themselves in the new set of programmes introduced by the government. Forest is their land and they are preserving and conserving it for their future generation. Many much arguments they put forth before the government officials for their home land-the forest.

Analysing socially and anthropologically the notion of preservation of forest by Kuttia Kondhs may be mentioned here. From ethnographic point of view useful information with regards to protection of certain plant species by the tribes are indicated from their myths. Biological investigations lead to attain a point that certain rocks, hills, plant species of the forest are sacred to Kuttia Kondhs and their by protected. Symbiotic relationship has also been observed between certain plants and the tribes. Besides this, there is the sacred geography of Kuttia Kondhs and their social taboos etc. including not disturbing the flora in the grave yards. Hence, the flora of the jungle is protected. This explains not only the biological diversity of nature, but also that certain mountains are being preserved.

Still there are many problems which stand as barriers in the preservation and conservation of the forest. Out of these problems shifting cultivation of Kuttia Kondhs seems to be a major one. In ecological system any disturbance caused to any factor (biotic or non-biotic) creates vibration which extends to different directions in such a manner that ultimately it disturbs the entire biotic and abiotic factors in the environment (forest). This is exactly what is happening in shifting cultivation of Kuttia Kondhs on the hill slopes. The shifting cultivation causes damage primarily to the greenery (herbs, shrubs and perennial trees) in the vast area of the forest. The herbivorous are starving due to want of greenery. Thereby the food chain in the forest is lost gradually. Many flora and fauna species are found to be endangered and threatened. Due to heavy damage of floral structure the water level in the ground goes down. The streams,water, pools , waterfalls and other sources of water are drying up. That poses a danger to aquatic animals. The xerophytic condition of the area is being attained. The top soils of the hill slopes get loosened and erosion takes place. On the whole the entire forest eco-system is gradually deteriorating to a great extent. Hence, scientifically shifting cultivation is not at all a desirable approach for the society and its environment . Hence, the very process of age old practice of shifting cultivation of Kuttia Kondhs should be discouraged. The tribals should be convinced and educated in this line properly. The alternative agricultural systems introduced by the Government for tribal communities for their food and cash crop should be given more importance in right direction. Since Kuttias are very original and conservative in their traditional shifting cultivation, their ideas are to be changed through education. Unless they are educated properly, they will remain the same as per their rigid outlook. The formal education introduced by the government and other organisations seem to be unsuccessful. The recent informal educational system introduced by the government is getting momentum in their society. Additional facilities should be provided to them to make the informal education more fruitful.

The other problem of Kuttia Kondhs is the acute economic problem. They work hard for small wages, but remain starved most of the time. That should be taken care of by implementing different programmes for the society. They should be encouraged more to cultivate cash crops for their necessary commodities. The non tribals interference in their society should be completely checked because they simply exploit Kuttias and get major benefits. Unless their economic standard and food problem is taken care of they will remain as it is for all time to come.

Health of the tribals is also another problem. Their traditional beliefs of praying to gods and goddesses and sacrificing animals for diseases should be wiped out from their mind. Hence, proper health education, health care measures etc. should be introduced by both government and non-government organisations.

Whatever health care measure have been introduced by the government is not functioning well, because of Kuttia's rigid out look towards the system. Enough awareness is to be created among them to understand the programme in the right sense. To overcome all these problems of Kuttia Kondhs society informal education is needed. More emphasis is to be given to educate these tribes rather than supplying foods, horticultural sapplings etc. with which they are not convinced at all.

However, the study made by the team of scholars on the indigenous knowledge on forest with reference to Kuttia Kondhs have been recorded. This helps one to understand their rich tradition, modus operendi, sufferings and beliefs etc. It is still a peculiar phenomenon existing in their society thus the oral transfer of knowledge. They should be documented and preserved on basic Kui-terms. If one does not know the tradition of the soil, he/she ceases to be the citizen of his/ her mother land. We must know about them and also preserve them for the posterity.

LANJIA SAORAS
AND
SHUDHA SAORAS

VOLUME - II

1

MYTHS, LEGENDS, WORLD VIEW AND COSMOLOGY OF SAORAS

INTRODUCTION

The Saoras known by various names such as Savara, Sabara, Saura, Saur, Sora etc. constitute one of the most primitive tribal communities of India showing their racial affinity to the proto-Australoid group. Linguistically they are akin to the Mundari branch of Austric language. Their language varies from place to place. It is very much poetic in expression. In the word of V.Elwin, "The Saoras who give the impression of being rather matter of fact and prosaic are surprisingly picturesque and metaphorical in their speech".

On account of their hoary antiquity the Saoras find mention in the Vedas, epics, Puranas and in various other religious texts. In the Mahabharata we come across the story of Jara Savara's killing Krishna with an arrow. We also get the reference in this text of Kirata, Nishada, Pulinda etc. who were no doubt, forest-dwelling primitive tribal people. The Dasas and Dasees as recorded in the vedic literature were the autochthones whom the Aryans confronted in course of their inroads to Bharatvarsha. The historical accounts, epigraphs and oral traditions speak of the (forest dwellers), Savaras and other groups. The later Puranas record the story of the Savara king Visvavasu who worshipped Nila Madhava. This deity is believed to have been anthropomorphised to Jagannath of Srikshetra (Puri).

The historical records of Orissa bear testimony to the supermacy of the Soaras in some regions. It is said that Dhenka founded the erst- while feudatory state of Dhenkanal and legend relating to the origin of the Borasambor estate in Sambalpur states that the progenitor of this zamindar family was a cross-breed between the four heroic youths of Raiput origin and a Saora girl. (N.Patnaik-P.2).

In the tantric tradition of Orissa the Saora cultural influence is well-marked. The names of Dhovani (washer woman) and Kitai Saurani (Saora woman) are chanted in incarnations to cure the patients from the evil eyes of spirits and ghests. The rural folk believe that the Saoras are the best sorceries and medicine men. Their folk medicines and incantations are believed to be very effective curatives for all kinds of diseases.

The English administrators and scholars have recorded in their accounts about the culture of several autochthonous tribes.

The Saoras are scattered over a wide area. Originally covering different branches of the great Kol family the apparition (Saora) is more applied chiefly to the community settled in Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Madras, though there is often little in common between them except the name.

From the above short account we can opine that the Saoras are the most primitive tribe of India. The Soaras to whom we interviewed claimed that they are the oldest among the tribes of India. They further claim that they were originally from nature and brought up on its lap. Nature provided them food and shelter. In the Soara notion the sun, moon, stars, earth, water, fires etc, are the parts of nature.

SIGNIFICANCE OF MYTHS AND LEGENDS

Tylor suggested that myth was primitive ethnology expressed in poetic form (E.B.Tylor-1873). "Myths are regarded as representing metaphorically a world-picture and insight into life and may, therefore, be considered as primitive philosophy or metaphysical thoughts". In fact, the myths and legends are the unrecorded history of the folk communities. The myths primarily and fundamentally, with religious seriousness delineate the world view of the tribals, their origin and development over the ages.

Myths and rituals are interlinked with each other. It is evident from the facts that rituals grow out of myth. No special time is fixed for the recital of myths and stories so far. These are generally recited on ceremonial occasions. Though there is no time and place for story-telling usually people recite myths in the youth dormitories and while in a group, while on a guard, over the crops. In vitalizing and maintaining the tribal customs and norms the importance of myth is stressed.

"An outstanding characteristic of the Orissa stories is their family quality. They are built up on the simple events of everyday life, which catches the attention and stir emotions in the listeners. Thus in a very large number of cases, a story opens with a man and his wife, who are given familial tribal names. Often the man is a chief as a shaman. They have children and arrange their marriages. These marriages usually are as irrelevant to the plot as they are necessary to the atmosphere of the

tale. The boy who serves for his wife in his father-in-law's house is at once a romantic and slightly absurd figure; he often appears in the stories and never fails to quicken interest. The tribe's men love parties, and many tales are set in an atmosphere of feasting, at a wodding, funeral or harvest festival.

Hunting settings are very popular, for they combine the well-loved forest background with a sense of adventure. We constantly find peasants going to work in their fields or swiddens and near by places. Incidents occur when wives carry the midday mealto their malefolk. And there is all the business ofproctecting the crops, collecting honey, fishing in mountain streams, digging for roots, gathering leaves for cups and plates a hundred familiar chores which make the miraculous transformation as divine intervention all the more dramatic and exciting for its simple and ordinary background.(Elwin - pp xvii-xviii)

Customs ofusing dress and custumes, food-habit, burial and cremation etc. are recorded in the myths.

Myths are of various types covering the entire gamut of tribal life and culture. In many areas the stories of the Hindu culture are assimilated in the tribal garb.

We find that certain types of stories are widely known in all the tribal communities. The created myths in particular follow a common pattern. Myths about the sun, moon, sky are almost similar all over the tribal world. Common too are the stories about the origin of the palm trees from the hair of ornaments dropped by boys and girls. The discovery of liquor by a god or a hero who sees birds drinking and follows their example, occurs in the mythology of many tribes.

The myths and legends of the Saoras are unique in the sense that they are comparatively free from external influence many of them are strikingly original. They cover all aspects of Saora life.

In course of our investigation we met a Saora *talaiba mar* (old man). He led us to his hut for formal hospitality. It gave us a nice impression about him. We met his wife. She was a Saora *talaiba boi*. *Talaiba boi* means old woman. The *talaiba boi* and *talaibmar* were staying in a place more or less at the foot hill where a cluster of houses were seen. On enquiry he told us the origin of the Saoras. He narrated what he has heard from his forefathers. The term Saora derived from the term 'SO' (to hide) and Ara (wood). It means that the first Saora was hidden in the wood. The wood was like a timber with a big hollow inside. The whole story of their birth process is described in "Sora jagat kata". *Jagat* is also the synthesis of two terms 'jo+Gat'. Jo refers to first and *'Gat'* to way. Thus the Saora jagat in total means how the fruit got its way from inside the hollow wood. The fruit was nothing but the Saora himself. Saora jagat kata is the only text to speak about the evolution

of Saora on the earth.

THE STORY TELLER

The story teller here is a Saora. He claims himself to be one among the Shudha Saoras. He regards himself as a Hindu. He states that in the beginning there was no division among the Saoras. In course of time their population increased resulting in their division into many communities.

The story teller Arjun Gomango by name is in his mid fifties. He was born in *Gening* (july) month, fifty five years ago. Having a little formal education in village school, he left Bamini Dongor - his original village to seek his fortune in Parelakhemundi and worked in a printing press. After a long time he returned to a place called Dambsora. Then a reformative religion was conceived . He joined there and became a compaigner of the reformative religion.

He started with the evolution of the human beings who are the fruits of 'Saora jagat', described in 'Saora jagat kata'. The Saora jagat kata is their cosmogonical myth.

THE COSMOGONICAL MYTH : SAORA JAGAT KATA :

SEARCH FOR LIFE

It was zero time when Universe was there. Nobody had seen the Universe. Everywhere there was water, above it was the atmosphere. The sky was above the atmosphere; sun and moon dazzled the sky and all those components made up the Universe. Barangdeu, Korangulu and Sisitamroga the three supreme beings were born first. They were like gods. The gods known to them were Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswar. This appears to be a later addition.

Barangdeu, Korangulu and Sisitamroga gathered at one place and decided to bring about earth, trees and plants, animals and finally the human beings. They were able to do it as they were then the only beings in the Universe. They decided and made earth first. But the earth was muddy, swampy and many parts were submerged. Korangulu put off his finger ring (*Ensi*). He buried it in the muddy earth. He buried his body hair with the finger ring uttering the name of '*purpuri*'. Purpuri is a grass. The grass is commonly known as Doob grass (Cynodon dactylon). After this, the muddy and water logged earth became dry and hard.

The earth was made . But there was no life. What to do ? Barangdeu, Korangulu and Sisitamroga all three thought about the problem. Somewhere a living being has to be searched out, Barangdeu suggested. The other two supported the view. Then all three went out in search of a life on the earth. They travelled a lot to many places. In this way they covered the entire earth in search of a living being. All on a sudden their eyes caught sight of a '*kaning*', the hollow wood. It

is also known as *Kureitung*. The Kureitung was a hollow trunk of Holarrhena antidysenterica. They did not think it useful as there was nothing inside. Being disappointed, they returned.

LIFE HIDDEN IN KUREITUNG

All three were deeply immersed in thought. Barangdeu searched for a living being. Barangee ordered crow Balkam (living with him) to go in search of a living being. He thought that the crow could fly and find out the living being somewhere. Barangdue also instructed Balkam to report to him all that is in the earth including the existence of animal or human. Balkam flew to the east, found nothing. It flew to the south, but nothing was there. It failed to see anything in the west. However, Balkam became successful when it flew to the north. In this direction he detected the Kureitung. The crow on seeing the kureitung flew down and saw *Sitoral* lying nearby. Sitoral is the rejected leaf and leaf plates. Balkam also found some grains in the leaf plate (*khali*) and leaf cups (*Dana*). It ate the remnant from the plate and returned to Barangdeu through the same path. He reported his discovery to Barangdeu But it could not say what was there inside the kureitung. But Barangdeu was clever enough. He thought when disposed leaf plates and leaf cups with grains were there, somebody must be living inside the kureitung.

KAKA - BABREN TURNED INTO SAORA

Then all three decided to visit the place and enquire if anybody was living inside the kureitung. They reached there and tested the kureitung, which had no opening. They saw a patch of honey wax (Lamet) sticking to one part of the kureitung. They removed the patch of honey wax and the door opened. The honey wax patch was working as a door. They looked inside and saw a male and a female living inside. Barangdeu called them to come out. They came out. Barangdeu asked them about their interpersonal relation. They replied they are Kaka - Babren i.e. they are brother and sister. Barangdeu could not ask them anything more; they were hidden inside the hollow wood, so Barangdeu called them 'Saora'. But the idea of constituing the Saora jagat was still in the mind of Barangdeu. He thought to make the Saora jagat. They thought of creating illusion converting brother-sister relation to husband and wife.

KAKA - BABREN TURNED INTO HUSBAND - WIFE

Korangulu went ahead with his mission. He was given the responsibility to put the hearts of Kaka - Babren in illusion so that they would see each other as lovers. Korangulu first of all germinated the sense of love in Babren - the sister. She developed sex apettite and loved Kaka - the brother. Both started loving each other. Kaka now treated Babren as his wife. The three supreme beings were satisfied. This event marked the beginning of further continuance of the human species on the earth. Thus the Saora jagat came into being.

Arjun took a pause here. He gave an interesting deseription of the three supreme beings - Barangdeu, Korangulu and Sistamroga wanted to stay in the human body. Then the human body was divided into three parts-head, thorax and abdomen. Barangdeu, being the head lived in the head region. The thorax was left for Korangulu. The god in this region created illusion making impossible things possible. The abdominal part was left to Sistamroga (Sisitam refers to waste materials in the lower part of the body). Hence Sisitamroga occupied the part from where the faeces and urine etc. are excreted. Further Sisitamroga became the authority of the genital parts. Hence, the reproduction system was regulated by Sistamroga. Thus, Barangdeu, Korangulu and Sisitamroga divided the human body into three main parts and existed in the respective parts for the purpose of further generations. Barangdeu was the sole authority of giving life to something. Karangulu was in charge of the proper management of the generation. Sisitmrog was the authority of the process of production and reproduction.

Arjun turned back to the main story. With the development of husband - wife relationship between Kaka and Babren, other insect world and animal world were created. The insects were born from different excreta and waste materials of Kaka - Babren. The animal world was born from the instincts of human mind. Thus living world exterior to the world of human beings,was created out of the wills and instincts of human beings. Arjun cited it with an example. The human being came to a fury. So he gave a furious look. The speed of the heart became faster. It got an unimaginable power. Over all, when all the changes in the human being developed, the quality of an animal, (say a tiger) developed. A tiger was born out of anger. Likewise from different modes of behaviour of the human being, different types of animals were born. This part of the myth describing the creation of animals from the human urges and instincts is a metaphorical way of expressing how human nature is sometimes related to animal nature. Hence the animal world is a part of the human world. The different species and varieties of animals now on the earth are generated out of human behaviour. The total number of existing species and varieties of animals give an account of numerous sets of human behaviour. To conclude, the animal world is a creation of the human world. The birth of animal world is taken as a symbol of the process of creation and re-creation.

Living in the hearts of Kaka - Babren. Korangulu extended the life-world. The number of trees and plants grew in numerical strength. Animal world and the human beings grew vary rapidly. Korangulu operated everything living in the hearts of Kaka-Babren. In this way the whole Saora jagat became crowded and enriched with the existing population of plants, trees, forests,insects, animals and over all the human beings.

Sisitamraga thought that human being should have hopes, wills and desires. Without hopes, wills and desires life is meaningless. Desire is like addiction. When

the life world was created, the seeds of hope was also germinated in the human mind. Sisitamroga aroused the desires in the human mind. Such desires were kept concentrated in such part occupied by Sisitamroga. Thus desire was cultivated in the mind of human beings by Sisitamroga.

The desires cultivated in the human mind by Sisitamroga had both positive and negative result. Desires also sometimes could not be materialised. So human beings felt in despair causing mental and social tensions. It developed controversy, conflicts when desires for material needs increased. This caused social maladjustment in the later times. Desires in the part of Sisitamroga made the people to feel more about sex. For this, people could not be confined to only one partner, rather they wanted for multiple partners. Thus developed a society of polygamous life in the Saora community.

KAKA-BABREN GOT NAME KITUNG - RADAB

After Kaka - Babren became husband and wife, their former identification as Kaka - Babren was forgotten. Korangulu decided to give them new names - new identification. He made them known as Kitung-Radab. Kaka got the name Kitung and Babren was named Radab. Thus Kitung and Radab came to be known as the first two persons regarded as the precursor of the Saora community. Kitung is regarded as '*Eeswair*'. They also became known as Kinjinang buiya and Kinjinang later on. But the facts associated with the names Kinjinang buiya and Kinjinang boi need a brief elucidation here.

Barangdeu had a wife named Allamei raudi. Allamli raudi was from '*All*' (fence). Allamei raudi is thus regarded as the mother of world fence, i.e. she became is the mother of all living organisms on the earth.

Sintamai Raudi is the wife of Korangulu. Sintamai is named from '*sint*' (corns). She is regarded as the authority of '*Abasi*' and '*sadai*' (seeds). She is the goddess of Abasi and sadai before they are sown and the goddess of '*sint*' i.e. after the crops are harvested. Hence she is regarded as the goddess of property, property and agricultural produces.

Gangamai Raudi is the wife of Sisitamroga ('Ganga' refers to water). Gangamai Raudi is the authority of water resources. She is also regarded as a goddess who looks after the well-being of the community.

Allamei Raudi, Sintamai Raudi and Gangamai Raudi together regulate all the activities of life on earth. They can migrate to three different 'puras' i.e. the heaven, the hell, and the earth. The heaven is called Sargaipura in Shudha Saora terminology, the earth as Nalpura and the hell as Patapura. Raudi is always associated with the feminine sex. She communicates between Sargaipura and Nalpura. She never communicates with the Patapura. Raudi acts as a messanger

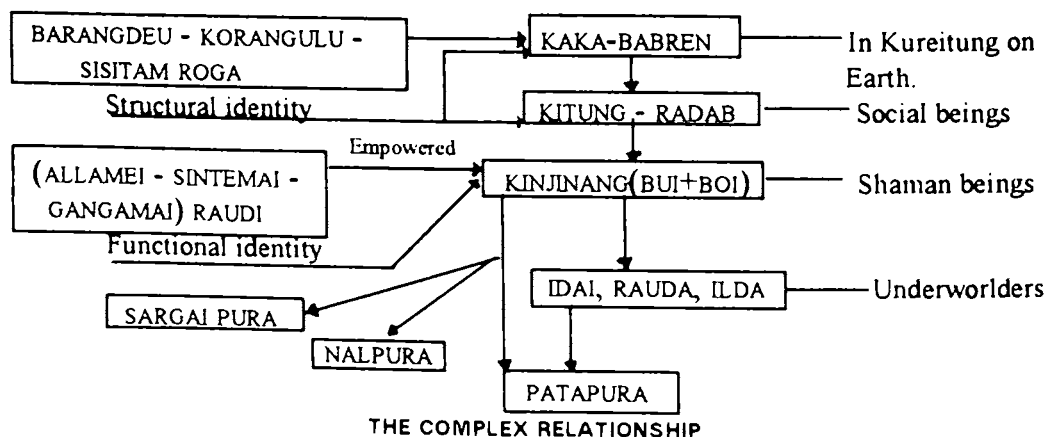
carrying message of the Nalpura to the Sargaipura. Radab is the living female person on the Nalpura linking with Kitung.

The Saora after death goes to the underworld (i.e. the hell - Patapura). If the funerary rituals are properly organised the spirit gets a position in the underworld. The spirit is then known as '*ilda*' or '*idai*'. Four different sets of nomenclature were given to the first two persons found out from Kureitung. With the interference of Barangdeu, Korangulu and Sisitamroga and their wives known as Allamei raudi, Sintamai raudi and Gangamai from raudi respectively, the Saora society was given a self existing, self continuing status of its own. The first two persons Kaka-Babren became inactive. As Kitung - Radab they looked for reproduction and propagation of human beings on the earth. Then they became known as Kinjinangbuiya and Kinjinangboi by the Raudis i.e. by Allamei raudi, Sintamai raudi and Gangamai raudi.

With the increase of population on the earth, problems multiplied. Raudis could not communicate between the Nalpura and Sargaipura always. Hence they diverted some of their responsibilities to Kinjinangbuiya and Kinjinangboi who got the name 'Buyamar'. He was given a spiritual power. He could communicate with the Nalpura and Sargaipura while in trance.

There was a problem. Raudis were unable to communicate with Patapura which was occupied by the dead spirits, Idais, Raudas and Ildas. Kinjinangbuiya was given the power to communicate with Idai, Raudas and Ildas. The society needed the help of underworlders. Thus the Kinjinangbuiya was empowered by the Raudis to communicate to three different spaces-heaven, hell and earth. Kinjinangbuiya also after death can be converted to Idai or Ilda if his mortuary rites are proporly performed.

TABLE - O



THE COMPLEX RELATIONSHIP

The complicated relationship among the names Barangdeu, Korangulu, Sisitamroga, their respective wives and the two worldly beings (Kaka-Babren) gives an understanding of the three different spaces: underworld, world and overworld and the Saora's relationship with the entities.

Kaka - Babren as the two individuals of opposite sex may be taken here as the structural and functional units of further generations of the Saora community discovered by Barangdeu, Korangulu and Sisitamroga. Hence the names Kaka - Babren and Kitung - Radab are taken as structural units only. But with the interferance of Allamai Raudi, Sintamai raudi and Gangamai raudi, the Kitung - Radab were empowered, especially the power of Kitung. Thus Kinjinangbui became the chief functional unit to co-ordinate Barangdeu, Korangulu, Sisitam roga, Alamei raudi, Sintamai raudi, Gangamai raudi who have existence in the earth, in heaven and in co-ordination with ilda, Rauda and idai in the hell, he could work for the human welfare on the earth. Thus the different names given to Kaka-babren have different implications.

Kinjinangbuiya and Kinjinangboi by keeping link with these deities managed the life on the earth. The Saoras follow the same principles of Buyaism. All the problems and solutions pertaining to the welfare system of the society are solved by Kinjinagbuiya and Kinjinangboi in consultation with the Gomango (the Chief in the Nalpura). The decision of Kinjinangbui and Gomango is materialised by their subordinates.

OTHER COMMUNITIES CAME UP WITH SAORAS

Kitung-Radab gave birth to many persons. People lived in clustered patches. Each patch was later on known as village. With the settlement of villages and with the increase in population there came various needs. Hence the need of bringing other communities to co-exist with them was thought of. For distribution of labour in the society to cater to the needs of Saoras, there was the need of other communities. But all the communities have a common origin. They are parts of the Saoras community but are considered lower in caste status.

Korangulu came to the Saora settlement much before the sun-rise. He saw all people in deep sleep. Korangulu wanted to wake them up as it was the time to go to work in the field. He called the people. He said "Dinaba barang drien dungunaba" - (wake up and go to your work quickly). Kitung and Radab woke up immediately. Kitung felt that it was already time when he should go for ploughing. So he asked Radab to start cooking. He said "I am going to plough up the fields. You finish cooking, bring food for me to the field and join me there". Then he set out for ploughing and Radab kept herself engaged in the kitchen. Korangulu called others and said "Arise, awake and go to your fields. Your brothers have

already gone there. You are late, go to the field immediately".

DHOBA

Relunctantly one man woke up. He was lazy. He had no interest in the fields. He went to the river side to wash his clothes. Korangulu got annoyed with the man. He asked him why he got interested in washing despite of his instructions to go to the field. The man remained speechless. The god became angry and told the man. "You keep washing and you will always wash clothes for others. You become the washerman". Since then the washerman group came into existence.

LUARA

Korangulu awoke another man and asked him to go to the fields, but the man got himself engaged in sharpening iron agricultural implements. Korangulu got angry with him and cursed him saying "You idle man do not respond to me, get engaged in work which you like. So you will be in this profession. You will be the black-smith". Since then blacksmith group came into being and co-existed with the Saoras. This group prepares iron implements for household and agricultural use.

BADOI

Another man got up. He got engaged with wooden work. He got pre-occupied in designing wood for a plough. When Korangulu asked him to go for cultivation. He said, he has things to do like repairing the plough. Korangulu cursed him to become a carpenter (Badoi).

SUNARI

Korangulu called another man. He instructed him in the same way to go to the field. But the man instead of abiding by the order of Korangulu, got himself engaged in doing minor repairing to the gold ornaments. He washed the ornaments, mended the cracks and joined the broken parts. Korangulu saw the man not working according to his instructions. He cursed him to become a goldsmith (Sunari).

kumuti or kamatti

An other man woke up but took no interest in going for field jobs. He picked up corns, paddy, rice etc. which had fallen on the premises of his house and kept them properly in containers. Also he took interest in cheating others. Korangulu observed this and cursed the man to become a Kamatti or Kumuti. Generally the Kumutis are business people.

AASORDA

Immediately after getting up a man went to the containers having flowers of Mahula. He also did not respond to Korangulu's instructions. He took his Mahula flowers (Aba) to a river side to cook liquor there. The Mahuli liquor is called Ara. The person who cooked Ara was cursed by Korangulu to work as Aasorda (Sundhi in Oriya)

BAMBDA

Korangulu awoke up another man. He took up the work of making dolls. In fact, he was preparing imaginative figures of various gods and goddesses (*Bama*). He did not respond to the call of Korangulu. He made him a Bambda mar (Brahmin).

KARDA

Immidiately after leaving the bed the man remained engaged with pen and paper. He wrote many things; he listed the expenditures of the previous day. Korungulu made him a Karda mar (Karan).

BAMDAI

Korangulu called a man to rise. He immediately went to cut his hair to smaller size. He shaved his face and designed his hair. Angrily Korangulu cursed him to work as Bamdaimar (Barber) for the society. He is also called *Mundandeite* mar and Barbalo mar.

KHADRA

A man engaged himself in repairing utensils and kitchen equipments after waking up, Korangulu ordered him to repair the metal utensils of the people. He is known as *Khadra mar*.

DOMBO

Only two men were left to get up from the bed. Karangulu called one and instructed him to go to the field. Instead of going to the fields he went for hunting. He took his weapons with him and went out in search of animals. Animal hunting is called as '*Dayap*' He killed cattle, buffaloes and ate their flesh. Karangulu cursed the man to become a '*Dayapmar*' (hunting man). The man later on came to be known as Dumbaji or simply Dombo.

HADI

The last man woke up. He did not respond to Korangulu. He took the

broom and got engaged in clearing up the premises. He cleaned all the dirts, dumps and garbages from the village and put them in pits. He was called a Hadimar. Hadi is the last man in the society to have been created.

GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS CONSCIOSNESS AMONG THE SAORAS

Many interprete that religious consciousness arises out of fear complex. The fear-complex provoked to feel the presence of seen or unseen power. Secret power is attributed to different objects and natural phemomena. Once the secrecy is opened out, faith in fear complex decrease. The same thing happened with Kaka-Babren when they set their house in order. They were confronted with many problems. They gave godly recognition to many things and later on worshipped such material and immaterial things as deities.

The moment Kaka-Babren became husband and wife with their new names of Kitung - Radab, they decided to construct a house of their own. They went in search of poles to construct a house. The first pole on which the whole house is supported is always regardėd auspicious. The pole is called *khinjar*. Kitung-Radab felt the presence of some deity in the pole. Thus they attributed a godly name to the pole. They called it Khinjarsum or Sungdang sum (i.e. the pole deity). Sum stands for god or goddess.

After the pole was established there was the need to keep space around the pole for general movement inside and outside the house. So the path left for the purpose was regarded as *Tangar sum* (the path deity). Tangar sum has to be worshipped, lest people face any danger while they move on a path inside and outside.

When house was compartmentalized, small paths for movement were attributed to the god Babu sum. Babu sum thus became the authority of small paths and intercommunicating passages inside the house. The people living in the village may quarrel with each other. Babu sum is the deity who mitigates all these. For this he is placed in the middle of the village as the witness to quarrels, feeds and other unforseen incidents.

Kitung wanted that there should be a deity in the border of the village who would look after the well-being of the people by keeping them hidden from the evil eyes of the outer spirits. The border deity is called *Chandisum* or *Sandhidevta* who fights against evil spirit and provides security to the villagers from external evil eyes. Sariadu is the border line of the village and forest.

Kitung thought, to maintain peace in the family. Parents should never be put to problems by children or children should not be victimized by the parents. So he installed Dharma Devta in the house. To maintain Dharma in the house Kitung

and Radab wanted that rice and copper paise should be worshipped as both the things stand as property. Property leads to a feud, feud breaks children parents relationship and causes social tension. For that they put rice and paise in an earthen pot and hang in the north-east corner of the house as the deity. That earthen pot is known as Dankisum or the earthen pot deity.

Forest is the Sumum-bonum of life for the Saoras. Hence they regard this natural phenomenon as a god in the name of Gadasum. Forest is associated with rain (Genur). So forest brings rain. For this they wanted to keep Genur sum with Gada sum. When there is no rain or inadequate rain Genur pur (worship to rain god) is organized with offerings. To save people in the village from calamaties they installed *Mundada sum* at the entrance of the village. He is called Muhani deity (mouth deity).

Kitung-Radab made kitchen gardens. They made fence around the garden to protect the crops from animals and evil eyes. A god was placed in-charge of the security of crops in the kitchen garden. Thus the god living in the fence to protect the crops came to be known as Angal sum (fence deity). Kitung-Radab cultivated lands for paddy and other crops. They cultivated in hills and plains. Since the earth provides them with the agricultural produce, she is defined as a deity Lobosum by name.

Kitung gave names to different parts of his living space. The authority of denomination of places, hills, forests, animals and human beings (name deity) came to be known as Na sum.

When crops ripe in the field, there are likely to be damaged by jungle beasts. Hence there was the need of a deity to protect and secure the ripe crops from the beasts . Hence Kitung placed a deity there known as *Warsum*. *Warsum* is to be worshipped during the harvesting of the crops.

After harvesting, crops are usually kept in containers and huge quantity of crops is kept in underground cellars. A deity named Patasum was kept in charge of the grain-store.

Kitung thought of installing a deity to look after people's good health and well-being. Hence the deity was established in the house named *Yuyu boi sum*. *Yuyu boi* refers to grandmother and so *Yuyu boi sum* is the grand mother deity. She looks after the good health of all and in turn is given all old clothes of the family members. Yuyu boi sum is also placed at the time of beginning of a settlement for general well being.

Good production of crops depends on good weather. This was well understood by Kitung. So he wanted to give the charge of weather and climate to

a deity who would be held responsible for a good agricultural crop by providing optimal weather and clamitic conditions. The deity also has to work for public relations. She facilitates the transmission of messages, forecasts the weather and climate. The deity is named as Rangisum.

Precious ornaments, costly metals and stones of gods and goddesses were kept in hill caves. A deity was given the charge to protect and secure those ornaments. In a community ceremonial event, Saora people go there amidst musical proformance. Due to the worshipping of Kudanboi the doors of the caves are kept open. The Saoras take the ornaments of their choice and return to the village. After the ceremony is over they return the ornaments to the caves. The ornaments are kept in the charge of Harasum who happens to be the authority of those precious elements.

Axe is the main hand weapon of the Saoras. With the help of the axe the Saora cut trees and make wooden artifacts. Kitung and Radab created the axe. The handling of axe should always be regulated by a deity. Such god is called Tangi sum or Kitung sum.

Before sowing seeds (Jamal) a common prayer to the god was considered by Kitung. The common prayer has to be organized at a particular place called *Jananglo* near a hill. After a common prayer at *Jananglo* people should go to sow seeds. The deity at *Jananglo* is known as *Jananglo sum*. If *Jananglo sum* is worshipped properly the chance of seeds being damaged by insects is minimal.

For crops to be guarded in the night there is the need of light. Angai (moon) could provide light. For that Angai is regarded as Angaisum. With the help of moon light Saoras are able to drive out beasts from the cultivable land. In moon light they were getting ample opportunity to sing, dance and merry-making. That is why Angai sum is worshipped in high esteem. Moon light also facilitate long and tire some walk at night.

Sun is the source of light. It regulates the weather, the climate, production of crops etc. They worship the sungod named Oiyungsum.

Harvested crops are processed in pounding holes made generally in the middle of the house. The god of the pounding hole is *Anal sum*.

Cattle have to be taken care of. For, Sora cannot live without cattle. Cattle also fall sick. To protect the cattle from diseases there was the need of a deity. Ayarsum is such deity who cures cattle diseases.

Ancestral spirits in many ways help the people. They were turned to Ilda and Idai. Ilda as powerful as any other deity. The spirits are worshipped and named as Ilda sum. The process of worship is known as *Idapur*.

Idai is subordinate to Ilda. Ildasum is consulted by Shaman to know the malevolent deities and the problems caused by them.

Thus, in all, twenty four deities came into being. Kitung Radab indicated the functions of the deities and their interaction with the Saoras. This developed a sacred feeling in the next generations. The birth of these deities and the growth of religious notions later on reflects the Saora's reverence to different parts of the nature. Worship of forests, hills, different places, village borders, the sun, the moon, the weather and climate gives an idea of the Saoras religious philosophy. All these clearly relate to nature worship. The creation of so many gods and goddesses is due to fear complex and in order to respect the supernatural powers of the universe. It is interesting to note that there are no deities for wind and water in the Saoras pantheon.

THE STONE FROM FISH STOMACH

The god took incarnation in the form of Kitung. Kitung was a worldly mortal being. He lived as a man and so the human thoughts captured his mind. He created an illusion, giving birth to many. Reproduction and further generations made the Saora community larger day by day. Kitung and Radab became old and thought to leave the mortal world. Again human thought captivated their minds. Kitung thought of the living Saoras. They all are his kins. How can he leave them alone ? How can he separate himself from them ? He moved to a solitary place and began weeping, tears rolled down his cheeks. Drop by drop tears fell down on the earth. The earth was drenched with drops of tears. It got hardened and became a round stone.

Once there came a heavy rain. The rain came immediately after Kitung stopped crying. The rain washed away the earth. The stone formed earlier with the tears of Kitung was washed away with other things. The stone then fell in a river.

The heavy rain attracted a fisherman. The fisherman was looking upwards to see the source from where rain water was flushing down. He looked at many places. He searched for a suitable place where he could put his fishing net to catch fishes. He failed to choose a place.

On the otherside of the river a Sabara was hunting. The rain attracted him. He knew that the rain has made the earth soft. On the soft earth foot marks of jungle beasts can be early marked. He was moving ahead and looking down. He was trying to find foot steps of animals. He failed to find any footmark.

On the way the fisherman and the Sabara met each other. The fisherman asked the purpose of the Sabara's wandering. The Sabara also enquired about the purpose of the fisherman's presence there. They found each other having similar

purpose. They intimated each other the purpose of their moving about the river sides. Both of them developed a frindship. They made a condition that if the fisherman gets a fish, he will give it to the Sabara as a token of his friendship. If the Sabara hunts an animal he will have to give it to the fisherman as a gift. They wished good luck to each other, took farewell and went out in their mission.

At last the fisherman succeeded. He threw his net into the river and caught a big fish which he offered to the Sabara as a token of friendship. The Sabara gladly accepted the gift.

The Sabara took the fish to his house. He cut the fish into pieces and surprisingly found a piece of stone. The stomach was very heavy with that stone. The Sabara felt that the stone must be a precious one. He took it to a blacksmith to identify the type of stone. The blacksmith tested and reported that it was nothing but a piece of iron. The Sabara thought for a while and asked him to make an arrow out of the iron piece. An arrow was made by the blacksmith for the Sabara.

THE MIRACULOUS ARROW

The Sabara went out for hunting. He took his bow and the arrow made by the blacksmith out of the stone. He went around the forests in search of an animal. At a distance he saw some Siali creeper shaking. The Sabara halted there. He observed something swinging in the creeper. He gave a close look and saw something red like the lips of an animal. He aimed at and hurled the arrow at the red spot.

A deadly cry broke the silence. The cry was not of an animal but of a man. He moved fast to the spot and found a man about to die. The injured man talked to the Sabara. The Sabara learned that he was the ancestral man who has given birth to the whole Saoras community. The injured man said that he was swinging on the creepers putting red colour on his feet. That put the Sabara in illusion. The man was badly injured. Blood was gushing out of his body like flow of a river. The man was their lord, the Sabara understood. He felt guilty for injuring his lord. He repented and wept a lot. There was nothing more he could do for the injured man.

Before dying the injured man wanted to have a last look at his kins and relatives. The Sabara called all people who gathered at the place around their ancestor. People gave a last look to their god and so also the god to his people. Then the god died. The body had fallen prostrate with the face touching the earth. Slowly and slowly the gathering dispersed, but the Sabara who killed the god was still there.

When everybody left the place, the Sabara went near the dead body. He collected dried wood to burn the dead body. He tried to turn the dead body up. He

failed time and again. He used the arrow to turn the dead body. Amazingly enough, the dead body got life when it was turned up by the arrow. It gave a tremendous surprise to the Sabara.

Here is another interesting point. The dead body got life through the Kuntung (Shaft of bamboos). The arrows took life of Kitung and also enlivened him.

METAMORPHOSIS : KITUNG TO MADUSA

Before the dead body got life again, the Sabara tried to burn it. He collected wood of Bel (Aegle mormelos), chandan (Santalum album) and Neem trees (Azadirachita indica). He stacked the wood, put the dead body over it and kindled fire. The dead body remained as such. Fire could do no change to the deadbody. Then the Sabara took the arrow out and turned up the dead body and with this the dead body got life.

The Sabara was trembling with fear. The god said he would take Ayalna in Abalna (the god will take new incarnation with a different figure. Ayalna refers to incarnation and Abalna to different figure. The god wanted to stay in a secret place in the forest which only that Sabara will know. The Sabara wanted to act according to the god's desires. The god desired a completely solitary place in a deep dense forest where there should be Neem grove. There should be a perennial source of water nearby where the god can take bath and drink water. The presence of water stream nearby will keep the place cool. Besides, there should be Siali plants (B. vahlii). For, the leaves of Bauhinia vahlii will bring cool breeze to the god. There should be bamboo bushes. Bamboo on rubbing with each other will spark fire and the fire can be used for warmth in winter. These are the criteria for selection of a place where the god would stay.

Before the Sabara went in search of a suitable place which the God willed, the god continued that he (Sabara) would stay near to his shrine. This should be kept secret for all time to come. Once the truth is unravelled God would leave the place for ever. So long he stays in his secret abode the Sabara should offer him only fruits collected from the forest. The god indicated that the Sabara can know about his existence. A splendor glow in the Neem tree will indicate his coming to the site. Then he will accept the offerings. The Sabara should be ready by that time with the offerings". Then the Sabara left to find a suitable place for the abode of god.

Now the god got a new name. He was called by the Sabara as *Madusa* or *Madusum*. Madu refers to the dead body and Sum to sonum (i.e. deity). In fact, he was named so because Kitung was killed by an arrow. He was then dead. But when the Sabara turned up the body it again became alive.

NEW ABODE OF THE GOD

The Sabara went out in search of a suitable place for the abode of the god. He kept in mind all the criteria prescribed by the god in selecting a place. He travelled a long distance and made a combing operation in the hills and forests to find the place. He failed many times in his attempt. Finally, he reached a place called 'Mainajol'.

Mainajol is the synthesis of two Saora words (Maina + Joli-revulet or canal). The selected place was somewhere near the water source. The site was to the south of Kutragarh-a place near Muniguda and was to the northern border of Minajhola. From Minajhola emerged out three rivers known as Urangjal, Furfurda and Runkada. Urang means bamboo and Jol means canal. Furfur means swelling and da means water. Runk means rice and da is water. Thus the Vrangjal is meant as bamboo floating canal, Furfurda is meant as a river in which water swells up (i.e. heavy flow of water during rainy seasons). Runkada means rice washed water. The name is given so because water of the river looks like rice washed water. But the three rivers are now known as Bansadhara on the bank of which the Gunupur town is situated.

The god liked the place selected by the Sabara. He was happy to stay in such a place. Thus was his secret abode. Everyday the Sabara use to go there with the offerings. He observed the god in the form of a splenderous glow that illuminated the Neem tree and its premises. The Sabara was also quite happy to serve his god. The god was appeased with the fruits like mango, jackfruit, guava .. etc, offered by the Sabara.

Years passed on. Nobody could know about the secret abode of the god. None other could know about the god's existence. Only the Sabara knew. The god lived in the Neem tree. His appearance was marked with a bright illumination. But the secret could not be kept secret for long. One day the secrecy was leaked out. It was King Indradyumna of Puri (of Orissa) who could know about the existence of the god. He knew the god by the name of Lord Jagannath. Through a dream the king came to know that Lord Jagannath is inhabiting with the Sabara.

KING INDRADYUMNA AND JAGANNATH CULT

King Indradyumna was then reigning over Orissa with his capital at Puri. Once he thought of constructing a big temple. But he would not know the lord to be worshipped in the temple. He was thinking of the problem seriously. But there was no answer. He was advised by some unseen power in a dream to construct the temple. The deity to be worshipped in the temple would be decided later on. But the king was not convinced. He wanted to know the deity first before constructing the temple. Days passed on.

One night , the King had a dream. In the dream he saw an old man talking to him. The old man asked him to construct a temple. The deity to be worshipped there will be Lord Jagannath. The King became curious to know about lord Jagannath. The old man said that the king would be informed about the Lord. The king kept quiet. He became very happy. He ordered his people to construct a temple. The king maintained that the temple should be built in such a way that it should be the best among the other existing temples.

The king called his courtiers and discussed about the dream. The king also told them that the old man had assured him that he would extend information about Lord Jagannath. The temple was under construction. The king had another dream. In the dream the king saw the same old man telling him about the Lord Jagannath. He said that Lord Jagannath is staying with Sabara people. A Sabara is offering worship to Lord Jagannath regularly. The Lord is very favourite of the Sabara. To instal the Lord Jagannath in the temple, the king will have to steal the deity from the Sabara, the old man instructed. But the old man did not tell exactly the abode of the Lord Jagannath.

The next morning the king called an emergency meeting of the courtiers. The king narrated before them the dream he saw in the previous night. Then he wanted that a man has to be found out to go in search of lord Jagannath. But it was not-one man's job. The king sent his army to various directions to locate the Lord Jagannath. Vidyapati- one- courtier of the king went with a team of soldiers in search of lord Jagannath. The king bade farewell to the teams.

The army spread over to different parts of the king's territory. Vidyapati got separated from them and went to south in search of Lord Jagannath. He travelled many places and gathered information about the Lord Jagannath. Finally he came to know that the Sabara has established the Lord in a very secret place. Vidyapati also learned that only the Sabara could tell about the place of the Lord Jagannath. Then he set out in search of the Sabara.

Vidyapati reached the Sabara's village. On his way to the village he met a young girl. Vidyapati was very thirsty then. He saw the girl dragging water from a well. He begged her for water to drink. The girl was astonished to see a beautiful youngman and immediately offered him water. Vidyapati quenched his thirst. He then asked the name of the girl. She gave her identity. She was Lalita. Lalita invited Vidyapati to her house. Vidyapati gladly went with her. She gave him good fruits. Vidyapati felt contented with the fruits. He was also very happy with the hospitality of Lalita. But he had not forgotten his main mission.

Lalita's father came home by the evening. He came to know about Vidyapati. He asked Lalita if she knows the whereabouts of the man. He asked Lalita to take care of Vidyapati and simultaneously cautioned her to be careful

about him. However, the Sabara instructed his daughter to mark the activities of Vidyapati and to report to him. Lalita agreed to act according to her father's advice.

Lalita became the guide of Vidyapati in the forest and other places. Vidyapati always followed Lalita and in course of time developed a cryptic friendship with Lalita. He appreciated Lalita's hospitality, her friendliness and her feminine character. Lalita was a simple uneducated girl. She could not judge Vidyapati and know his evil intentions. She fell in love with Vidyapati. Both maintained conjugal life. Everything happened in the absence of the Sabara. Day by day their relationship grew deeper.

Taking the chance of a weak moment of Lalita, Vidyapati asked her where does her father go out the whole day. Lalita simply answered that her father goes to the forest. He is the headman of the village, he has to decide the villager's conflicts, disputes ..etc. But that was not the answer Vidyapati wanted. Vidyapati requested Lalita to promise that she would not hide anything. Lalita promised, Vidyapati put the same question again. Lalita was promise-bound. Also she was an innocent and faithful Sabara girl. She hesitated for a while, but being promise-bound disclosed everything to Vidypati. She confided that her father goes to worship Lord Jagannath in the deep forest. Vidyapati wanted to know about the location of the place. But Lalita confessed that she didnot know where the place was. She maintained that her father hasnot even told her, about the location of Lord Jagannath.

Vidyapati took another chance with Lalita. Once he requested Lalita to arrange a trip to see Lord Jagannath. She said she would try to talk to her father about this. She was sure enough that her father would not deny his daughter's request. She was quite sure of her father's affections.

On getting a suitable opportunity, Lalita asked her father about the location of Lord Jagannath. She wanted to visit the Lord for whom she used to pluck flowers every morning. The Sabora was reluctant but replied that he would take her to the lord. Lalita told her father that Vidyapati would also accompany her. The Sabara tauntingly denied. He recalled the caution of the lord that once the secret is leaked out, the god would vanish.

Lalita was shocked at her father's denial. She left her food and drink. The Sabara finally agreed to take both of them to the shrine on a condition that he would first tie the eyes of both Lalita and Vidyapati with a cloth so that they could not see the way to the spot. He feared that with his eyes open Vidyapati might recognise the route to reach Lord Jagannath and steal away the god. He said that at the spot where the Sabara worships the god, he would open their eyes. Lalita and Vidyapati agreed to her father's proposal and got ready for the journey.

The next morning they started for the shrine of Lord Jagannath. Vidyapati şet a plan in his mind. He collected some mustard grains and tied it in a cloth and made a small hole in the cloth. The Sabara led the way and the blind-folded Lalita - Vidyapati followed. While walking mustard grains fell on the road one by one. Finally they reached the site of the Lord. Vidyapati was delighted to see the Lord Jagannath. He had succeded in his attempt to locate the god. On the right spot their eyes were opened by the Sabara. Vidyapati was surprised to see the god. He became anxious to transmit the information to the king who might be waiting for him eagerly.

Vidyapati saw miraculous event at the spot. The Sabara invoked the god who appeared in the Neem tree. The Sabara adorned the god with flowers, offered him sweets and fruits. The god accepted everything that was offered to him. Slowly and slowly the illumination dimmed out and finally vanished. Vidyapati realised that the god has existence in invisible form . He is only marked by an illumination in the Neem tree. He became sure that the Neem tree itself is the representation of the god himself.

All of them returned to the village. But Vidyapati looked unmindful and silent. When Lalita asked him about his silence, Vidyapati indicated his intention to go home for some days to see his friends and relatives. Lalita heaved a sigh and agreed to leave him for a few days. She arranged Vidyapati's journey. He left on the scheduled day. Lalita escorted him half way and wished him a speedy return.

Vidyapati returned straight to king Indradyumna. He narrated everything that he had learnt about Lord Jagannath. He said that he had found the way to reach the Lord Jagannath. The king wanted to visit the place immediately. But Vidyapati opposed him saying the mustards he had sown on the route would germinate during the rains and the mustard seedlings would show the way to the shrine of Jagannath. Thus the tour was postponed till rainy season.

Vidyapati did not return. Lalita waited for long. The Sabara came to know the helplessness of his daughter. He became angry for her foolishness and stupidity. The Sabara also felt that something inauspicious is going to happen.

With the coming of rain, the king arranged his trip to bring the lord Jagannath. The temple was completed then. Vidyapati became the guide for the troop. Mustard seeds spread on the way to the shrine grew to a size. Everybody followed the line of mustard plants. Finally they reached the Neem tree. The Sabara was not there then. The king invoked Lord Jagannath. But there was no illumination from the tree. The king became angry and ordered his followers to chop off the tree. The followers immediately carried out the king's order and cut the Neem tree. The king further ordered them to carry the tree with them. But they

could not lift the tree up. They cut down the branches of the tree but still the timber could not be lifted up. The king's chief priest ordered to cut the trunk into three pieces. It was done. Still people could not lift even one small piece.

The king understood the gravity of the problem. He thought that the Sabara might have played some magical tricks for which his people were unable to lift the tree. He sent his soldiers in search of the Sabara. The Sabara was caught and arrested.

The Sabara was produced before the king who ordered him to free the pieces of neem wood from his tricks. The heart-broken Sabara looked ghastly to see the Neem tree cut into pieces. He realised his folly of taking the unfaithful Vidyapati to the shrine. The king ordered his army to punish the Sabara. When the soldiers proceeded to punish the Sabara, a grave voice was heard from the outer space "Do not punish the Sabara, he is my priest, he is dear to me. Do not worry for the logs. You go back with your troops. The logs will reach you at the righttime". On hearing the voice the king left the place with his troops.

There came a heavy rain. The rivers were swollen up with water. The cut logs floated into the rivers Baunsa jola, Furfurda and Runkda. All the pieces of the logs floated to their mouth. Then they got separated, one log floated in the Baunsa jola, one in Furfurda and the other floated in the Runkda river.

Minajhola became known as a Shaktisthal, for, it was the mouth of three rivers. Again all the three logs gathered there and united in Bansadhara river which flows into sea near Kalingapattana of Srikakulom district in Andhra Pradesh. It is regarded as another Shaktisthal. Then the logs floated in the ocean and finally reached Banki muhana at Puri. This is also regarded as another Shaktisthal.

The king saw in a dream of dream that the logs are floating towards Puri through the sea. He sent his army to keep guard at the coast. In the meantime the three logs reached there. The waves of the sea brought the logs to the coast. The king called for carpenters to design the logs into the figures of gods in his palace.

QUEEN GUNDICHA AND THE OLD CARPENTER

But despite the hard efforts the logs did not move a bit. The king then ordered to cut the logs at the same spot to design the figure of Lord Jagannath. But it posed another problem. All the carpenters failed to chisel the logs. The king became extremely worried. He could not decide the course to be adopted. He himself went and tried to cut the logs by an axe. The logs rebounded the axe. The king then declared that if any body would be able to cut the logs, he would be rewarded.

There came on old man; he was too old to walk. He was toothless. His skin was wrinkled and had no power to walk and talk. He came to the king and requested him to allot him the job of making figures out of the logs. The king laughed at the old man. He said to himself "this old man who is unable to walk will design the figures ! It seems quite impossible. Perhaps the old man has come there out of greed to fetch the rewards". But the old man was looking confident. He asked the king to order him to start working on the logs. The king wanted to test his ability. He asked the old man to test if his axe and chisels could work on the logs. The old man went to the logs and pushed. The log moved to a distance. He then put his axe on one log. A flake of wood came out from the log. The king was surprised at the old man's capability and thought him to be the right person to do the work. He asked the old man to carry the logs to his palace and start working there. The old man refused and put forth his conditions for the work.

The old man continued, that he would need twentyone days to make three figures out of the three logs in a closed room. He should not be disturbed during this period. He would not accept food and drink till the completion of the work. He further said that nobody should interfere in his work. The king hesitated and did not feel it wise to allow the old man to work without food and drink. The old carpenter indicated that if the king would not accept his condition he would not take up the work. The king was impressed at the determination of the carpenter. Finally he agreed and permitted the old man to start the work. The king left the carpenter with the logs in one large dark room and locked the door from outside. He left the key in the hands of the queen, Gundicha and requested her not to open the door till the completion of 21 days. The queen kept the keys and promised to act according to his instructions.

The old carpenter did his work with the logs in the dark room. Chiselling sounds of his axe was hard for a few days. Queen Gundicha was keeping continuous watch over the room. Everybody was curious to know the activities of the carpenter. Fourteen days passed. It was the fifteenth day. Queen Gundhicha came to the door as usual but could not hear any sound. She had a strong feeling that the old man had died out of hunger, hence there is no sound. She could not control her curiousity and finally ordered her people to open the door.

The door was opened. Immediately the queen rushed into the room. To her great surprise the old carpenter was not there. He had disappeared. She saw three half-made wooden figures, without hands and feet and unfinished face.

A sound was heard from the sky, "Queen Gundicha ! despite my request not to open the door for twenty one days, you opened it on the fifteenth day. I myself have took up the work in disguise of the old carpenter. You could not keep faith on me. Now the figures cannot be designed any more. You can take the figures

to your temple and instal them there. A ceremony is to be organized to take the figures to the temple. The white figure is named as Balabhadra, the yellow figure as Subhadra and the black one as Lord Jagannath. Balabhadra is the elder brother of Jagannath and Subhadra is their sister". When the king arranged the first ceremonial worship of the deities again an oracle was heard.

The god directed the king not to start the worship by his priests. The Lord ordered the king to bring the Sabara for worship as he was the original priest. The king sent his men to bring the Sabara to Puri ceremonially.

During all these days, the Sabara had led a pathetic life due to the disappearance of his deity. Out of grief he had left food and drink.

The king's army reached the Sabara's place and intimated to him the orders of the king. The Sabara got furious and scolded Vidyapati for having stolen his Jagannath. He scolded the king for cutting down the Neem tree. He also scolded the Lord Jagannath for his disappearance from him. He refused to obey the king's order. He scolded the king's soldiers.They returned without the Sabara.

The army returned to the palace and narrated the incident to the king. The king remained silent. For the sake of Lord Jagannath he could not do any harm to the Sabara. He kept quiet. In the night the king dreamt that only the Sabaras could serve the lord Jagannath. He was asked to bring the Pahadi (hill dweller) Sabaras to take up worship of Lord Jagannath. Then the king sent his people to bring Sabaras. The king's people invited Pahadi Sabaras to act as the priest of Lord Jagannath. The present priests were originally brought from the Pahadi Sabara community.

The chief of the Sabaras was annoyed with the Lord Jagannath. He murmured, "You have forshaken my hospitality and worship. I was worshipping you for twenty four hours a day. But now I will cut you into 24 pieces and worship you in twenty four names in twenty four hours. After finishing the worship I will pour blood and liquor on your head. This is my promise and I will keep it on till you return to the Saboras again". The twenty four deities of the Saoras are parts of the lord Jagannath. They are named as Sungdang sum, Tangar sum, Babu sum, Chandi sum, Danki sum, Gada sum, Genur sum, Mundada sum, Angal sum, Lobo sum, Naa sum, Warsum, Patasum, Yuyuboi sum, Rangisum, Harasum, Kitung sum, Jananglo sum, Angai sum, Oiyung sum, Anal sum, Ayer sum, Idai sum and Iedas sum. The Sabara stuck to his promise. He started offering liquor and sacrifice while in worshipping these deities. This is the beginning of sacrifice in worships, and the process still continues.

Lalita who played the main role in showing Vidyapati the lord Jagannath's abode in the deep forest, came to be known as Lakimbara (refering to Gurubara

in Oriya - the Thursday). Her first name was Laki. From the name Laki came Lalita. Vidyapati was taken as a Gargarmar or Bhikari (beggar). From Bhikari came the name Vidyapati. The king was from the milkman family, so he was named as Gaudeswar or Gaudeswar Indradyamna raja. Here ends the cosmogonical myth of Suddha Saora.

COSMOGONICAL MYTH OF THE LANJIA SAORAS

Another myth of Lanjia Saora recording the evolution of the tribe is given here. The Sudha Saoras call Lanjias as - Malia Saora, (which is derived from the Mali, garland). A Lanjia Sora man is known as Saora Maranji in his community. It was Laxman Sabara from the Lanjia community who came forward to describe the, cosmogonical myth of the Lanjias. He maintained, that he is first a Saora and then a Lanjia. He did not consider himself an experert who could narrate the myth, rather he suggested that one should hear from a female Shaman namely -Laxmi Sabara of the village Allengal who was a good narrator of the myths, legends and ancient tales.

KUREITUNG KATA BER

She continued. Kureitung kataber is the oldest traditional story of the Lanjia Saora. We heard a Kureitung story from Arjun who is a Sudha Saora man. But Laxmi pointed out that the myth told by the Sudha Saoras is different.

Laxmi started with two persons who were living on the earth. Their interpersonal relationship was Brother and Sister. The brother was older than his sister. They were not living alone. They had their parents. They had a family life. The brother was the economic backbone of the family as he was the only earning member.

The brother was generating his income by cultivating fields, (shifting cultivation). He was dealing with the market also. He was selling his products in the market and in turn purchasing the required materials for his household maintenance. Continuously he kept himself out of his home. This was the brother's daily routine life. The family lived in a hut.

Inside their house there was a stage. The stage was about eight feet high from the floor. The roof of the house remained about five feet high from the stage. The stage is called Mada. On the Mada there was a box. In the box the brother kept an *englubur*, (a fruit like cucumber cucumis sativa). It is also identified as a wild cucumber. Besides the box, there were many other things like food grains, household artifacts on the stage. The box was almost hidden among the other items, kept on the stage.

The sister was staying in the house most of the time. The brother once called his sister. He asked his sister not to go up to the stage in any case. If at all she goes there, she should not open the box. The brother again told her that there will be problems if she goes up to the stage and opens the box. The brother thus tried to create a fear complex in the sister's mind.

THE TERRIBLE MISTAKE

After the brother left home for his business, curiosity led his sister to go up to the stage and open the box. She was eager to unravel the mystery. She wanted to know what important thing was there in the box. She located the box and opened the box and said to herself "oh ! its the fruit which is kept by my brother inside the box". The fruit was nice enough to see. It was ripe. The sister became greedy. She further thought that perhaps her brother has kept it to eat in the absence of his sister. She took the fruit and cut it into two symmetrical pieces.

A reddish liquid trickled out from the cut fruit. The liquid was blood red and so the sister took it as blood. Blood oozed out continuously. All the efforts of the sister failed to stop the outflow of blood from the fruit. She tried to plaster the cut parts with cow-dung. But it could not stop the outflow. The floor looked red. She tried to remove the stains from the floor. She washed it off. But still the stain remained. She polished the floor with cow dung. But she got no positive result. The earth turned red with the stain of blood. She repented a lot for her misdeed. She was certain that her brother would be angry with her as she had gone against her brother's instructions.

After sometime the brother returned home. His eyes caught sight of the floor that had turned red. He enquired about that. The sister confessed and narrated all that had happened with the fruit. She repented to her brother for her misdeed. Her brother took this as a sinful act, scolded his sister and other family members. Then the brother decided that he should leave his home for ever. The sister wept a lot and tried to dissuade him from such a decision. She said that she didnot know that there was a life inside the fruit. She thought that the life in the fruit might be of his brother's wife. Finally the brother left the house.

The brother stayed outside continuously for three consecutive years. He did not return to his house. All the members in the family accused the sister for her sinful act.

THE BROTHER WAS TRACED OUT

Three years passed. A Dumbaboi (i.e. a Domb woman) was selling daily necessaries in the village continuously. She was carrying salt, chilly, dryfish into the village. She was selling her items by moving from door to door through the

barter systems. At the entrance to the village there was a palm tree. The Dumbaboi had to pass through the palm tree all the times to reach the village. Whenever the Dumbaboi passed through that way she often heard somebody talking to her from the top of the palm tree. She gave no attention to the sound. One day she heard carefully the sound from the tree "Hey Dumbaboi ! You are visiting my village almost everyday. You must be observing the condition of my parents and my sister. Are they living happily. Please tell me if you know anything about them". The Dumbaboi looked up and could find nobody on the tree top. Then she went on her way.

She went to the village for selling her materials. She approached the house of the sister and asked them if they need any thing. Sorrowfully the sister said that they have no money to purchase the materials. The Dumbaboi wanted to know the reason of their pathetic condition.

The girl narrated the whole incident before Dumbaboi. She also said that her brother was the only earning member in the family. In his absence their financial condition has deteriorated. Her parents and others are unable to work like her brother who was cultivating fields and doing business in the market. She continued that three years passed since her brother left the home. She enquired from the Dumbaboi if she has seen her brother anywhere. The girl requested the Dumbaboi to report her if she comes across her brother.

Dumbaboi recollected that the voice she has been hearing all the times from the palm tree might be the voice of the girl's brother. She impatiently narrated everything that she heard from the Palm tree. The girl and her mother could not believe the statement of Dombai that the boy was hiding on the palm tree. They followed the Dumbaboi to the palm tree. To their surprise they heard the same voice which Dumbaboi heard earlier. The man from the tree top asked the whereabouts of his family. The Dumbaboi answered that "None of your family members is happy without you. They earnestly need you at your house. You left the home in anger but all your family members suffer a lot. All of them are here. They want you badly. Please come down and go back to your house with your family members". The man denid to come down".

The father of the man came forward and asked his son "you are suffering and have suffered a lot for the silly mistake of your sister. You must not have taken food for the last three years. We have brought nice dishes for you. Please come down and have food". Even then the man did not come down.

His paternal uncle, his father's elder brother requested in the same manner. But the man refused to come down.

It was then mother's turn. She came, wept heavily and called her son to

come down. She said, she has brought good food for him. He should accept it. The son did not come down despite the mother's strong efforts. But he told the mother, that if his sister requests him he will come down. On the advice of her parents the sister came to the Palm tree.

A SINGLE OATH

On reaching the palm tree, the sister called her brother. The girl said "Oh ! kakung (brother), I have committed a great mistake by not obeying your words. I cut down the Englabur wherein your wife's life was hidden. That she was living inside the fruit was unknown to me. I confess my mistake and beg excuse. For me you left the family. The family faced a lot of problems, everyone suffered a lot, felt your long absence. Please donot torture us any more, please come down". The brother from the top of the tree asked his sister to utter "Jai mandu illaboi" "Hey darling come down and have food". This type of address is usually meant for a lover to the beloved. The girl was put in a dilemma. She wondered how could she say so to her brother. She thought it quite sinful to utter such words. She requested her brother to change his decision and not to put her again in a sinful act. The brother was rigid in his decision. He refused to come down unless his sister addressed him "Jai mandu illaboi".

She saw that there was no otherway out. She found her parents to be helpless. The brother again said from the tree top that the food she brought for him has to be divided into two equal halves. One half for him and the other half for his sister. After the food was divided into equal halves, the sister would have to take the food meant for her brother. and the brother would take the food meant for his sister. But the sister would have to request the brother with the words "Jaimandu illa boi", the brother maintained. The sister thought it an Ersee (taboo/sin). But the situation demanded her to speak like that. The girl agreed to call her brother. She uttered the words once with a sign of love in her eyes for the brother. The man (brother) demanded that the girl should repeat the same words thrice. The girl did according to the desire of her brother. Then suddenly the man came down and reached for the girl. He took the girl in his arms and flew up to the tree. They finished eating as per the prior agreement between the two. The girl ate up the brother's share and the latter ate up the former's share. The brother - sister relationship thus turned to husband wife relationship.

There was a big gourd on the tree top. It was Lau (Lagenaria vulgaris). The man made a hole in the gourd. The hole enabled the husband and wife to enter. They entered into it and lived there. The man sealed the hole with the help of Binjed - (a creeper). He made a coil with the creeper and plugged the opening. They were then safe from the external environment.

A NEW CREATION ON OLD CREATION

There came heavy rain. It continued for two years and flooded the whole earth. Everywhere there was water and water. The Kureitung (gourd) floated in the water and passed a long way. Nobody was there to see the floating of this gourd. An Eagle (A dang) sat on the moving gourd. Since the gourd was sealed inside the inmates inside could not see the happening outside. The man inside asked the bird to let him know about the external conditions. He wanted to know where the rain had stopped, and whether the earth was visible or still inundated. The Eagle flew away. It flew to different directions and saw a bear (*saluaa*) in one corner and a crab (*kinnad*), fish (*Aya*), frog (kandud), snake (Ja-ad), Godhi i.e.(Basgar), etc, elsewhere. The Eagle flew back to the kureitung and reported that some parts of earth are visible,but a major part is submerged. He reported about the animals he could observe. The man inside the gourd asked the Eagle to leave immediately and kill all the animals he saw. The Eagle immediately flew to the place and ate up all the aquatic animals and returned back to the Kureitung. On receiving the information the man was highly satisfied.

Now the man thought how the earth could be dried up. He sought the eagle's advice for the work. The bird suggested to sow seeds of grass and seek the help of bear to plant the grass on the earth. The man enquired how the bear could be helpful to the bird in planting the grass. The bird answered that bear would scratch (*Guda*) the earth by its hard nails. After scratching the earth the bird would saw the seeds. The man was happy with the birds idea and asked it to start its operation. He asked the bird to call on the bear first. The eagle went to the bear, and told him about the idea which the bear accepted.

Grass planting operation began. The bear scratched the earth. The bird followed the bear. The bird started sowing grass seeds on the scratched spaces. The bear and the eagle continued the process till the whole of the earth was made into a grassy land. When they finished their work they returned to the kureitung. The eagle and the bear reported their successful ending of the job. They said that the whole earth has dried up. Grasses have covered the earth. They suggested the man in the kureitung to come out and live freely on the earth.

The man inside the kureitung unsealed the opening of the gourd. He removed the seal of Mohini creeper that was put at the opening. They come out through the opening. They were then four persons (the husband, wife, one son and one daughter). The children were the result of their long conjugal life inside the gourd. But all four came out nude. They had nothing with which to cover their body. In that condition they roamed around the earth. Forest had come up by then with varieties of trees and plants. While they were moving inside the forests, they saw fire-sparks coming out from the rubbing of the tree branches. The dried wood

and leaves were burning. The burning of wood, leaves .. etc. changed the atmosphere and gave birth to birds and animals. From the burning flames were born peacock (*Mara*), chicken (*Kansim*), dove (*kukur*), parrot ..etc. The Kureitung people were surprised to observe the miracles. Then they cut down the dried logs, tree branches, and plants. But that could not solve their food problem. To solve the food problem there must be something to be sown which would yield food for them.

The kureitung men wanted to reward the eagle and the bear for their noble job.

THE NOBLE HONORARIUM

The man called for the bear and the eagle to give them reward for their noble deed. The eagle was happy and requested the man to give him his favourite purpuri i.e. Doob grass (Gnodon dactyl), and chicken (kansim) casually. The kureitung people asked the eagle to demand more things. The eagle did not change its desire. So the kureitung people assured the bird that its want would be fulfilled. They said that since that day when any Lanjia Saora would die and when the dead body is brought to the grave yard the people would first place some Doob grass and chicken there. The grass and the chicks would be left there for the eagle. The eagle was happy and thanked the Kuritung man for the reward.

Then came the bear's turn. The kureitung people asked the bear to obtain the reward ofhis choice from him. The bear wanted Barsandi (cassia fisula, in Oriya sunari). The kureitung man agreed to offer it. He also asked the bear to demand other fruits. But Barsandi was the most favourite fruit of the bear. The kureitung man also blessed the bear saying that any hunter killing would have to salute the earth first. Because bear was the first earth maker and hence to kill any animal, permission from the earth has to be obtained. The kureitung man maintained that since then the hunters first beg permission of the earth before killing the animal.

The kureitung persons remained bare bodied for a long time. They were wandering here and there. They had no specific abode. They had no regular food and rest. They did not know the way to cultivate the fields. Neither they had seeds nor the agricultural implements. They survived on eating fruits and roots of the forest. The fruits were of different tastes. In the meantime the children grew up and attained adolescence. The boy and the girl on reaching their adolescence established sexual relations between them. They gave birth to many children. The population increased. There was no shelter available for the growing population. They were roaming here and there.

After sometime the eagle returned to the man in the kureitung with some *Adabai* (cotton seeds-Gossipium herbacium). The eagle gave the seeds to the man

and suggested to crop such seeds. The seeds were sown. The seeds germinated and grew into plants. The plants bore flowers and fruits. The fruits matured and burst. White coloured cotton came out of the fruits. The white coloured cotton attracted the people who thought it a precious thing. They collected cotton and stored carefully. One day the eagle came and saw cotton with the kureitung people. It said to the first man that it would bring an old woman who would weave clothes for them out of cotton. The kureitung people became very happy and requested the eagle to do the needful as soon as possible.

The eagle flew away in search of the old woman who would weave clothes for the people. At last it got the old woman for the purpose. The eagle brought the woman to the kureitung people. The people asked the woman if she was capable of weaving clothes. She told that she knew operating *Dombi* (spinning wheel) and (*Ridi*) to separate seeds from cotton. Then she was given cotton by kureitung people. She thrashed to separate its seeds. She spun threads out of cotton. Then she sat with the spinning wheel to weave clothes. She could weave a cloth measuring one foot wide and three to four feet in length. That cloth was called '*Uliakap*' meant for the male folk. The first man was happy to wear the cloth. Then the old woman made another type of cloth. The cloth was called '*Gatungkap*' meant for women. The first woman was happy to wear the clothes. The news of making clothes spread all over the areas. All the people came to know about it, they cropped cotton, spun threads and made Uliakap and Gatungkap to wear.

In the meanwhile population of the kureitung family increased. Living space became inadequate to provide shelter to all. This made people to go in search of living space. They got spread over the hills, mountains and plains. They also got dispersed in forests. They were living like nomads. Slowly and slowly they settled in certain places and started cultivating the available lands to satisfy their needs.

MARRIAGE IN BIRINDA STOPPED

One day all the people of kureitung family went on a hunting expedition into the forest and killed a number of animals. All of them gathered at one place. Cut the animals into pieces, distributed the flesh among all the participants. Everybody was given equal shares. But one buffer share was left. Then the head in the hunting team decided to offer that buffer share to the earth deity. She was invoked to the place. They requested the earth deity to accept the share. The earth deity did not like to accept the offer as she was not happy with the marriage of men and women in the same Birinda. She was not happy with the marriage between brothers and sisters. On hearing the objection of the deity the headman begged for suggestions for changes in the process of marriage. The earth deity suggested that for a marriage •partners should be selected from different villages. For a man of one village a girl has to be selected from another village. The head man woundered

what to do with the buffer share. The deity wanted the share to be given to Alagumar, a male who has got a female partner to marry. They invited the Alagumar and requested him to accept the share. The people promised before the earth deity that there after they would not marry within the Biurinda.

Once a man from one village selected a girl of another village to marry. He went to the parents of the girl and told them his desire to marry their daughter. The parents agreed. The marriage took place. On the day of their daughter's journey to her husband's house, they gave a lot of crops that they had harvested, and a lot of food for both to be eaten on the way. The lady carried all the crops in baskets. She bade farewell to her parents and left with her husband.

THE HONEST MOUSE

The husband and wife were half way through to their village, when the husband felt like going for defecation. He asked his wife to wait there and went away. The husband knew the magical art of conversion to a tiger (*kinlong*). The man went out of the sight of his wife. He converted himself to a tiger. Then the tiger prowled into the forest. It killed many animals and ate them up. When his hunger was satisfied it again changed itself to the original man. He returned to his wife.

The whole drama of the man's metamorphosis to tiger was observed by a mouse (*kumbul*). The mouse could smell an imminent danger. It convinced that the lady would be in obvious trouble as the man is blood thirsty. The mouse felt it would be its noble job to save the lady. The mouse thought of a plan. It converted its body to the form of a woman. She became an old woman. The old woman came to the lady and called her. The lady saw her husband returning. She refused the old woman's call. But the old woman kept calling her time and again. The husband was approaching his wife and the old woman was calling seriously. Finally the old woman requested the young lady to come to her at least for once. The young lady thought a while and looked at the old woman and felt that she has no intention to put her to trouble. So she went to the old woman. The old woman took the younglady into her house. She brought some branches of a tree (Patika in local Oriya known as Gagudia). The old woman kept the thorny branches at the entrance of her house. Then she went to the young lady and informed her that her husband had known the art of converting himself into a tiger. She tried to convince the young lady, but she did not believe it. The old woman narrated all that she saw. Still the old woman could not convince the young lady. In the meantime, the husband was waiting for his wife to return from the old woman. When it became too late, the husband rushed to the old woman's hut with anger. When he was passing through the patika branches to enter in to the house, a thorn from the branches pierced into his chest. Immediately the man gave a loud cry and fell dead.

When the man fell dead, his body turned into a tiger's. The young lady observed the event. She visualized the miracle and begged apology to the old woman for disobeying her. The old woman said that she was not really a human being, but she was a mouse. In her mouse form she saw her husband turning into a tiger. It had converted itself to an old woman to help the young lady.

The young lady wanted to return to her parents. The mouse said it could help her. The mouse dug an underground passage from that place to her parents. Then the mouse escorted the young lady to her parents house through that narrow passage. The mouse and the young lady reached the rice pounding hole of the desired house. The young lady knocked at the pounding hole. Her mother came to the pounding hole and saw her daughter. She helped her daughter and the mouse to come out of the ground.

The young lady narrated everything before her parents. She told how the mouse had saved her from the distress. She thanked the mouse again for it had escorted her through the underground passage. The lady's parents wanted to give the mouse some reward. They asked the mouse to beg for its favourite materials. The mouse desired to remain at the hedge. It maintained that it would appreciate if it is allowed to eat the crops that are grown in the kitchen garden. This was granted. They permitted the mouse to live on the hedge of their kitchen garden and to enjoy eating the crops grown there. The mouse lived there happily. Sometimes it dug up earth in the kitchen garden, which would torm like ridges. The ridges grew up slowly to hills. Thus the hills came up.

A PAUSE

The story ends with an explanation from the informant that before the Lanjia Saora came into being there was another creation. Therefore there were two processes of creation. In the first creation only the brother and sister with their family members lived. Dumbaboi related that the Domb community was also present then in the earlier creation. The Domb community had the same profession as they hold today. Domb women were selling edible and usable items to the people. But in the earlier creation there was no mention about Lanjia Saora. Probably the name came after the Uliakap and Gatungkap - the traditional dress of Lanjia Saoras were woven. The second process of creation started after the first one was abolished by continuous rain for two years. Rain flooded the whole earth and no life could exist except the people in Kureitung, the eagle, the bear and the aquatic and semiaquatic animals. In the second process of creation the aquatic and semiaquetic lives were killed by the eagle. Thus the remnants of the first creation started the second creation. The earth was reshaped by the combined effort of the eagle and the bear. Conjugal life of the kureitung people gave birth to other human beings. Then the heredity continued till there came into existence a huge mass of

people now known as Lanjia Saora.

The contribution of animal species is well noted in the myth. It helped the kureitung man time and again. The eagle brought to the man the plant species. In the beginning it brought the grass species which was planted when the bear scratched the earth. In the next appearance the eagle brought to the people cotton seeds and suggested them to crop. The cotton provided them clothes. The bear wanted the fruits of cassia fistula. In this way the bird and animal helped the kureitung.

In the myth the earth deity is regarded with great esteem. It was the earth deity who reformed the marriage process in the kureitung family. The description of the mouse who turned to an old woman gives an idea of the metamorphosis of animal beings to human beings and vice versa. Thus the cosmogonical myth of Lanjia Saora is coupled with a number of ideas and beliefs that are still prevalent in the community.

After Laxmi finished, a very old man named Arovehu Sabara, aged about 86, an inhabitant of village Rebjingtal came forward to say that there is still another set of myth that speaks about the origin and evolution ofLanjia Saoras on the earth. He continued time changed everything and things also took different shapes with time. Time divided the Lanjia Saora community into two sections. One section remained with their traditional pattern of living and the other section followed different pattern. Thus a new section of the Lanjia Saora community emerged out which is known as the Christian Saora. Aranchu is one of the new section. With the evolution of the new section, there came into being one more additional myth following which the new section tries to justify that they are different from Lanjia Saora in terms of there myth, religion, worldview and livelihood. The new section came into being with new, sacramental rites and rituals. The myth that brought this new section is called the Christian Saora (Adam- Aba kata bar).

ANOTHER EARTH

The whole earth was immersed in darkness. There were no life on the earth. There were no plants, trees, animals and human beings. First of all Kitung wanted to smash the darkness with light. He ordered the sun (*oiyung*) to remove the darkness with his splendorous sustaining gaze. Thus the earth was illumined with light. When the world was lit-up, the Kitung saw the whole earth immersed in water. There was no trace of visible land. The Kitung wanted to dry up the earth, to find land where he could give birth to plants, trees, animals and human beings. He ordered the water to go away to '*Batisbanda*' (a large embankment around oceans). So he asked the ocean to suck off water from earth. The ocean sucked up all the water, yet it could only dry up one fourth of the whole earth. Thus the

whole earth was divided into hydrosphere and lithosphere in which the former occupied three fourth of the earth and the latter occupied only one fourth. Then Kitung desired to generate green vegetation on 1/th of the surface area.

BIRTH OF PLANTS BIRDS AND ANIMALS

The Kitung gave birth to plants and trees bent with flowers and fruits. He thought to create birds who would eat the fruits. But how would birds take birth. All of a sudden an idea struck him that it could be born from dried leaves falling on the ground. He obsered the leaves being blown away by wind. The Kitung made the dried leaves flying in air into birds. Then the birds ate up the ripe fruits in the tree. Even then most of the fruits fell down after they they over ripe. The god then thought to give birth to animals who would eat up the fallen and rotten fruits. He gave birth to animals.

BIRTH OF MAN

The god named the vegetation area as Adam. The god saw that the animals and birds who came into being, roamed and flew here and there. They also damaged the trees and plants. So he wanted to keep somebody to keep watch over the vegetation area from animals. He felt the need of a man. So he created a man to guard the animal beings and take care of the field.

The god faced problems in creating a man. Once he kneaded mud and made a figure like him. He saw his own image on a mirror and shaped mud to his shape. He made all organs and parts of the earthen figure, like a human being. He then blew wind through the nostrils of the earthen figure which turned the earthen figure into a living human being. He gave the name of the human as Adam. Adam was a mirror image of Kitung, The god then directed Adam to give names to animals and birds.Adam named the birds and animals according to his liking.

The god made birds and animals of either sex. The population of birds and animals was growing day by day. They were living happily. Adam was the only male but had no partner of the opposite sex. So he was unhappy most of the times. When he was observed the happy life of the birds and animals around him he used to feel sad. He felt the need of a consort. The god saw the condition of Adam and realized the cause of his unhappiness. The god approached Adam once and gave him consolation. The God assured Adam that he would definitely create a woman with whom Adam can live happily.

BIRTH OF WOMAN

Once Adam was in a deep sleep. The god took out a piece of bone from his rib. He pounded the piece of bone to powder. He mixed the bone powder with

mud and kneaded. Again he put himself before a mirror and observing his own image made another earthen figure similar to his appearance. He then blew wind through the nostrils of the earthen figure to bring it to life. The god named it as 'Aba' who was a woman. Then he sent 'Aba' to 'Adam'. So on the earth lived two human beings of opposite sex-Adam and Aba.

THE FORBIDDEN FRUIT

The god while creating the plants and trees forbade them to eat the fruits of one tree. The forbidden fruit is called '*Tanap maina gur*' or '*Tanamaim gar*'. The god asked Adam not to eat Tanamoim gur. Adam and Aba became friends, roamed around, lived peacefully on eating fruits and roots.

A snake was quite envious of Adam and Aba's peaceful living. The snake tried to break the noble relationship of Adam and Aba. It planned it decided to persuade any one of them to eat fruits of the forbidden tree. The snake saw Adam and Aba were moving around trees in the garden. Aba was pointing her finger to the forbidden fruits. Aba commented that such a nice fruit has been forbidden by the god. She thought that the fruits must be very taste. Adam also had similar thoughts about the fruit. But he remembered the god's advice.

At that time the snake went near Adam and Aba and suggested them to eat the fruit. They became greedy and thought that by eating the fruit they would be wise like the god. They were enamoured by the fruit. Adam plucked the fruit, ate half and gave the other half to Aba to eat. Thus Adam went against the god's caution.

Both Adam and Aba were living nude. They had no feeling of shame. But immediately after they ate the fruit they were ashamed of their private parts being uncovered. In fect, the fruit gave them the feeling and the realization that they are living naked. So they ran away from each other to hide themselves behind trees and amidst bushes. They had no house to live. They were living with birds and animals in the garden. They covered their private parts with leaves.

Once the Kitung came to them and wanted them to come out. They were talking to the god, keeping themselves hidden from the god. The god asked Adam the reason of his hiding. Adam replied that he feels ashamed to go before the god. The god said "Now you will weave your own dress and wear them. You will not remain nude anymore".

But the god was quite disatisfied with Adam for eating the forbidden fruit. The angry god cursed Adam and Aba, "You have eaten the forbidden fruit despite my caution, your stomach will swell up. You will remain pregnant (*Panguron*) for twelve months. At the time of child delivery (*kukurum*) you will suffer severe pain

for three days". The god gave crop seeds to Adam and cursed him "From today you will have to labour hard to cultivate these crops in the fields. The produce from the fields will make your livelihood". Then the god went back.

After they were cursed by the god, they started living as husband and wife. They maintained conjugal life (*Tutua tutule*) and gave birth to children. They became father and mother. The heredity continued and they became grand father and grandmother. They made houses to live. Their family extended to a great number of grandsons and grand daughters with their children.

With the increase in population, their house automatically raised higher. Their house became too high. Then one day Adam prayed the god to help him. The god appeared and asked Adam the reason of his prayer to him. Adam replied that his family has increased a lot and alongwith, the house is also getting too high. He was afraid of the house callapse resulting in the death of his family members. The god realized that. The god then made an illusion dragging all the people of Adam's family to come out. When every body came out of their house, the house broke down. Then all the members of Adam's family got separated and started living here and there.

The population grew up very fast. The people forgot their relationship with each other. They got separated from each other. A male and a female were related to each other as husband and wife. They maintained a conjugal life and the process went on.

Days passed on. Once the god called all the persons for a common feast. He ordered everybody to go for hunting into the forest. The god asked them to get enough meat. People went out for hunting animals. They killed many animals and gathered the total meat at one place. Then they divided the meat into many parts. The god imposed a restriction on distribution of meat. The god said that nobody would be allowed to take meat of two different animals The god's order was carried out by all. Among the animals hunted there were Bangtel (Buffalo), Tangli (cattle - Bullock / cow), Kumme (Goat), Kansim (Fowl), Kamboon (Pig) ..etc. Also fish (Aya) got place among other animals. People took meat of their choice.

The people who took fish became fishermen. The buffalo eating people became Saora, the cattle eating people became Dom. Those who ate goat meat became Brahmin and Karan. Those who took of fowl meat became Kshyatriya. In this way people were divided into different castes. But all were regarded as the children of the God - Kitung.

Aranchu Sabara finished telling the myth. Then came Laxman Sabara's turn. Laxman pointed out certain missing links in the myth. He was of the opinion that the myth was not a complete one as the last part of the myth was missing.

Laxman continued to fill up the gaps left by Aranchu. Laxman continued that when the darkness was mitigated by the presence of sun, the god created plants and animals. But before creation of birds, animals, plants and trees the god brought the moon (*Angai*) and stars (*Tuitui*). The god felt that without air/wind life could not exist on the earth. So he created air and wind for life to exit on the earth. When the god made everything that would be necessary for living on the earth, he desired to create human beings. He wanted to make a man like himself. He took dirt (*Adil*) of his body,mixed it with mud and made it to the form of a creeper called '*Bingdedan*'.

Then he made a man like him out of the creeper observing his image on a mirror. He named the man Adam. The creation of Aba matches with the description of Aranchu.

The next thing which Laxman pointed out was when Adam and Aba ate the forbidden fruit being motivated by the snake, they were cursed by the god. The god cursed the snake that since it motivated Adam and Aba to eat the fruit, it would crawl on the earth with its stomach and chest touching the earth. The god also cursed the snake that it would live on air when food is not available.

Then Laxman continued with the rest of Aranchu's myth. With the tremendous growth of population, illegal and sinful activities of the people increased There was a man named Nahan in the family of Adam. He was always thinking about the god's super creation and trying to understand the mysterious creation Time and again he heard the words of god from the upper space. Once the god directed Nahan to spread the god's name and fame, his ability of creation and destruction. The god said to Nahan that with this the sin in the world would decrease.

Nahan was surprised. He asked the god if he had the ability to do work. He wanted to know the way of spreading god's name. The god asked Nahan to go ahead in the mission. In course of time he would gain the wisdom automatically.

Nahan set out to spread the name of the god everywhere. But nobody heard him. He became extremely dejected. He returned back to his place and prayed to god. He narrated his difficulties before the god.

The god realised that his name through Nahan could not be spread to the mass. So he wanted to destroy the creation. Once he talked to Nahan from the outer space suggesting him to prepare a boat (*Bangsang*). The god also assured him that he would provide the materials for making the boat. The materials like carpentry equipments '*Trep*' - (a type of flat axe used for making wooden artifacts), *Savai* (chisel), Enju (axe and kartan) saw and wood were provided to him. Nahan indicated his incapability to prepare a boat with the tools and implements. Then

the god asked him to try and apply his own knowledge to build a boat. Nahan got himself engaged in the work and he could finish the boat making by night. The god was observing Nahan's work from the upper space providing all technical know how secretly. The god was also directing Nahan about the shape and size of the boat under construction. Nahan inserted the creeper Bingdeng and finished the work.

The god used Nahan once again to publicise his name throughout the territory. But people ridiculed Nahan. The frustrated Nahan returned to his place and made the god known everything.

The god suggested to Nahan and the people of his Birinda, to board the boat. Nahan with his family constituting of birinda members came into the boat. Nahan was the head of the family associated with his wife, three sons, and three daughter -in - laws. The god also directed Nahan to take all the animals into the boat with his family. Nahan carried out the god's order. After all the people, animals, birds were in the boat, the god locked up the boat from outside. The boat was then anchored on land.

Immediately after there came a heavy torrential rain. The rain continued for seven days and seven nights.The earth immersed in the water. There existed none except Nahan's family members in the boat. The boat floated in water for six months and finally anchored at a sandy shore. Then the god came and opened the lock. The people and animals came out of the boat. Nahan asked the crow to fly and find out whether the earth was dry or still immersed in water.

However, the land gave base to the people and animals for shelter. These species are the ancestors of the living beings of present. When the earth dried up completely, the hills and forests came up.

Thus ends the myth of origin of Christian Lanjia Saoras

CONCLUSION

These are the three creation of myths collected one each from the Sudha, Lanjia and the Christian sections of the Saoras. The myths which narrating the origin of the tribe, speak of the origin of gods and goddesses, the gradual evolution of the community from nomads to the settled cultivators, the derivation of their belief and ritual patterns, the life-cycle, creation of service castes, events of everyday routine etc. The myths do not maintain conformity and uniformity with each other. One appears to be completely different from the other. From the study of the three legends one fails to belief that the three sections of the Saoras are originated from the same ancestry.

The story of the Sudha Saoras is narrated by an educated and enlightened man, who happens to be one of the protagonists of the reformative religion (of the Sudha Saora) introduced in 1936. The story of their origin particularly of their religion was most probably recorded at that time in the light of the myth of Lord Jagannath at Puri to justify their claim that the deity (Jagannath) was originally owned by them. The Sudha Saoras hide their original myth and interpolate the myth connected with the Lord Jagannath.

Similarly the myth of the Christian Saoras is a different version of the Bible story coined in their own line. The origin of this myth may be traced from the time when the Lanjia Saora were converted to Christanity.

The myth of the Lanjia Saoras (who claim themselves as Hindu Saoras) appears to be genuine and authentic, recording the events of their (Saoras) evolution in a chrouological order. Although all sections of the Saoras are in the process of acculturisation and modernisation, the Lanjias still maintain their traditional character of the primitiveness.

Terms in Lanjia Saora language

Water	Daa
Earth	Adar
Land	Labo
Park	Kutta
Wind	Range
Trees	Ara/Neb
Animals	Jantu
Human being	Mandra
Fruit	Raongtang
Leaves	Ala

2

SOCIETY AND CULTURE OF LANJIA SAORA AND SHUDHA SAORA - I

PRELUDE

The Saora is one among many other tribal communities of Orissa, residing in the southern part of the State. It is one of the most numerous tribes. This community is split up into many sub-types named differently and confined to a particular area in the southern region of the State. The Saora community as a whole and the sub- communities of its own show a distinct life style, social and cultural identities, a more or less specific livelihood pattern while though varies among the sub-communities yet to a certain degree, share a common cultural and social values that collectively indicate the background identification of the tribe. The Saora communities show a vast anomaly in language and occupation, and livelihood patterns though a lot of similarities with other tribal communities, especially with the neighbouring tribal communities such as Kondhs and their, sub-types many of these tribals are regarded as primitive tribes having primitive culture and primitive patterns of livelihood. Many, though not all of these tribals, are assumed to be aboriginals living in the country much before the advent of Aryans. They are also widely thought to be not fully Hindu (Vitebsky : 1993). This attribute holds that some out of the main community of Saora live by various occupations and reasemble their caste Hindu neighbours. Such sections of Saora are found in different stages of socio-religious integration with the neighbouring Hindu Society. Their social behaviour owes a great deal to the Hindu way of life.

The Sub-types of the Saora or Savar or Saora don't have a common world view and cosmology about their society and culture that has developed in different phases of time. They hold different perceptions about their societies, different notions of living and maintaining livelihood, different sets of ideas and methodolo-

gies associated with their customs and traditions and also they have different views about their cosmogonical myth, legendary tales etc., preserved in oral lores and oral traditions. Their sense of history is shallow for, they remember history of five to six generations which tend to get merged in mythology. With this, their perception about their worldview and cosmology sometimes vary to a great extent when they become grouped with different names attributed to different social groups in different regions. The groups of people thus show a common name to each group, common territory and common place of origin (Cosmogonical Myth), common language of their own, kinship structures, endogamic mode of life with different sets of taboos and a social identity defined and redefined from time to time. To identify such groups as tribes the above points are just not sufficient for, developed societies are also having differences in the similar aspects. But the existence of youth dormitories, their religious practices and belief that may be summed up under 'animism', animatism, naturism, magic and occultism with distinctive moral codes, make them a different group distinguish them from the upper class societies. Apart from all these, their living amidst hills and forests in concentric patches, effective mechanism of social control, customary laws with limited world views are very much functional in these tribal groups. The Saora community has been divided into many categories (Refer Society & Culture-II).

The Sub-divisions of the main Saora community is not included in this discussion for, their ethnic background and ethnography are not taken into consideration at this point. These are discussed in the chapter: "Myths, legends Worldview and Cosmology of Saora" However the two section of the Saora Community dealt with the Lanjia Saoras and the Shudha Saoras. Apart from these two communities, a new section has emerged out, mainly from the Lanjia Saora Community known as Christian Saora: (a sub-section of Lanjia Saora as it is generally viewed). Our approach here is therefore, confined to such sub-types and their sub-sections. Amongst these, the Lanjia Saora is more primitive than the other known types of the Saora, Christian Saora which is the advanced section of the primitive Lanjia Saoras.

The Lanjia Saora is also recorded as a primitive tribal community by the Government of India. This is based on the considerations that such community has pre-agricultural technology and low level of literacy and their habitat is mostly found in inaccessible hilly tracts with diminishing trend in population growth. The Lanjia Saora is one among the twelve tribal communities/sub-groups that have been identified as primitive tribes for the purpose of bringing them within the ambit of social development programmes, by the Government of India (Mohanti & Choudhury : 1990). The declaration that Lanjia Saora is a primitive community defines all the functional factors in the Lanjia Saora communities that are regarded as primitive and traditional. On the economic considerations the Lanjia Saoras may

be taken as a people who enjoy a hunter-gatherer mode of economy that has developed to shifting cultivation and plain land cultivation now-a-days. The Lanjia Saora people are primitive not only on the grounds of economic consideration but also for the distinct mode of their social configuration, stratification, ethnic background, culture and traditions that play a greater role in making the group a primitive one.

To the outsiders, Saora community is understood mainly as the Lanjia Saora community, but to those especially connected with the study of tribal communities it may mean differently; they make them differentiated in different status groups on all the considerations of the society, culture and livelihood patterns. But in the present circumstances it will not be unreasonable to say that the Lanjia Saoras are the only remnants or the backstream of the Saora community, when other sub-groups of the same community have become more or less mingled in the mainstream of Indian population. Though they are identified as tribal groups, they are not of primitive types. Therefore, it is the Lanjia Saora that is focussed in our study. The immediate sub-group of Saora Community, (of Lanjia Saoras), is known as Sarda Saora or Shudha Saora which though is a part of the main Saora community, it is not always in the focus of study by many, as they show an elevated pattern of livelihood, social and cultural set up in comparison to Lanjia Saoras. Both Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora, Christian Saora being included in the former type speak more or less a common language, show similarities in every respect of social and cultural set-ups, yet have a lot of distinction between them. The difference, that can be mainly accounted for their distinction, is however a major point that speaks of the habitat of these two sub-groups. When the Lanjia Saoras mainly occupy the hilly terrain, the Shudha Saora are concentrated in the plains. Logically it would make a sense that the difference in the social and cultural life between these two sub-groups lies in the differentiation of space for which one is regarded as primitive and the other as developed one. The Shudha Saora groups have shown remarkable development in their social and cultural life, but they are not fully developed in the real sense of development. They are at the transition, neither the forest dwellers, nor in the mainstream. Lanjia Saoras are also at a transition but they are forest dwellers and half way through development and market economy. One group is a forest and hill dwellers and the other inhabit in the plain area.

Coming back to the hoary past of the Lanjia Saoras evolution it can be said that, the first Lanjia man lived in the cave of a hill. The cave is known as Lungar which stands as the prefix of their identity. The cave inhabitant was known as the *Lungamar* (plural-*Lungar Maranji*) that defines his limited abode and prevalent occupation of earning a livelihood from hunting and gathering. The next stage of development of the Lanjia Saora was a life of depending on crops simultaneously

with hunting and gathering. The forest was deep and dense then and the *Lungamaranji* were staying on the hill tops-known as *Baroon agari*. They grew crops on the hill tops where no plain land was visible with perennial streams of water resource. The first crop which *Lungamaranji* grew on the hill tops was *kamboor* (Sorghum). There are no information about the seeds which were first sown. No answer would be appropriate to mention where from did they bring the crop. It has, no history, and but the oral tales of legends. Whether it was Sorghum or any other crop that was cultivated by the *Lungamaranji* is not known. It provokes the thought that the link between the *Lungamaranji* and Sorghum cultivation on the hill top does not predate to long past and it may be the case of some few generations past. Any way, the Lungamaranji were the grand primitive people of this sub-group of Saora. In chronological order, there is description of five different types of sheltering habitats in the evolutionary stages of the Lanjia Saora society, that are discussed in the latter part of this chapter.

Shudha Saora people in contrast do not trace their origin from the *Lungamaranji*. They speak more or less the same language, and trace their emergence in the forest. But they chose the plain lands for their settlements and settled cultivation there. Of course their ancestors were living inside the forests. But as they trace their origin in the past to forest they always find them as the plain dwellers.

Saora people, particularly the Lanjias give ideas of their evolutionary stages in different time periods in simple self evident terms. The evolutionary stages have marked a considerable dynamic change over time. The cave man started to live in huts when the caves became insufficient to shelter the growing population. The hut life brought them down from the hill top to the middle of the hill and they cultivated in the mid hills. Cultivation was the main way of their livelihood. Their group life is related to this cultivation practice. The group life started, as the Lanjia Saora perceive, when they became grouped to go in search of a livelihood (*Mandregna*). For them their livelihood was in the forest in the form of forest vegetation and in the form of available land for cultivation. Shifting of abodes and shifting of their work sites became common as they shifted from one place to another in search of a livelihood. On the way they met with their hunter-gatherer mode of livelihood. The continuous shifting from one place to the other is the background of the shifting cultivation.

Their group life and their grouping based upon the livelihood pattern is expressed in the terms '*Partee Mandregna*' where Partee refers to the group and Mandregna to the livelihood. The relation however exists at a point, that they were shifting from place to place for livelihood, after resources at one place was exhausted. Like the ecological principle of food chain, when the resource was exhausted it implied to the exhaustion of the people's livelihood that made them

nomadic, mainly in the quest of food. This nomadic man is known in terms of '*Gannarmar*'. The process of migration or shifting places in search of food is discussed as '*Gannar deli*' i.e. which made the man distributed here and there and started living in groups. The term '*Gannar*' is very much applicable or it refers to the western term 'wandering' and the term '*Ganedelan*' applies to shift, transfer, convert. The shifting of a group from an old place to a new one is termed as '*Tomme Ganedelan Janangan*', literally : new, shifting, place.

The livelihood searchers group is the first group life of the Lanjia Saoras as is spoken by them. This grouping or Partee in consideration of their livelihood pattern became developed with modification or change in a slow mutational process to the '*Baroolom maranji*' where *Baroolom* is understood as " work on hills". Their work on hills specifies two modes of livelihood; first, hunter-gatherers mode and second, shifting cultivators mode of livelihood. Those people who were engaged in the hill land cultivation or shifting cultivation - are known as '*Baroolom Maranji, bejonji*'. *Baroolom* stands for hill work, *Maranji* stands for men and bejonji for women. They are simply known as Donger cultivating people. Donger is describe as the hill. The progressive evolution of Lanjia Saora halted at a point when they designed themselves to '*Arro Maranji*' that refers to agricultural people and the term '*Arro*' stands for plough. Here Lanjia Saora mention themselves as the agriculturists. '*Arro*' or ploughing here is used as an image of settled cultivation or plain land cultivation for, in the practice of shifting cultivation plough is never used.

The Shudha Saoras do not perceive their past to find themselves as any of the types of *Lungar Maranji*, *Baroolom Maranji* or the stages in between the above mentioned types of livelihood based on grouping of people. Shudha Saora indicate that they were the '*Gadavasi*'. In fact, Gada is a Saora term that means forest and 'Vasi' like an Oriya term meaning inhabitant. This makes the Shudha Saoras to be regarded as the forest dwellers. Further, they trace their past from 'So:ara'. Where '*So*' refers to 'hide' and '*ara*' refers to wood. Wood here is meant in two ways : as a material and as a Jungle(woods), both seem to be appropriate. Therefore Gadavasi and Saora mean the same. From Gadavasi they became the '*Arromaranji*' which means the agricultural people in the last stage of progressive evolution of both the sub-groups-Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora. But Shudha Saora reserves its meaning in the term ' Saora ' where as Lanjia Saora do not, for there is a gap in the cosmogonical myth of the either sub-groups. The Lanjia Saora's social evolution and group life and the same of the Shudha Saora meet at the point where both are regarded as '*Arro maranji*' i.e. the agricultural people with little variation in livelihood pattern and great variation in their dwelling site - the Lanjia Saora on the hills and Shudha Saora on plains. As the Shudha Saora people perceive about the Lanjia Saora evolution, they hold that the Lanjia Saoras followed the patterns

of livelihood of the Shudha Saora to become '*Arro maranji*'

Lanjia Saoras are sometimes looked down upon by the Shudha Saora people. The latter consider that Lanjia Saoras are at a far lower position than them. The explanation given by Ram Gomango of village Ramaguda of Shudha Saora region holds that as the entire human body is divided into three parts; head,thorax and abdomen, the Saora groups also have a similar divisions. Ram Gomango considers that the head portion of a human being is compared to '*Gomango*'. The Thorax part is Saora and the abdominal part is compared to '*Jadu*'. *Gomango* is a term associated with the social stratification of Saora society. According to Ram Gomango, *Gomango* is a derivative of three terms-*Gamang*, *Garaega* and *Galam*. *Gamang* means 'wise man', *Garaega* literally means to have (enough) for eating which refers to a person who has property. *Galam* refers to a knowledgeable man. Therefore Gomango who is at the top of the social hierarchy of Saora must be a resourceful man- a wise man, has good knowledge and good deal of property. But *Gomango* in this approach is meant differently. Ram Gomango means that Gomango as *Gadavasi* i.e. forest dwellers. The body or the thoracic part of a human being is associated with '*So:ara*'. The abdominal part is regarded as '*Jadu*' otherwise known as, *Malia* which has relation with forests not with the meaning of '*So:ara*' but with the meaning of '*Juba*' that refers to a creeper dominated forest. '*Malia*' has a different meaning as observed. Further, *Gadavasi*, Saora and *Jadu* meet at a point when they are related to '*Sala*', a small forest. This indicates that all were originally forest dwellers.

Ram Gomango maintains that as head is the chief among other parts of the body, Gomango is the head of the Saora community irrespective of his sub-groups. He maintains that Gomango is also a Saora but so far as his position in the social hierarchy is concerned the term has different meaning. Thus the *Gomango* reserves his higher position in the Saora communities followed by Shudha Saora and *Jadu* or *Malia* Saora or Lanjia Saora. Gomango Saora and Shudha Saora Sub-groups do not use the prefix '*Gomango*' or Shudha in practical usage for they think that they are the real Saoras and Lanjia Saora is different from them.

This is evident from a comparative worldview described in the myth of Shudha Saora and Lanjia Saora in which the former look down upon the latter. With reference to the Shudha Saoras cosmogonical myth, they hold that the term '*So:ara*' is associated with the deity called '*Madusa*'-that has been discussed in the chapter 'Myth, Legends, Worldview and Cosmology of Saora'. *Madusa* is a conjugal word of *Madu* and *Sum* in which the former refers to dead body and the latter to Sonum i.e. deity and the *Madusa* or *Madusum* to Lord Jagannath of the Shudha Saora myth. Lord Jagannath had two manifestations, the first Kittung and the second *Madusa*. Kittung died and became *Madusa*. *Madusa* was the dead Kittung hurt by an arrow. *Madusa* came to life again when the dead body was

turned over by an arrow. The Kittung was a Saora as he was hidden in a wood cellar before he was discovered. The Shudha Saoras regard themselves as a part of that *Madusum*, the difference is That Shudha Saoras are in life and *Madusum* is beyond life but existing as a spirit. Thus they hold their supremacy or superiority over the Lanjias as they are a part of Sonum or deity. Shudha Saora people also hold that the Lanjia Saoras are not alike and are not considered as the part of *Madusum* and so are of a lower class in Saora community. This is held strongly by Shudha Saora on the basis of the differences noted in their myth.

The term *Malia* is derived from the Oriya word '*Mali*' or '*Mala*' which refers to rosary or beads. This is a non-tribal attribute to the Lanjia Saoras for when they walk in groups, they walk in queue rather than in cluster.

The Shudha Saora and Lanjia Saora still do have legendary tales that make them distinct cultural groups. Such legendary tales also mention about their different ethnicity and cultural background. These aspects are dealt in the chapter "Society and Culture-II".

Shudha Saora are often confused with the term '*Sarda*'. *Sarda* Saora is sometimes differentiated from the Shudha Saora by the local non-tribals. According to them the plain Saoras living in the Gunupur Sub-division are Sarda Saoras but the mass is exposed in the name of Shudha Saoras. So in this approach we make the Shudha Saora and Sarda Saora as one sub-group, not two. The Shudha Saoras are living adjacent to the Lanjia Saoras. The section is very much conscious of their existing segregation from the Lanjia Saora particularly in the matters of settlement pattern, in types of cultivation, in dress, in food habit and mainly in the types of habitat. The Shudha Saora section is found in different stages of socio-religious-cultural links with the Hindus in the matter of their social behaviour. They make an effort to integrate and identify themselves with the Hindu class society. The sections of Shudha Saora think themselves a separate category nearer to the Hindu caste society. They segregate themselves from the Lanjia and Christian Saoras by limiting, in every possible way the social and economic relations. Shudha Saora section is marching towards the assimilation with the Hindu peasantry.

The Lanjia Saora-the primitive type and the Shudha Saora- the developed type(with Christian Saora as a part of Lanjia Saora Community) have been selected for study. Those people are distributed over a vast part of the territory with a heterogenous composition of other Saora sub-groups. The study however, was limited to some patches of the Lanjia Saora locality and some patches of the Shudha Saora territory, we shall refer the term 'Saora land' to mean the common territory.

THE SAORA LAND

The Saora land here refers to the location of Shudha Saora and Lanjia Saora

extending from the undivided Ganjam to Koraput district mainly in the mountain borders. These two districts of the Orissa state have now been divided into: Ganjam, Gajapati, Rayagada, Koraput district where specifically the Saora population is numerous. The present study is carried on with the Lanjia Saoras and Shudha Saoras of the Gunupur Sub-division of Rayagada district of Orissa. The Lanjia Saoras and Christian Saoras inhabit Gunupur Block and Shudha Saoras, in Gunupur Padmapur Blocks. Our study is concentrated in these Blocks.

The Lanjia Saora people straddle in the Gajapati and Rayagada district mainly in the hilly areas and beaten tracts, some parts being very much inaccessible and inhospitable. The patches of Lanjia Saora population mainly are concentrated in Gumma region of Paralakhemundi of Gajapati District, Seranga area of Gajapati district and Puttasingi of Rayagada district. Puttasingi is a place twenty kilometres away from Gunupur where the Governmental infrastructures are established. It is a place quite elevated from the Gunupur area. On the way from Gunupur to Puttasingi, the Lanjia Saora villages are found in different patches, extending more or less from Jaltar-a-place ten kilometres away from Gunupur. Extending from Puttasingi the Lanjia Saora villages are settled in mountain hinges towards Nuagada leading to Seranga on the otherside of the mountains. Puttasingi is a place dominated by Dom communities who are a lower caste Hindus. They are mostly traders who trade on collecting commodities from Lanjia Saora areas, especially the food grains and minor forest produces. The inhabitants of Dom also called Pano community in Puttasingi area are a Christianised group of Oriya Harijans who live throughout tribal Orissa by trading with tribals and lending them money at high interest.

Lanjia Saora territory comprises a series of mountains rising to 3,000 feet. It is bounded in the North by Kondh hills and in the other three sides by plains or river valleys. At the foot of the hills lies Gunupur and Paralakhemundi, containing a diversity of Oriya and Telugu castes as well as Sarda (Shudha) and Kapu Saoras. For long, the seat of Telugu rajas, the town now acts as the administrative head quarters and the main commercial focus of the area. To the Saora Paralakhemundi is a World of Police and Clerks armed with guns educated persons, of metal workers, bus stands, pucca houses and loudspeakers blaring film music over bazars where the flare of kerosine lamps after dark falls on piles of plastic trinkets and bales of cloth brightly coloured with synthetic dyes. This is a world which most Saora find both repulsive and fascinating, but overall deeply intimidating (Vitebsky: 1993).

Vitebsky describes about the Saora land "the path our of Gunupur towards the Lanjia Saora hills leads through fields of paddy and irrigated vegetables by the river Vansadhara and past a village of Sarda Saoras. From these one crosses the desolate flat area where Gunupur cuts its firewood. Once deforested, this is now furrowed with deeply eroded gullies of red earth. About six miles on, after a little

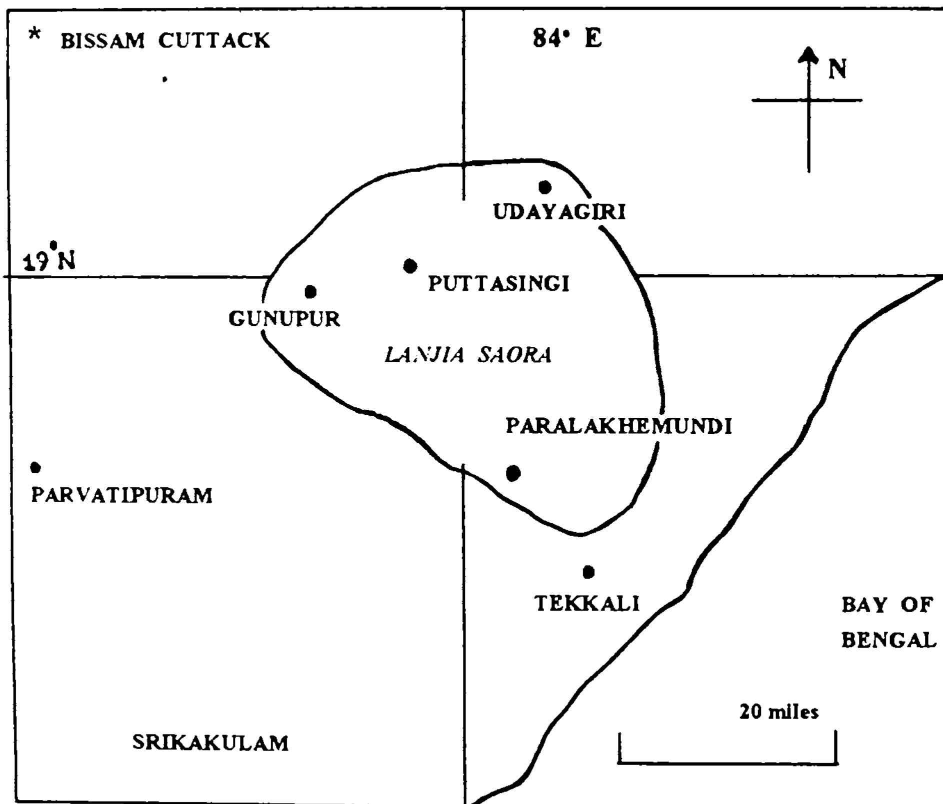
climbing through a fairly bare landscape one walks into Jaltar (in Saora:*Yartab*), a village containing Saoras who according to perspective may be called either Sarda or Lanjia and who live side by side with a number of administrative officers and settlers of various castes. This is the scene of weekly market through which a large quantity of Saora produce leaves the hill beyond, bound for the plains. After a further six miles, up two steep passes and past several wholly Lanjia Saora villages, one comes to Puttasingi (in Saora:*Gudangsing*, 'Level village'), a smaller settlement almost exclusively of some 400 pano along with a few Paika traders and some Government employees, but no Saoras. Here, surrounded by a small area of eroded firewood coppice (the Saora so far into the forest for their wood) are the last small police station, dispensary, post office, and primary school. A similar picture holds for the route from Paralakhemundi via Gumma to the government outpost of Seranga (in Saora:*Serung*). This is more developed as there is a surface road along with busses ply, though the road to Puttasingi is due to be surfaced likewise. There are other smaller outposts on all sides along path reaching past weekly markets at the foot of hills almost into the center of Saora territory. Between these outposts the mountainous heartland populated exclusively by Saoras, is not more than a few miles across... .'

Our study is concentrated on the Lanjia Saoras living in three Gram Panchayats: Jaltar, Puttasingi and Sagada, with emphasis on Puttasingi and Sagada. Sagada is a big village of Lanjia Saora, the households numbering of 74(Seventy four) with 454 population. Sagada is 7 kms. from Puttasingi on a kachcha road. The village is a Gram panchayat which covers eight revenue villages and eleven hamlets. The villages and their hamlets are exclusively occupied by Lanjia Saora population, the total of being 3544 with 1826 males and 1718 females. The total number of households are 593. (Source:Census of Lanjia Saora Development Agency, the Survey : 1985). The whole Sagada Gram Panchayat comes under the functionary of Lanjia Saora Development Agency (LSDA) located at Puttasingi. The LSDA activities only cover the population of households coming under Sagada Gram Panchayat.

The Shudha Saora villages were chosen in the Dambosora and Marichiguda localities. Dambosora is 10 kilometres away from Gunupur on the state road extending towards the District Head Quarters-Rayagada via Padmapur. Marichiguda comes at a distance of 5 kilometres distance from Padmapur on the National Highway-5 running from Rayagada to Berhampur-the important trade center of Ganjam district. The village Dambosora is inhabited by a mixture of Shudha Saora, Hindu communities and Domb or Panos. Marichiguda is the area coming under Padmapur Block and Dambosora under Gunupur Block. Shudha Saoras cover a large tract of plain land whereas hills and plains are occupied by Lanjia Saora sections. The interior pockets of Dambosora and Marichiguda carry many Shudha

Saora villages on plains. Apart from these there is an area known as Kujendri, about 8 kilometres from Gunupur that comes on the way from Gunupur to Ramanaguda Block where some villages were covered to study the Shudha Saoras.

All these areas come under the Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA), Gunupur, located at Gunupur.



SOURCE : VITEBSKY, P. (1993) FIG - O

HILLS AS ELEMENTARY UNITS OF SETTLEMENT

The Hill Saoras or the Lanjia Saoras are settled on the hilly terrains at the base, middle and on the top of the hill. The first man is believed to have lived on the hill top. The caves provided the living space for the then man. Gradually with the social evolution of the tribe the living space became interwined with many factors. The living space or the Saora settlement was constituted in different parts of the

hills. The concept of this progressive evolution, perceived by the Lanjia Saora people deserves little elucidation here.

Earlier it is mentioned that the hill men, the present day Lanjia Saora were nomadic people as described in the term '*Gannarmar*' meaning the persons who were continuously shifting their dwellings from one place to another. Their shifting of dwelling sites was mainly based upon their quest for food and livelihood : described in the term '*Mandregna*'. For those *Ganner Maranji*, the living space was never specific rather the places could sustain their livelihood for a temporary period. The duration of living at one place was determined by the availability of resources particularly food and water which are described as the resources of prime importance. The shelter was no more a greater problem to those nomadic people as they were living inside caves or where caves were not found, lived in temporary rest sheds. The shifting to new places was taking place when the food resources were getting exhausted at that particular patch. The types of temporary dwellings have been mentioned in the housing pattern.

The progressive evolution has marked the conversion of this '*Gannarmar*' into '*Garjanglinganmar*' after a long time. *Garjanglingan* refers to a permanent dwelling site. The *Garjanglinganmar* therefore refers to a settled man, settled at one place, in a village or in a permanently. The permanent dwelling depended upon the availability of crop lands for cultivation. Thus the cultivation practice became the final stage of the progressive evolution of livelihood pattern. This progress in evolutions is related to a term '*Yangaiteen*'. '*Yangaiteen*' literally means to 'get'. The *Gannarmar* got suitable site with plenty of plain lands with water resources where he settled and started cultivation practices to maintain his livelihood. This '*Yangaiteen*' is used in many contexts. It would mean to the 'getting' of a suitable site 'getting' of a suitable resource for livelihood, getting of plain lands and the availability of all that which are found important in making and maintaining a settled life. *Yangaiteen* mostly refers to the getting of a good place. It also refers to the shifting of people from one place to another. It marks the group dwelling (*Partee darakuna*) at one place, later which we came to know as settlement (*Garjangan*). The Saoras perceive this consequent evolution in terms of well beingness. It is viewed from a comparison of the life style of the *Gannarmar* and *Garjanganmar*. The *Gannarmar* is also called as *Irbara mar* where '*Irbara*' refers to idle or non-working and mar stands for man. The *Ganner mar* was thus regarded as the idle, non working man who was shifting from place to place in search of food and the notion of a 'good life' related with 'work': refers to the cultivation, was not developed in him. When the *Irbara mar* became converted into the *Garjangan mar*, he become known as '*Bai bai bansa mar*'. The *bai bai* literally refers to more

and 'bansa' refers to 'good'. Ultimately the terms become '*bai bai bansa*' which define the betterment or a more good life of the people. This '*bai bai bansa*' is associated with '*Mandregna*' which if used collectively means a betterment in the livelihood from the settled cultivation. '*Bai bai bansa*' is conjunction with Prada (Life/Soul) refers to the well-beingness in spiritual understanding. Hence with the quest for a sustainable and better ' *Mandregna*' - the livelihood or resource , the total progressive evolution of 'nomadic' to settled' as well as of idleness in a sense of 'bad' to the working in a sense of 'good' was conceptualised there lies in a sense the Saora notion of well-beingness.

The very general distinction between *Gamar mar* and *Garjang mar* is that the former one was nomadic people with a hunter-gatherer mode of livelihood and the latter was settled people with livelihood from shifting cultivation and settled cultivation. It is marked in the Lanjia Saora settlement that when much of plain land is not available, their cultivation practices became limited to the hilly terrain.

The hills became a dwelling place and a resource base for livelihood. This is the primary importance of the hills. Hills got further importance as a ground where multiple activities could be performed with man-plant-animal-land interactions. The hills are divided into different regions to mark the activities of the Lanjia Saora people. From there comes the idea of making a settlement and extracting food. The hilly forests catered to every need of Lanjia saora people. Therefore, the different parts of hills as elementary units of settlement deserve mention here.

The highest point about the earth is the topmost part of a hill. The Lanjia Saora area is circumscribed by hills. The settlements are found at the foot hill, mid hill and hill tops. A hill is called as *Baroon* by the Saora. The base of the *Baroon* is called *Ajingbur* and the hill top- *Amutti bur* or simply *Amutti*. Drawing a perpendicular line from the hill top to the foot hill, the hill body is divided into many regions, named differently. Mainly a hill is divided into three Zones; '*Ajingbur*'- the foot hill, '*Ababur*'-the head of hill and '*Amutti bur*' or '*adadeilingbur*'- the top most part of a hill. A very high hill or a mountain is called '*Lankabur*' and its top as '*Lankabur amutti*'. If a huge stone represents the terminal part of a hill, such a hill top is called '*Munjungbur*' pointed hill top, plateau at the hill top is called '*Aagaribur*'. The hill slope is called 'Dungdungbur' - if the hill slope is too narrow and if the hill slope is too wide it is called '*Lantapbur*'. This is generally the names of different parts of a hill. But the denomination of the parts of hill gives specific understanding of the Lanjia Saora about a hill. The following graph (Figure - 1) gives the wholesome idea about hill parts.

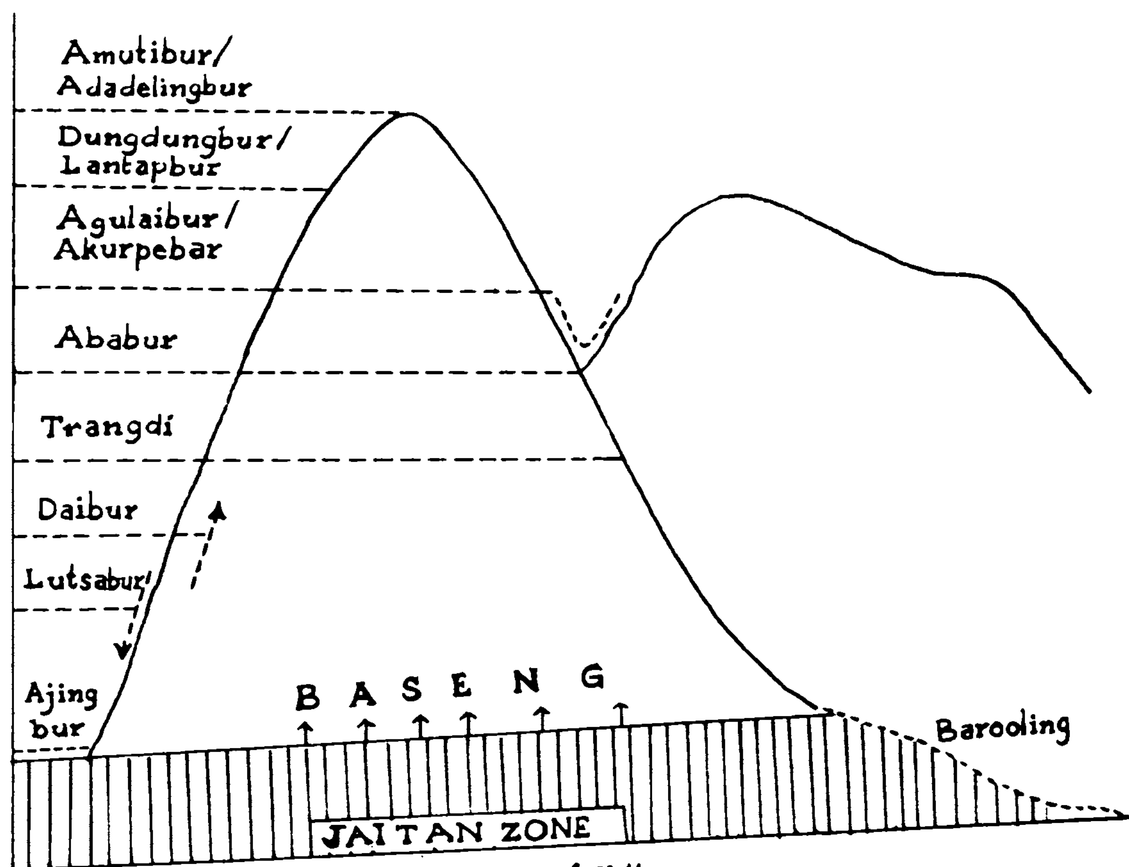


Fig : 1. Parts of Hill

In the above figure the various parts of a hill in Saora nomenclature is mentioned. The foot hill is called *Ajingbur*. *Ajingbur* is the part that continues from the middle of the hill to the base. Many regions are also differentiated in the '*Ajingbur*' zone. The hill slope continuing from the foot hill to the hill top is called '*Dungdungbur*' if it is a narrow and steep slope or *Lantapbur* if the slope is too wide. For one who climbs up to the hill top along the slope path, the ascending slope is called '*Daibur*' and for a man climbing down, to the foot hill from the hill top along the slope, or the descending slope is called as '*Lutsabur*'. Drawing a line at the middle of the horizontal plane of the hill, the middle is termed as '*Trangdi*'. Which literally means middle. Trangdi is widely used to explain the middle. Continuous with the perpendicular line drawn from the foot hill to the hill top, the '*ababur*' continues upwards from the midhill or from the place of the upper end of the '*Ajingbur*' till a certain height ending some part left to reach *Amutti*. More or less '*ababur*' is the area from the *Amutti* to *Trangdi* or the upper end of *Ajingbur*, used in general understanding. The *ababur* is regarded as the head of the hill. To some people, the term *ababur* is derived from *abab* and *bur* where the former literally means roots of trees and head of man and the latter refers to hill. In conjunction both the terms mean the head of the hill or the zone of vegetarian. The junction of two adjacent hills is called as '*Agulaibur* or *Akurpebur*' which is also sometimes termed simply as the '*Trangdi*'. If the junction of two hills sometimes some plain land is found available. This is called as the '*Baseng*'. Which literally means to 'plain'. The hill base is also called *Baseng*. *Ajingbur* and *Baseng* must not be confused for, *Ajingbur* is the measure of hill along its slope or along the height of the hill, whereas *Baseng* is the base of the hill which satisfies to the literal meaning of baseng as plain. Base of the hill (*Baseng*) continues on a slope path downwards to the real plain and the slope is called *Barooling*. Which is thus the area joining the hill base or the foot hill to the *Jaitan* which refers to the low lands and in this approach we regard it as the plain land. For, plain land understood by the Lanjia Saora is the foot hill region which is quite at a higher elevation than the sea level. Therefore what is meant to them as plain land is different from what we mean. '*Jaitan*' therefore, though regarded as the low lands by Lanjia Saora, it is the plain land as far as the physical landscape of the area.

The further understanding of a hill as a work site and settlement site brings into consideration still more terms which are used to fragment the zones of a hill Such terms explain the Lanjia Saoras understanding of a hill landscape as a work site (agricultural work) and as a settlement site. The following graph (Figure - 1.1 gives such an understanding.

In the above figure, the hill is considered as a work site and settlement site Going upwards along the height of the hill, five zones are clearly marked with the first zone being the plain land-*Jaitan*. *Jaitan* is the area where plain land paddy

HILL SLOPE AS WORK SITE/SETTLEMENT

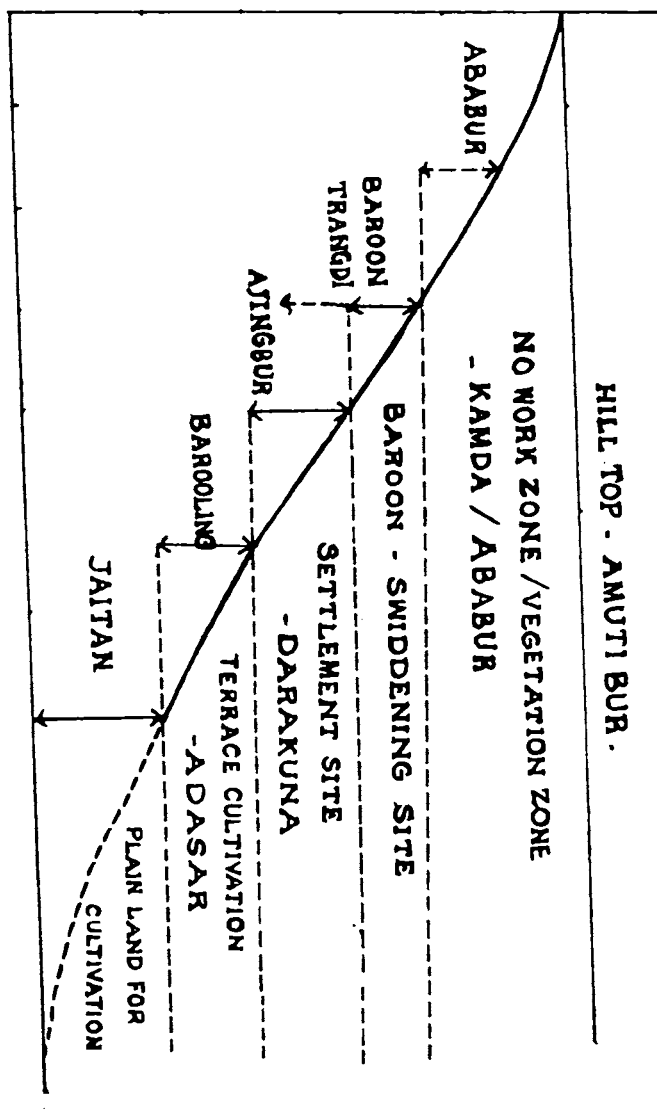


Fig. 1.1

fields are found and besides the paddy fields, the non tribal Hindu class communities reside. *Jaitan*, is considered by Lanjia Saora as low lands, containing permanent water resources somewhere around in the form of flowing streams or pools, ditches etc. Lanjia Saoras have their irrigated paddy lands in the *Jaitan*. *Jaitan* remains water logged during the rainy season as water flows from the hill slope. The upper part of Jaitan called '*Barooling*' is the zone where terrace cultivation is done. The hill slope is designed to the form of terraces by stone embankments and self made on cutting the hill slopes. The terraces are termed as *Addasar*, adda referring to the self and *Sar* to paddy. It is therefore, the area where wet cultivation especially paddy cultivation is done during the rains. If a perennial hill stream is somewhere nearby then the flow of the hillstream is brought towards the terraces for water harvest. The presence of hill streams is important criterion for selection of a settlement site. Importance is given on terraces where patches of plain lands and hill streams are found.

The platform of each terrace is flat throughout and the fall of each terrace is stone packed. The construction of the terraces is so ingeniously and skillfully done that no soil is carried down with the water. The terraces are built right upto the beds of hill-streams and extend many hundreds of feet from the depth of villages to the hill slopes and in some places rising upto the hill tops. The terraces are works of great engineering skill (Patnaik: 1989). Patnaik continues with the discussion on terraces that the water management is equally skillful. The flow of water from one terrace to the other is controlled by channels and water ways which are provided in the ridges of the terraces. There is another way of facilitating flow of water from higher terraces to the lower ones. Two or three pits are dug at the lower side of the upper terrace and these pits are packed with boulders. The water flows into these pits and from there through the boulders trickles to the terraces down below. The water management is so skillful that it avoids flooding of the terraced fields In many places water trickles from level to level through stone fencing and ultimately flows down into the lands in the plains. But in no case either the soil is carried over with water from the terraced fields or any damage is caused to the stone walls.

Terrace making depends upon the hill streams. The Lanjia Saora maintained group life from the beginning; the groups settled in place where large area was available for terracing. The direction of stream was changed by blocking the main path of the flow by stones blocks and was brought towards the terraces. Terraces are associated with term: *Alompal* that gives the idea of the surrounding of the shelf that is at the highest level and the fall of each terrace platform is called *Tannidi*. Therefore, the end of the terraces towards the hill top is called *Alompal* and the wall of each terrace that makes different self and the end of the terraces towards the foot hill is called *Tannidi*. *Barooling* is the denomination of a part of *Ajingbur* that is

left for terracing. Terraced lead downwards to a rather complete and continuous plain , *Jaitan*.

With the ascending of the slope towards the hill top, the settlement site *'Darakuna'* is located. The settlement site comes under the *Ajingbur* which continues downwards till the end of barooling. The settlement site is located in between the area for shifting cultivation and the area of terrace cultivation. The settlement site marks the third zone from the side of the plain.

As the slope goes up after the settlement site a space is demarcated as the area where shifting cultivation is undertaken. The area of shifting cultivation called *Baroon* is located in about the middle of the hill. The area though denominated as *Baroon*, it comes under the *'Ababur'* and *'trangdi'* regions of the hill. *Ababur* extends upto the *trangdi* from the hill top.

Going still up along the slope after *Baroon* to an area is demarcated as *'kamda'* which is the area in between the baroon and the hill top. This area is regarded as the main part of the *Ababur*. As *ababur* is a derivative of *abab* that refers to head of man and roots of trees, it makes the sense that this region is the space left for natural vegetation. The term *Kamda* means ' no work' zone where none of the agricultural practices is done and so that part is least interfered and the potentiality of vegetation growth is reserved there. This no work zone is rather a small area if the hill slope is too wide and the hill slope very narrow the *'Kamda'* region becomes comparatively smaller. This is because a steep and narrow slope is not thought better for agricultural practices.

Finally remains the topmost part of the hill known as *Amutti* which may be regarded as a *Kamda* zone if the hill top is very much pointed. If the hill top shows a plateau the dry crops may be cultivated in such areas.

THE VILLAGE SETTLEMENT : SELECTION OF SITE

Hill as the elementary units of settlement has demarcated the *Ajingbur* area as the settlement site. Referring to the oral history of Lanjia Saora, it can be indicated that groups of people went in search of plain lands and water resources for a settled life. Initially they dispersed living like nomadic people in the forest. On availability of plain land with a water resources somewhere on the hills, they lived there. The shifting cultivation thus started. The settlement started from the places regarded as plains-*Baseng*. Lanjia Saora express the forest settlement in rather self evident terms.

People who lived at one place gave more importance to terrace cultivations. Therefore they reserve some area on the hill slope for settlement either sides of which was reserved for cultivation. After outlining the settlement area, the

inhabitants shaped the hill slope running downwards from the settlement intc terraces. The first made terrace is after the settlement gives identity to the first mar or family who resided in the settlement. With increase in manpower, other parts of the hill slopes were converted into self continuing with the first made shelf or terrace.

EXTENSION OF THE SETTLEMENT

In the very beginning the Lanjia Saoras did not have a well defined village settlement. The prototype settlement was made with some people or families staying together at one place like a group with their houses distributed in a scattered yanner. The settlement site looked dispersed with houses. The extension of the settlement became a function of migration of still more people into the available plain lands. Lanjia Saora people gave more attention towards plain lands and preserved them for cultivation purposes. Village settlements were made on the hill slopes leaving the plain lands aside for cultivation.

The inflow of people to an area extended the settlement site. People who first settled in a place allowed the people of their *Birinda* (defined later on) to stay in that area. Population increased with households and settlement size expanded. But in the settlement the first inhabitants could foresee that in future the area would be found inadequate to shelter a large population, so they decided the capacity of a village and this did not allow more people to stay in the settlements. Therefore the settlement extended to a particular size in consideration of the available space for common use and spaces occupied by specific households.

The shifting of people from one place to another and settling at new places went on simultaneously. For, the first householders in a new place allowed only people from their *Birinda* to stay with them, the mode of general composition in a settlement consisted of three or four *Birindas* in general. Thus the settlements became dominated by people of specific Birinda. Different settlements carried different sets of people sometimes with the people of some *Birindas* and sometimes with the mixed population.

The irregular arrangement of houses the settlement sites gave a scattered look. When population explosion took place in every household, new houses were built. The new houses thus built were made adjacent to the new householder's parent's houses with a common sharing of one wall of the main house. Gradually after many generations continuous addition of new households adjacent to the older ones made the settlement to look like rows of houses. One row from a long distance looks like long hall. When the total area of the settlement site got clustered with houses and with spaces like courtyards and frontyards belonging to all houses, it became a matter for further shifting of people, though not the entire village

population, yet some of them, to new sites where another settlement took shape.

DENOMINATION OF SETTLEMENTS

Previous descriptions hold that a settlement was not made over night by a social group of Lanjia Saora. People from different areas migrated to this hill land and settled. The conditions which led such people (Lanjia Saora) to this hill land for a permanent settlement are described in many legendary tales. The legend relate that some generations ago this patch of land was not a human habitat. The nomadic people discovered this land having enough of plain lands, water availability, good forest condition and consequently when they found that such resources would continue long and would be renewable, they shifted there. Certain legendary tales about the denomination of settlements are noted here. Apart from the legendary stories, the type of the land-scape attracted-them. Attributes that a settlement nearby a hill where there was bear house (*Salia sing*) once upon a time made it to be named as *Salia Sing*. A plain land where the earth is rocky was named as *Ragidi* (small stones) *sing* (house). Apart from that the names of animals and also trees are often used in denominating a settlement site.

ANJARSING

It is a village on a hill quite at a higher level than the village *Sagada*. *Anjarsing* is named after a tree *Anjar* (Peepal -*Ficus religiosa*). The legend about the settlement goes that there was a village named *Kutung* in the *R. Udayagiri* area. There lived a family with two brothers and their children. In their kitchen garden there were plenty of *Luam* (Carpet legume/*Lablab purpurens*) plants which were yielding *legumes*. A man passing by that route saw the carpet legumes and plucked some. The house holder asked the stranger not to pluck the legumes. But the stranger plucked. The householder scolded the stranger and caught his ears uprooting its base of helix . After committing the crime the householder thought that the stranger may go to police station (*Bandiba jalal*) to punish him. Scared at the event , the householder wanted to leave the village for ever. All the family members got ready to leave. They had a pig. The two brothers tied the pig and carried it on their shoulders with a rod. They reached a new place. One of the brothers buried one end of the rod which was a stick of the Peepal tree at that place. They lived there. After some days the new shoots came out from that buried stalk of peepal and accordingly the village got its name as *Anjarsing*.

In the beginning the village was located somewhere near a spring at the foothill. The low land caused problems to the village in rainy days. The village was remaining water logged for most of the times sometimes flooding the village. After some days the people discovered a rather plain land at the middle of the nearby hill which had a broad space. When population increased in the village at the foothill, everybody shifted to the new place which is still named with the same name.

ANGORA

A village about 6kms from *Sagada*, *Angora* is the conjunction of two terms *Ang+ara* . *Ang* means obstructing and *ara* means tree. The legend goes that in ancient past there was no road communicating that village with other villages. Logs and big branches of trees obstructed the whole path approaching the village. People cleared such timber broke tree branches,cut down big trees and converted it to a settlement for, there is a perennial hill stream nearby. A road for communication was made later on. This is the secret of denomination of this village.

ALANGDA

The denomination of the village is made from '*Alang*' and '*da*' where *Alang* refers to straw and '*da*' to water. There was a pile of straw. People saw that water was coming out of the straw. From this the place came to be known as *Alangda.*

AREDOOL

Named from '*Ared*' and '*ool*' that means a type of bird and mango respectively. There were a number of mango trees. On those trees were living a great number of birds. The denomination is made with the observation that the birds were living on the mango trees and so the name became *Aredool.*

ALENGAR

It is named after the term *Aleng* meaning a 'fishy smell'. The area was smelling like that, as people were eating much fishes. So the village was named accordingly.

GAILUNG

It is named after *Gai+lung*. *Gai* means digging and *lung* means cave. There was a long underground passage. In ancient times people were living in such caves and undergrounds.

BASENG GARJANG

Denomination of the village is from *Baseng* meaning plain and *Garjang*, meaning the village. The village is almost at the junction in between two hills which is a plain area.

SAGADA (*So* : Hide , *Gad* : Cutting)

There was a village named *Tumna* in *R.Udayagiri* area. There lived a Saora man who was cultivating paddy. Once there was long delay in harvesting paddy as the paddy did not mature though other people had already reaped their paddy. The man went to his paddy field with deep sorrow. He plucked a particle

ofpaddy and peeled it. The paddy carried in it a silver coin. The man peeled another and the same type of silver coin was found. The man came to know that his crop yielded silver coins. Then he felt it important to reap and harvest the whole yield overnight before police and outsiders come to know about it.

He did not have *mana* (measuring vessel) to measure the total harvest. There was a Mahajan- a Bisoi family in the village. The Saora's wife went to the Bisoi family to borrow the mana. After the Saora finished his works with the mana his wife went to the Bisoi house and returned the same. There were some paddy grains in the mana. The Bisoi peeled them and found Silver coins. The Bisoi came to know about the whole thing. The Saora's wife came to know that the Bisoi has already known about their paddy harvest.

Bisoi was the tax collector of the village. When Saora cropped paddy next time in the same field, the Bisoi thought to exploit the Saora. The crops matured. The Saora heard a voice from the space that he should reap and harvest all the crops overnight and then leave the village in the night before coming the event to the notice of the bisoi or Police. The Saora did so.

The Saora with his wife, three sisters and a brother left the village at night and reached a place (Present *Sagada*) where he lived on a mountain top. He went in search ofplain lands and hill streams for cultivation. He found them in the nearby area. He also found that there was a good plain land at the base of the hill where he made his house and settled.

Before they settled, there were three families staying nearby in a place which is known as *Railpadar* at present. The members of the stranger's family worked for wage in the fields of the previously settled people. Then the new family and three old family members decided to become friends. They killed a buffalo and arranged a common feast to memorize their friendship. The buffalo was cut at the place of the new family members. From this the denomination of the village is made were '*So*' stands for those people who came there to hide and '*Gad*' refers to 'cutting' the buffalo for friendship.

After that there came many other people from different villages. They were all Saoras and from different clans. From a village -*Atorsing* came the *Raika* clan, from village-*Rambati* and *Tonsor* came the *Gomango* clan and from *Chhelagada* came the *Patro* clan who all settled at the same site. But at present the *Patro* clan is not living in *Sagada*.

DUNGDUNGAR

Dungdungar is a denomination from the term '*Dungdung*',meaning a slope. The village is made on a hill slope. Because the settlement is made on the slope the name given is *Dungdungar* (*Dungdung+ar*) where *Dungdung* refers to

the slope and '*ar*' to the inhabitants.

KUMBOOLSING

Kumbool means mouse and *Sing* means house. The settlement now known as *Kumboolsing* is made on a huge hill where once the mice population was the highest. From that the settlement is named as such.

TARBEL

Two legends are associated with denomination of the village. One legend holds that there was enough of Pandanus plants towards the base of the hill on which the village is settled. Sweet scented flowers (*Tarba*) of Pandanus made people to name the settlement as *Tarbel*. The second legend holds that, there was a good population of *Aruptar* plants (*Arup* : 4 O'clock plant-*Mirabilis jalapa*, *Tar* from *Tarba*: flowers). The plants were flowering in the afternoon hours. From this the village is named *Tarbel* after the *Aruptar*.

MANENGOOL

It is a village on a high hill top. The denomination of the village is made from *Manengool* (*Maneng:* Last, *ool*: Mango) which means the last mango or the last mango in a mango tree. It is associated with a legend about the settlement of village.

People were living on gathering fruits and roots from the forests. They were living like nomadic people. Once the group of people felt very much hungry and found no food from the forest. At last they reached a mango tree and looked on to find if any mango was there. They saw that only one mango was left on the tree and that was at a great height. They threw stones and sticks at the mango but it did not fall. The event is preserved with the denomination of the village as *Manengool*.

Another legend associated with this holds that when a group of people reached there they had a hunting dog with them. It was a summer day. The group of people and the dog were in search of water to quench their thirst. The dog became separated from the people and went in search of water. It went round and then went down the hill where it could find a stream. The dog drunk water to its full capacity, took a bath there and returned to the people. The people saw the dog fully wet and felt that somewhere there is a spring. They all were very much thirsty then. They went in search of water and found the spring at the foot hill.

The group of people saw that there was a good clay soil around the spring. Further, enough of plain land was there. They decided to live there as plain lands and water are available there. Thus the settlement was made.

The village is settled on a high mountain. To the left and right of the settlement there were two big hills. The hill on which *Manengool* is established is known as *Badital* (*Badi* : Big *Tal* : A Stone)as very big stones were there. On the otherside of the village, to the left is the hill named *Tarapool* (*Tarap*: a tree, *Polyalthia suberosa*), *ool*: Mango) for the *P.suberosa* and mango trees were the dominant population in the said hill. To the right of the village, the hill is named as *Purpuri*, named after a grass called Purpuri (*Cynodon dactylon*) which was plenty in the hill, the top of these two hills was flourished with lots of *Loil* Plants (Siali:*Bauhinia vahlii*) that grew like a canopy. The creepers were so much dense that sun light could not pass through it. Under the canopy was a plain area where people lived. The previous *Manengool* village was located at a higher level than the level at which the present *Manengool* stands.

After setting of the settlement some people migrated from villages like *Lamlamba* (a creeper ?), *Barusing* (Hill-house) and *Dungdungsing* (Slope-house). The composition of the present *Manengool* village is made mainly of population of the above three villages.

KARANJASING

This village located on a hill top is the next to village *Lade*, in this locality. The denomination of the village is from *Karanja* (*Pongamia pinnata*) tree and *Sing* (meaning house). Its settlement is associated with a legendary tale.

Previously there were no people living in the said area. Once, two strangers (husband and wife) were going that way. They were from the village *Kinjanrutum* of *R. Udayagiri*. They saw that the area has all the provisions for a good permanent settlement. There was a good hill stream nearby and adequate plain land. They felt that though all the pre-requisite conditions for making a settlement at that site there was no house at all. There was a very big *Karanja* tree. Its trunk had a big hollow space (*Aputar*). The husband and wife decided to live in the hollow space of the tree trunk . Later on they made a house and the women gave birth to two sons and a daughter. Their number grew to five. Later on the five members dwelt in four different houses as four independent households of the same *Birinda*. The population slowly grew up and the village became quite big.

The same *Karanja* tree is still there preserving the history of the settlement- *Karanja Sing*.

KINTEDA

It is a village named after '*Kinte*' and '*da*' where the former means banana plant (*Musa paradisica*) and the latter refers to water. The village settlement was amidst the wild banana plants. There was a good spring and plenty of plain lands

where those wild banana plants were growing. When people settled there they cut down all the banana plants and converted the entire plain land partly into village settlement and partly to agricultural fields. Now a spring is flowing in between the agricultural lands on either sides.

There are many other villages denominated with the names of flora, fauna and the features of the physical landscape. Every village settlement has a legendary history describing how the landscape was turned into a settlement site. The legendary tales more or less describe the searching of a suitable place for a permanent living. The suitability of a landscape for conversion into a settlement however depends upon certain important factors, the main being, plains- for the purpose of settlement and cultivation and water for purpose of drinking and irrigating the crop lands. This however describes the pre-requisite conditions that determine the suitability of a place for settlement.

The denomination of the villages by the names of hills, rocks, plains, hill slopes and the shifting of sites to different places, especially shifting of settlement from hill top to mid-hill or foot-hill are the indicators taken into consideration while making the first settlements. This idea however, led the nomads to a settled life. The quest for a permanent settlement site made people to understand the different geographical areas of the locality. In addition to the selection of site for settlement (*Garjang*), the denomination of the settlements gave meaning to the hills as the physical landscape that are used as living space of the Lanjia Saora people.

The Shudha Saora settlements in this connection are also variously named. Since they are plain land inhabitants, hills are not considered as the living space as much as is considered by the Lanjia Saora people. To the Shudha Saora a living space is simply meant as a plain area for settlement around which the inhabitants get adequate plain lands for cultivation. However, the denomination of the villages to some extent goes in the similar manner as the Lanjia Saora people do. Names are fixed to the settlement in consideration of the vegetation, trees, rocks, the major yield of certain crops and also in consideration of various features of the physical landscape around them. When Lanjia Saora people mostly refer to '*Baroon*' that is hills as their living space, Shudha Saora people regard to the '*Padar*' i.e. plain lands around as their living space. This however makes a distinction between the habitat choice of Shudha Saora and Lanjia Saora. But this distinction mostly depends upon the skill in the prevalent occupation of people. When Lanjia Saora is skilled in making terraces, Shudha Saora are not . When Lanjia Saora people are shifting cultivators the Shudha Saora are settled plain land cultivators. About denomination of villages examples may be cited to give an idea of the Shudha Saora's idea of denomination. *Dambosora* is a village named after a Saora, Domb by name who was the first inhabitant of the area. *Dambosora* is the name given to the locality not by the Domb himself but by others. Domb denominated the place

as *'Padsa Saora'*. *Padsa* literally refers to Jackfruit. Because the dominant composition of trees in the area was Jackfruit trees where the man named as Domb was a Saora who lived there. The denomination of the area was *Padsa Saora*. Other people who lived there afterwards with Domb, or after the death of Domb. the village name *Dombasora* continued in the memory of the first inhabitant of the village. In this way many of the Shudha Saora villages are named with the suffix like - *Padar* or -*Guda* which refer to a man, tree or animal or anything else. Village *Marichiguda* was earlier named as *Padhani Guda*, when it was first inhabited by a man named Padhani. The name changed to *Marichiguda* where *Maricha*(chilly) grew in large quantity. In this way the Shudha Saora villages are named and renamed with regard to certain identifying features.

SIZE OF SETLEMENT

Settlement size of the Saora is not mainly dependant on population inhabiting in the area. It depends mostly upon the availability of plain land. both in case of Shudha Saora and Lanjia Saora. Therefore. in consideration of the available plain lands, the settlement size is determined. The available space is not compactly arranged with houses only. Every household keeps or encroaches a certain area of space to be used under his discretion : for kitchen garden. village road. inter communicating spaces, space for livestocks, etc. In this condition, a settlement carries a definite number of households in clusters. In course of time new houses were added due to population explosion. It makes the settlement look very compact with houses. Normally settlement size carries 30 to 40 households. Households numbering upto 100 or more are also not uncommon in Lanjia Saora areas. Manengool is a large village carrying more than 100 households. Settlements of only 5 households are seen in a village. Mention may be made of the village Padasing which has only five households.

Big settlements even sometimes become inadequate for the increasing population. Therefore, some families shift from one village to another, or to a new area. In most cases such people live on plain lands available near the main settlement. The new settlement is given a name, sometimes it also goes under the name of the main village if it is very close to the old one.

In all the cases, the size of a settlement depends upon the available living space, plain lands. The number of households give the size of a settlement. In the Government records, the main villages are known as revenue villages and additional settlements that are set later on are known as the hamlets of the revenue villages.

CHANGE OF SETTLEMENT SITE

Change of settlement site depends upon the man to land ratio in a particular

area. The land is considered important for two ways : for settlement and for cultivation. Settlements may change when landed properties only can be transferred or sold. Therefore, in a particular area the increase of population of settlement area, forces the people to shift the site . In the shifting from an old settlement to a new one, the whole mass of the old settlement is transfered. Therefore the shifting of site is only chosen by a few people of the old settlement. As a matter of fact, only some people who fail to enjoy the minimal availability of space, they decide to shift or change the settlement.

The first consideration for preferential settlement is the presence of his *Birinda* members. But if there is not much of free land in the other village the man desiring to change his settlement selects a patch in his swidden plots adjacent to the old settlement. Swidden plots are personally possessed and so there is no objection by any body if the man builds a house in it. Making a house in swidden plots is often an immediate choice as by living there the man is able to manage his landed properties properly. Again a new abode site must be having provision of water facility.

In cases of transfer of a group of people the same consideration that the inadequacy of lands for minimum survival needs is taken into account. They encroach a forest area having provision of water and land, preferably near the old settlement. They encroach a forest land which is not possessed or encroached by any other or is not a village community land. Failing in this, the group of people think of going to other villages, where number of households is minimum, their *Birinda* people are living there, has better provision of land and water ect. In some cases they are able to find such a village. In some cases, some in the group find place in villages where their Birinda people are living. When they fail in either cases they decide to live on the lower parts of their swidden plots where water facility is available. If there is good formal or informal relation among people in the group, they live at one place or get segregated from each other and make their settlements at their own swidden plots.

In connection with the change of settlement site, it is observed that in Lanjia Saora localities the whole village shifted from the hill top to the foot hill. Here change in settlement means coming down from the hill top. But if the foot hill areas by that time has been converted to crop lands the villagers take no option in changing the site.

Referring to the legendary tales about the denomination of villages, it is marked that many of Saora Community have migrated to these areas from other places. Mention may be made of R.Udayagiri area where from many Lanjia Saoras have migrated and settled here. Availability of adequate plain lands with water facility is the main reason for migration. The legends speak of one type of change

in settlement.

Cases are however not uncommon about change of the settlements with all the people migrating to a new site due to other reasons like epidemics, inauspicious events believed to be associated with the places, damage of human life and livestocks by carnivorous beasts etc. Examples may be cited of certain villages which are abandoned because of aforesaid reasons. There were three villages named Ringi, Rayer and Raiba which were abandoned. The reasons for mass leaving from the settlement are the fear of carnivorous beasts, certain inauspicious events and prevalence of leprosy disease, etc. The people in such villages got dispersed to different villages. But all the people unitedly could not make another settlement. Most of the people from village Raiba settled in the village Rebjingtal. Due to the prevalence of leprosy disease, recently people of Paralatung abandoned the village and all made a settlement at a new site, the settlement being named as Kittung. Very recently majority of people from Regedasing left their village for fear of tiger and settled at Talaguda, where the village Sagada is found at present. History of the village tells that people from Tunsar abandoned their village which was at a hill top and settled at Sagada. Some seven to eight years ago, a group of people from Sagada abandoned their site and settled at a new place which is now known as Dungdungar. People of Dungdungar village express that they left Sagada as the area in which they were living was quite inauspicious. For, most of the infants died at that place. So from that particular part of the village all the people transferred to Dungdungar. Inauspicious events that happen continuously develop a fear complex in the people living at a place and that makes the place to be taken as inauspicious.

When people abandon an old settlement, it is never sure that they will make a new settlement nearby the old one. If they settle at a far off place they sell away all their landed properties in the old settlement. When individuals leave villages they settle at a new place by purchasing lands. It is now observed that people are now interested to live on plains. Before they leave their old village, they sell away all their landed properties in the old village. People or families of economically poor class also are seen to be leaving their old settlement for fear of certain inauspicious events in the old site.

Now-a-days people are least interested in changing their settlements. Fear of jungle beasts is no longer there. Fear complex towards inauspicious events has decreased and above all people do not want to leave their old settlements for much of their landed properties are scattered around their old one. Again on changing their settlement to a new site, their work load will increase considerably due to the distance of the agricultural lands from the new settlements.

Due to population explosion the abandoned sites are again being converted

into settlements. The place in *Sagada* from where people had gone to their new settlement *Dungdungar* has now been converted to new settlement. Indira Awas Yojna houses are built and people are staying there. Likewise, many abandoned sites are being re-inhabited.

In the Shudha Saora localities changing of settlements is not as frequent as that of Lanjia Saoras. Of course, the same types of reasons are accounted for when there is a change in settlement in Shudha Saora area. Abandoning old settlements is seen in case of certain families who feel that the space in the village is not adequate for the family members. Hence the change of settlement. In some cases it is observed that for fear of jungle beasts, the whole settlement is shifted from one place to another. There is a village named *Malapadar* on the otherside of the river-*Mahendratanaya*, in the Shudha Saora Locality. The village is settled at the foot of a nearby hill. Since the hill god was not treated properly by people of the village, he became malevolent. The hill god's anger led to mass killing of people by tiger. Thus people horrified resulting in change of the settlement from the foot hill to a different site.

SETTING OF A NEW SETTLEMENT

Whenever a new settlement is set up, sometimes certain rituals are performed. But the ritual works are not always compulsory. Again Lanjia Saora communities do not have much faith on these ritual works as compared to the Shudha Saoras. Settlement is changed for reasons already described and a new settlement site is chosen in accordance with the living conditions. Again change of settlement sometimes is a case for entire village, sometimes for a group of people and often for individuals and families.

When people decide to change a settlement and setting a new one they first select a site which would be better for living in accordance with the pre-requisite conditions. If the new site is a forested patch people plan to clear the patches after testing the auspicious signs of the place. On a fixed day the group goes to the newly selected site and perform a ritual. They clean a patch and polish it with cowdung and earth. Then put some quantity of rice on the cleaned patch. The rice is their covered by a stone. After one or two days people go again to the site to test the rice if the place is auspicious. This is indicated from the rice under the stone. If the rice is found to be still there then the site is considered auspicious. If the rice is vanished (*Maya*) the place is regarded as inauspicious. It is believed that the place is dominated by malevolent and evil spirits. Ritually bound people believe that if they dwell there they will meet with several problems and difficulties in future. People ritually not bound do not hesitate to live there if the rice was still there or vanished. This process of testing the place for settlement is called *Langatrung*.

In the second consideration, if the newly selected place is believed to be the place of any spirit or god, the ritual works are organised in a different manner rather through religious practices. The group which wants to settle at the new site pay a visit to the spot. If the group leader gets a dream that night, the further actions are processed. If the place is found to be inauspicious or if it is the abode of any spirit, the spirit appears in a dream threatening about the further harmful consequences for the settlers. Either the spirit through the dream directs the group leader not to make a settlement there or directs a ritual to be organised before setting up settlement there. The spirit or deity may also demand a worship and sacrifice for its appeasement. The group leader on the other day tells about the dream to other people and in a common discussion the further actions are decided. If the ritual work has to be organised as per the dream, the ritual becomes specifically for a *Lobopur* (Earth-Worship) in which worship is given to *Lobosum* i.e. the earth deity and other spirits are invoked to the site. The worship is organised by a Shamans who performs all the works relating to the ritual and also sacrifice the animal. With the sacrifice the earth deity as well as other evil spirits are contented and appeased.

The same type of ritual is prescribed to a person who wants to shift to a new place with his family. Same type of dream is experienced by the householder that leads to further actions.

In certain cases the new site is known to be the abode of a deity through a dream. In the dream the type of animal to be sacrificed is prescribed. The animal to be sacrificed, told in the dream, indicating the spirit or deity dwelling there. Different spirits or deities have different choices about animals which are to be sacrificed for their contentment. If in the dream a *Tadarin Kansim* (Cock) or a *Kumme* (Goat) is demanded, it is believed to be the demand of Lobosum and so it is easily understood that the new site belongs to the Lobopur. Accordingly such sacrifices are given. The demand for a *Kamboon* (Pig) makes people know that the place is inhabited by *Durgasum*. A *Bungtel* (buffalo) indicates the presence of *Idai Sonum* in the new site. A *Tanglee* (cow or bullock) indicates the presence of *Uungsum* on the site. The Lanjia Saora people feel that such animals need to be sacrificed there receiving which the spirits leave the place. The group wanting to live there collect money from each person to purchase the animal that is to be sacrificed. The spirits or deities who possess the newly selected site sometimes demand a number of things alongwith the sacrificial animals. Such materials are white cloth, rice, umbrella, wine etc. All those materials are demanded through the dream (*Ganumte*).

But the present day Lanjia Saoras do not pay much importance to such beliefs. They have lost their fear complex with such deities. They do not think of the anger and wrath of such deities unless they are harmed or put to difficulties.

They perform no rituals other than only putting rice under a stone and that is also not so common. After setting at the new site if they are confronted with problems or inauspicious events time and again they organise rituals to get rid of the anger or wrath of such spirits and deities.

The Shudha Saora people highly believe in signs of auspicious or inauspicious events from the experiment with rice put under a stone on the newly selected site. This is done if the whole village is to be shifted or if only a house is to be shifted. The worship is however, done with sacrifice in the direction of the deity in dreams. They believe if the new place is auspicious, the rice put under the stone is not disturbed nor vanished. In contrast to Lanjia Saora people, the Shudha Saora people give another worship to the land deity and the house deity after constructing houses on the selected site. The worship after house making is mainly given to *Mundadasum*. In the worship a cock or a pig is sacrificed and blood is offered to the earth deity and the *Mundadasum* is acknowledged highly. The worship is organised by the priest. The worship is named after *MundadaSum* and the religious activity is called *Mundadapur*. The details of this process are dealt in the chapter "Religious Practices, Magic and Concept of Health ".

STRUCTURE OF A SETTLEMENT

As it has always been discussed about the settlement of Lanjia Saoras people, their settlement is always established on high lands and hill slopes. Such a site is selected to avoid water logging in the village during rains. It gives the first structural set up of a settlement in relation to the hill nearby.

The Lanjia Saora settlements are not always made with a pre-planned architectural idea. For, all the houses in the village are not made at one time. With growth of population and addition of new families the settlement is sometimes structured as a cluster or rows of houses. But often the houses are made in rows if the landscape of the settlement is a plain area. Otherwise, it looks like a cluster of houses. If the village settlement is structured with rows of houses, then from a distance the rows look like long halls separated from each other by a middle path running between the two lines. But in most cases the two rows of houses do not face each other, in a few cases the rows face each other. In bigger villages where many rows of houses are found, from the rows emerge out several village path intersecting each other at right angles. Clustered arrangement of houses is found as the settlement is not a uniformly plain area and so the houses are arranged in shapeless clusters.

Since settlements are mostly made on the hill slopes adequate plain lands for arrangement of houses on rows are not available. Before making a house the slope land is levelled properly to make sure that the house stands perfectly on a plain

land. In this way the row continues with the slope. Therefore, the hill slope is designed to the shape of terraces. On each terrace houses are arranged in rows. The houses mostly face towards the downy path of the slope. The terraces thus continue from the first row of houses on the hill slope to the foot hill plains. In same villages rows of houses consist of ten or so also indicating ten numbers of terraces. If the land on which settlement is made is an irregular slope with ups and downs then making regular terraces becomes hardsome and so the settlement shows a clustered arrangement of houses. Very few settlements that are made more or less on the plains have rows facing each other. There is no specific arrangement of houses in relation to the *Birindas*. As *Birinda* means an extended family, people of one *Birinda* usually lives in one row and when land is not made available on the same row for additional families, they go down to the next step in the terraces and settle. Sometimes one long row shows houses of people belonging to one *Birinda* and sometimes *Birinda* members are scattered in the clustered arrangement. *Birinda* members prefer to live in one row.

Several Saora terms may be used to explain the patterns of house arrangements and other aspects. To approach a settlement a main road is followed if the village is well communicated. Such a main road is called '*Lanya*', which must be wide and plain. The village main road through which people communicate with the main road is called '*Tangor*'. The paths communicating the '*Tangor*' to the rows of villages or to houses is known as '*Tamtang*' which also refers to '*angular*'. The road to row communicating path, the communicating path from the frontyard of the houses to backyard (not through the houses) is also called '*Tamtang*'. *Tamtang* is always an unclean area for it is used for household activities and the livestocks move through that way and the household wastes are dumped there.

The surrounding of a settlement is termed as '*Ayer*'. It gives a description of the location of the settlement in relation to the hill nearby and other things on the physical landscape. The beginning of the settlement is termed as '*Amda langlang*' (Beginning-hamlet). The end of the settlement is called '*Atonakud langlang*' (Ending-hamlet). The middle of thevillage is known as *Trangdi langlang* (Middle-hamlet). The *langlang* literally means the hamlet. In practical usage rows or clusters of houses, found at different parts of the settlement are mentioned with the prefix like '*Amda*', '*Atonakud*' and '*Trangdi*'.

The steps or terraces on which the settlement is made are called '*Tading*' or '*Tading tading*' (Step-step). If the houses arranged in a row are attached with each other by a common wall such a continuous house is called '*Adangadang*' (closely knit). Inside the village boundary of each house or the demarcating line of each house including its kitchen gardens, frontyard and backyard are called '*Tanna*'. The boundary of the village is termed as '*Sandi*'. '*Tanna*' also refers

to the closely knit houses boundary of the *Birinda*. The kitchen garden is callea '*Kutta*'. The face to face arrangement of houses is called '*Armuka*' and one side facing of the rows of houses is '*Bomneng*'. '*Gungusing*' meaning cattle sheds remain towards one side of the village inter communicating path. The village route leading to another village is called '*Gad*' with use of the village name as the prefix to *Gad*.

The above terms explain the structural components and planning of a village settlement. The view of houses on the upper terrace of the settlement is obstructed by the houses on the next down step. The backside of houses faces towards the Swidden plots and the front side faces the paddy cropping terraces.

The Shudha Saora villages are mostly set in a two rowed structures with a broad middle space in between the rows. The middle broad space is used for cattle sheds, one half of the sheds being used by the house facing to it. The cattle sheds devide the two rows. In the premises of the rows a narrow space used as the way leads to the main road to the outskirt of the village. The houses in either rows face each other. In some villages the cattle sheds are made in the backsides. This is a recent planning. The villages are situated on the plain lands so they look like simple non-tribal villages in the locality. The villages never show a clustered arrangement of houses in Shudha Saora areas. Houses in the rows are made with the sharing of one wall between two houses.

HOUSE PATTERN

The Saora housing pattern has also an evolutionary story. The story began right from the time when such people were living like nomadic hunters and food gatherers. This also refers to their cave life. When caves became insufficient to give shelter to the growing population, people shifted to *Jirang*, which means stages on large trees. They built Jirang on big trees by keeping poles on the tree forks and such a house is known as *Jirang Sing* (Stage house). Jirangs were usually made on trees like *Trayi* (*Diospyrus melanoxylon*), *Sargia* (*Shorea robusta*), *Aba* (*Madhuka longifolia*), *Kurgat* (*Syzigium cuminii*) etc. The next stage of house type where the primitive Saora lived is called '*Kundul*' which was triangular with the earth as the base and on either sides of it tree branches made the covering. The two sides of the *Kundul* is called *Alaramga* (branches) and the base an '*Alaman*'. The next type of house where people lived is called '*Ansing*' which is like a hut, four sides of which are walled by stone settings upto a height of about three feet. Over the stone walls wooden poles make the roof which is thatched by jungle straw or thatching grass (called as '*Alang*'). The '*Ansing*' type of houses is still existing in the name of watch huts made on the Swidden plots where people spend time in watching and guarding the crops.

The next type of house is known as '*Gummasing*'. Such a type was made

with raw materials like wood, earth and thatching grass. Walls were made with wooden poles buried close to each other and the gaps were cemented with earth. The roof was also made of wooden poles and thatching was done with thatching grass. There were no doors.

The next type of house is known as '*Nyalsing*'. The walls of this type of house is made with rocks and earth. First, the stone setting is made cemented with mud. Then earth is polished over the stones to save the mud, that cemented the stones for a proper setting from being washed away in the rain. The walls are raised upto a height of five to six feet and the walls look irregular for stones of various sizes are set in. Considerable upgradation in such a house is made if a house with walls raising upto to about ten feet or more. The skill is developed in stone setting. The walls show no irregularity. Further upgradation was marked with the making of loft inside the house where much of household things could be kept. The present type of houses in which the Lanjia Saora people live is called '*Nyalsing*'. but the '*Nyalsing*' at present is highly designed, upgraded with better space management inside and in none of its features it shows the traditional design and style.

Nyalsing reached its final development into *Pidigalasing* which refers to pucca house with cemented floor, roof in some houses being replaced with asbestos and zinc tin sheets. This represents the final evolution of house patterns.

The architecture and planning of Saora houses show a slow and continuous change from the cave dwelling to pucca houses or buildings and in the same way show the progressive evolution of the tribe from a very primitive stage to a sophisticated developmental stage. The houses are also changing with new designs. Slow changes are also taking place in house structures similar to the design of houses of the Telugu people. The house is being compartmentalised and the doors remaining on one line so that a man looking from the outside door can observe everything from the front door to the back door with the courtyard and kitchen garden also. Besides, people who migrated outside the Saora land, particularly the migrants to Assam and Arunachal Pradesh bring new types of housing designs.

The type of house in which the Lanjia Saora people live come under the *Nyalsing* type house. Houses are made on high levels, the plinth being raised sufficiently. The roof is proportionately kept low. Flat stones are put at the entry of the house inside the plinth to climb up to the verandah. The plinth and roof remain on one line vertically. The wall of the house comes after crossing the wide verandah. One side of the verandah is raised upto a height of about 2 to 3 feet with a space left at the entrance. The stone steps continue with some earthen steps that proceed into the front door. Steps are taken towards one side of the wall and thus when a man would enter into the house will have to pass through comparatively

a narrow space leading from the steps into the house and persons doing any work in the verandah are not interfered.

A Lanjia Saora house is rectangular in shape and is normally single roomed. A traditional house is divided into many zones. At the entry into the house there is usually a wide verandah. The verandah continues to the room through the front door called '*Mudasong*' In the traditional house there is no back door-*Bart adda*. The back door arrangement is a recent addition. The front door and backdoor remain on a line. In traditional house backdoor was not provided for fear of the jungle beasts. Since in the back side of the house there are shifting cultivation fields continuing to hilly forest towards the hill top, there were chances for jungle beasts entering into the houses through the back door. Due to this reason the back door was not provided. At the entry of the house the raised side of the verandah is continuous with the plinth. The space for entry is called '*Garanna*' which is closed by bamboo mats called '*Tarsar*'. So in a house two entry points lie in the front side and if a back door is there it makes the house to be in two entry points and continuing one exit point, all remaining on one line. In traditional houses of Lanjia Saora they have only one entry point and have no exit point.

Inside the house, the space is partitioned into three parts. One side is converted to the '*Pigdi*' which is made with earthen walls and a roof made of closely knit poles plastered with mud. The '*Pigdi*' is the space for pigs and fowls. The pigsty is called the *Kamboon-Sing* (Pig-house) and the poultry pen is called *Kanseem Sing* (Fowl-house). Thus there may be one or two Pigdi inside the main room more or less at the main door. In ancient times there was the fear of carnivorous beasts attacking pigs and poultry for which pigsty and fowl pen were made inside the main house. In recent designed houses *Pigdi* are small chambers made at the lower part of the plinth and the main room (if the house is one chambered) is not shared both by people and animals.

The further space in the room excluding the space of *Pigdis* is divided into two parts : *Diasing* and *Alusing*. Diasing is the floor that is under the '*Mada*' i.e. loft. The space after Diasing is called *Alusing* which is the area communicating the front wall and back wall of the house. Out of the total floor about two third of the space is called *Diasing* and the *pigidis* and *Alungsing* measures the rest one third space.

Going up with the wall loft or *Mada* is made by placing horizontal wooden poles that are supported on either walls (front and back of the main house). This loft is quite big that measures the equal size of *Diasing*. On the loft are kept the baskets of crops. All the things that are placed on the loft are called *Jijir* which mostly refer to the crop vessels. Below the loft towards one dark corner , adjoining one wall is placed the hearth (*Kuda*). Just over the hearth and below the loft is made

a small loft which is especially made to dry the crops, meat (*Jelu*) and other things during rainy days and also in other seasons. The materials kept over this temporary and small loft (*Randa*) is called '*Jororjir*'. The space, little elevated from the floor level aside the hearth contains kitchen utensils (*drindingna*) vessels (*Garagana*) which are called '*Karududasing*' and the place left for water vessels is known as '*drabasing*'. If however, a kitchen room is made adjacent to the main room it is called *Panchasing*.

Rice pounding mortar (*Anal*) is fitted into a hole on the floor that lies towards the front door of the house. The placement of the mortar is fixed on religious grounds. That the place of the mortar on the floor and the topmost horizontal beam of the roof of the house remain on one perpendicular plane. This central horizontal beam of the roof is called *Kinjang-baling-adong* (back bone-roof-beam). *Kinjang* also refers to backbone of man and animals. The central horizontal beam divides the house into two equal halves. The half facing the front door is further divided by a wall separating the inside house on the verandah. The place of the pounding mortar is thus fixed accordingly, this lies mostly close to the front door. On four corners of the pounding mortar a minimum space is maintained for the movement of a person engaged in pounding grains.

Costly materials, money and ornaments are usually kept in a brass pot which is buried under the stage where cooked rice pots are kept (*Prinakul*) or are kept hidden in big bamboo baskets containing crops. It is done so to avoid theft.

The designs of houses have undergone changes now-a-days. The Shudha Saora houses mostly have minimum of two rooms, one used for sleeping and the other for cooking purpose. A verandah is commonly found in every house. Lofts are very common. The verandahs are mostly covered from all sides by bamboo mats. It is the place where guests are hosted. The Lanjia Saora people do not have a specified space for the guests. Whenever guests arrive they sleep with the host in the verandah.

In the past when only one roomed house was the pattern in Lanjia Saora localities, this was used for all members of the family. Parents and their married children with their partners slept at one place. No privacy was maintained in matters of sexual relations in the same room. But this has been already changed. The Shudha Saora people in this regard are found to be more conscious about their personal privacy. So every married person with his partner lives in a room of his own. And in most of the cases women sleep in one room and male in another, excepting the married couple.

The Shudha Saora people though have more than one rooms in their houses, their house design is more or less of the type of the Lanjia Saora. The main

exception being that in Shudha Saora areas plinth is not sufficiently raised up. Again they are plain landers who have least fear of the jungle beasts. So neither in the past nor now they divide their living space between them and the domestic animals.

Both in Shudha and Lanjia Saora houses a number of objects are found hanging down from the room such as baskets, gourd vessels, clothes and umbrella with dresses. The sacred pots, gourds and baskets containing sacred objects like special clothes of the ancestors and tutelaries are hung against the wall which are painted with icons. In both Lanjia and Shudha Saora, communities some people like to have more than one wives. Such people construct additional houses for the co-wives. This is made to maintain privacy as well as to avoid conflicts among the co-wives.

Walls of the Saora houses look reddish as they smear red mud on the walls. The floors are mainly smeared with black mud and cowdung. Sometimes to a certain level of the wall black mud is smeared and the rest part of the wall is plastered with red mud. This gives a very good appearance to the Saora houses. The inside of the houses is always kept clean and the things are never disordered. Everything is kept rightly at the fixed spot. The Saora women are very much particular in this respect. Because the inside of house remains dark even in the day time, orderly arrangement is enviable.

CONSTRUCTION OF A HOUSE

A Lanjia Saora house shows four horizontal lines in the construction plan. The four horizontal lines divide the house into three parts. In the general planning, the three parts of the house are the back wall to the middle of main room, the mid house to the proximal wall of the main house, and from the proximal wall of the main house to the end of the verandah. Usually four sets of vertical poles (*Sungdang*) are used to make the skeleton of the house. The back wall carries three poles, two at two corners and one at the middle, the midline of the house carries three poles and the other two lines also carry the same number of poles. In total there are twelve poles on which the house stands. Out of these twelve poles three are longer, six are of medium size and three are of shorter length in. The three shorter poles make the first line i.e. the line of the verandah. The poles used for the backside wall and the wall of the main house are of one size i.e. the medium sized poles and the three poles that determine the peak of the roof are comparatively larger.

At first the larger poles are buried and size of the house is determined. The poles are forked at the end towards the top, designed to support horizontal beams. After that the medium poles are installed to make the back wall and the proximal wall of the main house. Lastly the smaller poles are fixed outlining the verandah.

Thus, the main house is divided into two equal halves by the midline poles. The horizontal beam towards the top edge of the roof remains in the middle. The front side roof measures the space of the first half of the main room and the verandah. The roof thus becomes slanting in consideration of the vertical poles. Four horizontal beams along the whole length of the house make the main roof. It counts for one backbone beam lying on the larger vertical poles, two beams lying on either sides of the back bone beam which rests on the medium sized poles and one beam resting on the smaller vertical poles. No beams are used along the breadth of the house. The horizontal beams so used are called *Adong* and the vertical poles are called *Sungdang*. The poles and beams are made out of *Sargia* tree (*Shorea robusta*). Lesser thick poles connecting the backbone horizontal beams to the other horizontal beams are called '*Orinta*''. This makes the bed for thatching grass. Walls are made on all sides by stones set with mud to the height of the vertical poles. For '*Orinta*' there is no choice of wood.

The plinth and the walls are made with stones set by mud. The floor is made plain by pressing the earth with heavy things or stones. The very traditional people do not thatch on the backbone beam in the first year thatching. It is regarded as a taboo and no reasons are assigned for this. The tradition now shows a diminishing trend and people are not doing so in a hard and fast rule. Thatching is done by thatching grass (*Themda arundinacea*) available in the forest.

The recent types of houses are not made with poles. The walls are made considerably thicker in comparison to traditional houses. The stones set to make the walls in a skillful way. The horizontal beams directly rest on the walls for the walls have been made stronger with stone settings. Stones are set with mud and gaps in between are filled in by smaller stones and mud. The outer side of the walls are not plastered with mud but the inner side is perfectly plastered. At present houses with front door and backdoor are preferred. There are windows made in houses. This is a recent addition. The traditional houses had one broad door and in the modern houses two doors are preferred. The doors are engraved with specific designs now-a-days and knobs, handles etc, of steel and aluminium are extensively used now. Extension of houses if required are made to the backsides with addition of three more poles or a wall at the back side.

DEATH RITES OF A HOUSE

Sometimes houses are burnt with fire from hearths. The burning of one single house may cause burning of all the houses in a row or in the entire village. Then the house is believed to be dead. Rituals are organised when a house is constructed. Before or after constructing a house a worship is offered to the Lobosum i.e. earth god. Rice, sacrifice of cock and wine are usually offered to the said deity to avail his goodwill for a better life of family members and for the

longivity of the houses. If fire burns the house it is believed that perhaps the earth god got angry for certain reasons or some other evil spirit. The effected owner of the house takes recourse to consult a shaman : (male or female) and request him to find out the cause of the burning. The shaman performs some magical ritual to find out the reason of fire. The Shaman asks the Lobosum first after offering the sacrifice to tell him if the deity knows about the spirit or deity who damaged the house or houses. The Shaman comes to a trance (*Mir*) and in that stage he or she communicates with the deities and spirits and finds out reason for burning the house. The deities and spirits may or may not give a reason. Then the shaman asks if there will be any further problem if the house is reconstructed. If the shaman hears from the spirit that there are chances of further destruction he or she asks about the way to get rid of it. It is further asked whether the deity or spirit need anything from the householder. The spirits may prescribe for a worship and sacrifice for his/ her propitiations. After that, a new house is constructed on the same site. If the spirit remains rigid asking to abandon the site forever to get rid of the wrath of the spirit(s), the Shaman transmits the message to the householder and the site of the house is abandoned.

It is customary that the relatives pay visit to the house of the helpless man (*Kundramar*). They return back after condoling and sympathizing the householder for the happenings. If the householder does not have enough man powers his neighbours may help in getting housemaking materials. They also provide food and other very necessary items to the helpless person. If the man has sufficient man power the neighbours and the persons of the Birinda do not bother much. But in fact, different families in the village give a proportional quantity of thatching grass, wooden poles ..etc., and food grains to the affected family.

The relatives of the helpless person do not feel bound to extend their help. However, help is availed from the person's in-laws house. This help is usually in form of rice or any other cereals and clothes.

Before the reconstruction of a house, if the Sonum demands the sacrifice of a buffalo, the amount is paid by the villagers collectively or the animal is supplied by the in-law's house.

The Shudha Saora people also do more or less in the same way as Lanjia Saoras. But in very traditional villages ritualistic sacrifices are offered to the spirits. Sympathy is always extended from the co-villagers to the helpless man. Other people also contribute as much as they can to the affected family. Some families residing adjacent to the Hindus perform rituals like the Hindus. In some cases the Shudha Saoras consult a Brahmin or an astrologer to know the future. On the direction of the Brahmin or an astrologer offerings are given to the deities of the Saoras and the Hindus. This shows the diminishing trend in traditional belief and

adoption of Hindu ideals and belief. This process of integration is marked at a fast rate.

HABITAT AND PLACEMENT OF DEITIES

Every Saora settlement is divided into spaces meant for man, plant, animals and spirits. In connection with the settlement pattern the placement of different deities is very important. Hence is the necessity of their discussion.

The village outline is demarcated by a deity called '*Judisum*' in the Lanjia Saora village settlements. *Judisum* is established on the boundary (*Sandhi/Tannad*) of the village. This deity is also known as *Sandhisum*. The *Judisum* protects the people in the settlement and the domestic animals from the attack of the carnivorous beasts. The deity drives away (*Ganggang*) the carnivorous animals and safeguard (*Dalda*) people and livestocks in the village. This is not the only role played by the *Judisum*, rather the forest deity *Manisum* is requested not to allow the carnivorous beasts to prawn into the settlements. The deity is placed on the border aside a road connecting the village to the other and is represented in form of a wooden post which is divided into two lateral halves, one half representing the male and the other half representing the female who are regarded as a couple in the name of *Judisum* (Couple -spirit). The deity also maintains the welfare of the village by protecting the evil spirits and their evil effects on the people and livestocks in the settlement. The wooden post is made out of Sal tree.

The god of the forests is called *Manisum*. In the *Ragan abdur*(new eating festival of pigeon pea), *Manisum* is given with the first fruit of pigeon pea and the offering is channelized through *Judisum*.

Inside the village boundary but far from the village settlement, particularly towards the boundary of the settlement *Sarapalla sum* is installed. The deity is represented by a wooden post on the top of which a roof is made and thatched with thatching grass. The wooden post is made of a Sal pole. From the wooden post hangs down a sacred pot containing rice and other offerings made to the deity. At the site, worship is offered to *Yuyuboisum* (Grand Mother-spirit). The worship is also offered to such other deities to get their goodwill and to keep the villagers safe from *Sinyal rogam* (Small pox). If small pox breaks out in the village the immediate remedy is to propitiate *Yuyuboisum* at *Sarapallasum*. In the worship a cock or a peacock(*Mara*) is sacrificed. With the worship to *Yuyuboisum*, offerings are given to *Ratu'dsum* (a dangerous spirit that kills people), *Kittungsum* and *Mardi sum* (Diarrhoea causing spirit) deities.

Manduasum is placed mostly in front of the Shaman's house. The spirit is worshipped for the well being of livestocks in the village settlement. It is represented like *Sarapallasum* but recognised from the place where it is installed.

The deity is worshipped at the time of every new crop eating festival. Seeds for sowing (*Jamal*) are placed before the deity before they are sown in the fields. Here the messenger deity through whom the prayer of people is passed on to other deities is involved. At the time of new crop eating ceremony worship to *Judisum* is offered at the *Manduasum*. At the time of *Karja* ritual, the *Manduasum* sends message (*Appaibir* : Sending message) to *Judisum* and *Yuyuboisum* for the safe (*iramui*) arrival of the ancestral spirits (*idaisum*) to the site of worship. If *Manduasum* is not offered a worship during the new crop eating ceremony. It is believed that the deity would harm the people by sending tigers to kill the livestocks in the village. Hence the village welfare and security are maintained by *Manduasum*. It also reminds the other deities related with the settlement about their role for village welfare. It is believed that if this deity is worshipped regularly, other associated deities feel appeased. Therefore the welfare of the village is ensured with regular worships to the *Manduasum* who is no doubt the immediate benevolent spirit.

Inside the house just under the ikon art (*idital*) on the floor, a wooden post was usually buried in the past. This is regarded as the *Mundadasum*. But now the deity is placed below the ikon art. Generally *Manduasum* is installed in the four corners of the house. It is a home deity. When a person in the family falls sick for a long time particularly from fever(*Asu*) and is not cured by any means, the home deity is finally worshipped. Even if the person is not cured, it is taken for granted by all that he will never be cured. But at present *Mundadasum* have more or less lost in oblivion.

Besides those deities mentioned above, many other spirits are associated with the Lanjia Saora village settlement. They are, *Kanisum* living in the bushes outside the village. The spirit is associated with the Sun andmoon and its residence is called *Kanising* (Convulsion house). It is regarded as the spirit of convulsion, epilepsy and spasm as it is known with the general symptoms that it cause: Convulsions, epilepsy, Spasms (Vitebsky : 1993). Vitebsky also has noted about *Lobosum* (earth spirit) dwelling in a *Lobosing* (Earth -house) in every spring and water source, and in the jungle. *Kinasum* (Leopard-Sonum) with its residence in one *Kina sing* (Leopard-House) is a rock outside each village *Ratu'd Sonum* (Ratu'd [untranslatable]-Sonum) at a main path-junction outside each village, its general imagery is associated with paths and journeys, sudden onset of illness coughing of blood. *Rugaboi* (Smal pox woman), general imagery associated with epidemic diseases, peacocks and goddess Durga; speckles, pustules, rashes. Its residence : victims reside somewhere in the plains. *Tonai-sum* (Sorcery-Sonum) residing in *Tonaising* (Sorcery house) outside each village.

The above mentioned are important deities/spirits known to almost all Lanjia Saora people.

Shudha Saora people know of certain deities associated with houses and settlements. The main middle pole (*Sungdang*) of the house is believed to be the abode of a deity named *Sungdang sum* (Pole Sonum). The village path is associated with *Tangor Sum* (Path-Sonum). Inside the house a spirit named *Babu Sum* (Babu [untranslatable]-Sonum), is present and also is established with a wooden post in the middle of the village for the overall welfare. The spirit residing on the border of the village is named as *Sandhisum* (border-sonum) or *Chandi Sum* (chandi [un-translatable]-Sonum). In the cross roads of villages resides the *Mundada Sum* (Mundada [un-translatable]-Sonum). The spirit associated with the forest is known as *Gada Sum* (Forest-Sonum). *Lobo Sum* (Earth-Sonum) is always regarded as the spirit residing in crop lands, kitchen gardens everywhere in the entire landscape. *Jonanglo Sum* (harvesting ground-Sonum) is associated with the *Jonanglo* meaning harvesting ground. He is worshipped before sowing *Jamal* (Crop seeds).

MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE SAORAS

Material culture is the parameter of a traditional society. In other words the culture of a community is clearly envisioned through the materials in day-to-day use. Similar to other traditional communities the Saoras have their own material culture reflected through their artifacts. In fact, all the materials under their possession are not their own handicrafts. Some are collected from other communities with which it is traditionally associated, many are made by themselves and some are purchased from the markets including the mill made things and electronics. However the material culture of the Saoras is broadly classified (Ref. Table-1) indicating the materials used, the process of production, their purpose and way of use ...etc.

INEQUALITY AND STRATIFICATION

The unequal distribution of opportunities for different social positions or status within a group or society in terms of property, privileges, prestige, influence and power gave rise to gradation and stratification. Different primordial traits in human mind create inequality in the core of human psychology. Such traits are the feeling of superiority and inferiority, privileged and unprivileged, haves and have nots, superordination and subordination, black and white, good and bad...etc paved the way for inequality among the individuals in a society. Such complex was inherent in the group formation. Cultural identification, formation of norms and values in relation to economy and livelihood, principles and regulations etc., have undergone transformations in course of time. Such a complex in the cultural matrix divided the human society into different groups, subgroups, according to the positions, status enjoyed by the individuals. It makes gradation among different groups in a society. Gradation thus is based on power, property, knowledge,

religious merit etc.

In the biological system of hierarchial classification man is at the summit of the hierarchy identified as *Homo sapiens,* who lived in a group. The group life developed common features in the socio-religious cultural system. The group life in the society is regulated by a set of standardized norms, ethos and mores, customs and manners, belief patterns. Over the ages the above noted criteria divided the individual into different groups. The difference between the super ordination and the sub-ordination in relation to the social division of labour is the basis of the hierarchial classification of groups in a primitive society.

Thus the social stratification refers to the hierarchial arrangement in a social order. This division of the society into groups and sub-groups, classes and subclasses is also associated with division of the individuals on the basis of sex, religion, age, marital status, etc.

The Lanjia Saora and the Shudha Saora (the subject of discussion in this connection) exhibit a number of socio-religious cultural features of a primitive community. The plain dwellers- the Shudha Saoras are in the process of integration with the neighbouring Hindus, and are more sophisticated than the Lanjia Saoras who are though exposed to modernism preserve much of their primitive character. As a matter of fact both the societies show to be less hierarchial so far as the division of the society into groups is concerned. Even if it is less hierarchial, the society has its own status ranking of individuals and the status hierarchy is based upon the position and function ; so to say the division of labour in the society. The hierarchy and the groups thus made by the hierarchial system are well mentioned as far as the functions of the groups in the community, group interaction and participation in social systems. Further, according to the positions and functions in the group interaction, societies have been further divided into different hierarchial divisions. Those divisions have been made on the basis of functions and participation of the individuals in different spheres of social life. Such spheres are socio-religious-political, socio-religious-cultural, socio-religious-economic, and socio-religious-religious and others. Every group in the status hierarchy does not play its role in all these fields. Therefore, there is a division of role.

In the Lanjia Saora hierarchial order *Gomango*, *Buya*, *Dalbehera*, *Karjee*, *Raita* are the five main heads who are associated with the respective divisions. In this order, *Gomango* comes first. He comes from one *Birinda* and all people in the Birinda add '*Gomango*' to their names as surname. But the *Gomango* is selected as a head. He is a powerful person, wise, intelligent and possess a good deal of property: land, money, assets, etc. In fact he is the village political head. Lanjia Saora indicate that it was during the British period the title '*Gomango*' was conferred upon the village heads for tax collection. To those village heads the

Britishers called *Gomango*. *Gomango* thus gained the favour of the Britishers and was given with a power of Tax Collector. As the village head man and as a Tax Collector he exercised tremendous power and a higher status in the society.

In this connection there are several case studies. In village Sagada (as per the myth) there were no residents some generations ago. There came a family from R.Udayagiri area. They belonged to *Raika Birinda*. Rupdi Raika brought the first family into village *Sagada*. He acquired too much of landed properties. He became the richest among the people who came and settled later on. He became the *Gomango* because of his status and power. Thus position of the *Gomango* was inherited by his offsprings particularly by the eldest one. If the *Gomango* has no son the position is conferred on the adopted son. In the absence of that the younger brother of the deceased *Gomango* is entrusted with the status title. If there is no brother at all the position is held by the Dalbehera. In fact, a person having a lot of property and power can become a *Gomango* even if he does not belong to that particular social unit. Hence there is no hard and fast rule, that the Birinda members of the *Gomango* would have this surname.

To explain this a case study of Tisan Raika of village Sagada is recorded here. Tisan Raika, aged about 40, a Primary School Teacher at Sagada holds Rupdi Raika to be their first ancestor in Sagada. Rupdi emigrated here from R.Udayagiri area. He had two wives. He got one wife from Railpadar-a hamlet of Sagada and the other from village Rebjingtal. Rupdi was regarded as the Gomango of Sagada. Rupdi and his wife (*Rebjingtal*) had two sons named Sampuijan and Pidugu and a daughter Rijgi. From Rupdi and his wife (*Railpadar*) Madhu was the only son. Madhu, Sampuijan and pidgu were three brothers among whom Madhu was the eldest. The position of Rupdi as the Gomango was inherited by Madhu. Pidgu migrated to the present village Gudada-(a hamlet of Sagada) and became the Gomango there. Sampuijan in Sagada maintained the past surname of 'Raika'. Therefore, the sons and grand sons and the later generations used Raika as surname. But the sons of Madhu and the later generations held the surname of *Gomango*. The *Birinda* now regarded as Gomango Birinda was not a Birinda with this name some generations ago. This was initially something else.

The inheritance of position is also linked with the inheritance of property. It is very common, even today, that the Gomango maintains a polygamous life. Polygamous life has a different meaning in the context of economy. The person who has a lot of landed properties ought to have more than one wives who are regarded as permanent labours of the family. If a person is the Gomango and has five wives, his property is equally shared by the five co-wives after his death. If all the members of a Gomango Birinda are dead the property is passed on to the Birinda members living elsewhere.

From the conversion of *Raika* to *Gomango* and further *Gomango* to *Raika* as is seen in the above case study makes it clear that the *Gomango Birinda* was made with the offsprings of a rich man who was regarded as *Gomango* earlier. *Raika* who turned to *Gomango* in the case study was due to acquisition of property. In the past members of *Raika Birinda* were completely vegetarians, but after becoming *Gomango* became non-vegetarian. In the later conversion they could not change food habit though they used the surname *Raika*. In many of the villages the status symbol of Gomango Birinda is based on property acquiring.

This also gives an idea of the rationalism. That before the development of rationalism and formal social structure, the society followed its indigenous systems, principles, norms. The old system of management and principles was replaced with the gradual development of rationality in human mind. Rationality in the sense of individual perception reformed the old system of principles and organisations. This is observed in case of the conversion from Gomango to Raika. This is complemented with another reason of self perception of Tisan Raika. That if the Gomango status was held in terms of property those who do not have enough property now are not willing to maintain this with the surname *Gomango*. Many in the Saora society like to use the surname '*Sabar*' which was once at the bottom of the hierarchy. They are least interested to pose themselves as from *Gomango Birinda* in the rationalized society. Therefore many people are using the surname *Sabar* or the traditional *Birinda* name from which *Gomango Birinda* was born. Tisan in the case study can use three surnames: *Gomango, Raika* and *Sabar*.

The title of *Gomango* is now differently used in the different spheres of social life. In the socio-religious-political organization, the *Gomango* is the chief judicial head (*Suda bicharamar* = Big justice man) and in the consideration of property the *Gomango* is a *Sudabitimar* (Big property man).

In the Shudha Saora social hierarchy two groups -the Gomango and the Sabar are important. Besides the *Gomango* family and their consanguineal relations, all others are regarded as *Sabar*, but the *Buya* is the exception. *Buya* constitutes a different head. In the Shudha Saora society Birinda is not prevalent, but clan is current. From this point of view the Shudha Saora society is less hierarchial than the Lanjia Saora.

The next to *Gomango* in the Lanjia Saora social hierarchy is *Dalbehera* which is a non-tribal term. In oriya '*Dal*' refers to group and '*behera*' as the leader. Group here refers to the common folk who may not belong to the *Gomango Birinda*. The *Dalbehera* may use the surname of *Dalbehera, Raika, Sabar* and also in some cases *Gomango*. *Dalbehera's* role is more in the socio-religious-political sphere is like the assistant *Gomango*. When the *Gomango* dies having no more issue, *Dalbehera* acts as the *Gomango*. This is however, an uncommon happening,

for after the death of a *Gomango*. his wife definitely adopts a son to acquire his property.

Next to *Dalbehera* is the *Karjee* who is held from *Karjee Birinda*. He is known as *Barikanji* or *Picidia* in Saora terms. The *Karjee* is locally entrusted with his job somewhat like a Chowkidar in Police Station. He gathers information about interpersonal misunderstanding, conflicts in property matters, feuds etc. Therefore, *Karjee* is the sub-ordinate to the *Dalbehera*.

In the status hierarchy of Lanjia Saora society these are the three important heads or leaders. The Gomango is the head at the top of the hierarchy. Dalbehera is in the middle and Karjee at the bottom of it. Collectively these three heads are the chief functionaries in the socio-religious-political system.

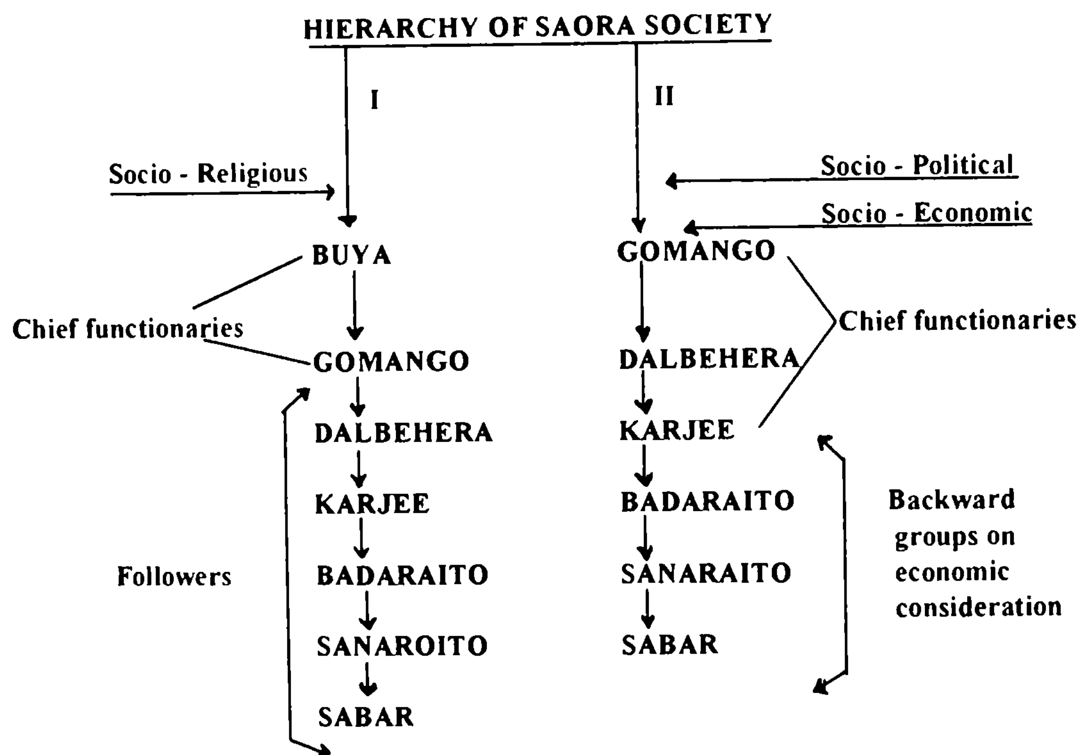
Buya had held the supreme position in the socio-religious-politico-religious system. With the emergence of *Gomango* as the Socio-religious-political leader the position of the *Buya* is dwindled. He remained confined to religious matters. *Buya* still maintains the supreme status in the religious performances of both the communities.

Raita is another head in the status hierarchy occupying the position next to *Karjee*. The *Raitas* are regarded as the announcers for *Karjee*. The decision of the *Gomango* is announced through him. Besides *Raita* works in the fields of the *Gomango* as permanent labourer. Another section called *Badaraita* who are the cultivators haveing a marginalised economic status. The *Badaraitas* are the share croppers in the fields of *Gomango* or other people.

The last in the status hierarchy are the *Sabaras*. Ethnically all are *Sabaras*. But in relation to the status hierarchy *Sabaras* are treated like *Raitas* in many respects. Economically those who are poor are using the surname *Sabara*. *Raita* and *Badaraita* also use this surname. But in the present context when society is leading to a rather rationalized form, those who are economically backward in the Lanjia Saora society are using the surname *Sabara*. On the otherhand, in the Shudha Saora community, except the *Gomango Birinda* all others including the *Buya Birinda* use the surname *Sabara*. The stratification in a hierarchial order is appended in the following Table. (Table - 2)

Advent of Christianity in the Lanjia Saora community was responsible in dwindling the socio-religious-political hierarchial order. The conversion of the Lanjia Saoras to Christianity became a common phenomenon. The motivation towards the Christianity was based on the economic benefit as some old Lanjia Saora pointout. A few conscious people of the rich class having substantial earning gave immediate response to Christianity. In the beginning the converted persons were getting financial benefit. The converted Saoras disregarded the traditional

TABLE - 2



Graphical Representation of Stratification

social system and the status hierarchy and converted themselves as independent Christian(*Kirtun*). Christianity imparted the idea of equalisation in the matter of religious practices of people irrespective of sex, personality, economic status. So its impact was greatly felt over the status hierarchy and indigenous stratification of the society. In the villages where all people have been converted to Christianity, the position of a *Gomango* ceased to function. The social system was altered. People became united in the churches paying reverence to Lord Jesus and constituted the Mandalis. The Mandali thus consisted of a President, a Secretary, a Cashier, a Clerk(Lekhak) and a Manager(Chalak) with two attendants; one male and one female. This system introduced a new status configuration. The representatives of the Mandali were elected unanimously. The personality of the representatives became the status symbol. Consequently the church Mandali took the charge of deciding village conflicts, imposed rules and regulations and all other

personal or social matters thus introducing a new hierarchial system.

The social change dwindled the position of the *Gomango*. Even the Gomango himself became a convert and attended the Church. *Gomango* Birinda could not enjoy that much of a status as they were enjoying earlier. Further the hereditary position of the *Gomango* became nominal and people did not show that much of respect as earlier. The unconverted Lanjia Saoras who regard themselves as Hindus(indu) showed the whole disinclination to the *Gomango*. The Christian religion is blamed by the Hindu Lanjia Saoras for the abolition of their ancient social system. The further consequence led them feel their ethnic identity as Sabaras. The traditional *Gomango* also did not take interest in exercising his power lest the rest people resort to the conversion. Now in some villages there are no *Gomango* at all and those who are economically rich are regarded as the *Gomango*; the position can be held by any person in the society. The new religion also generated the idea that all are equal irrespective of sex and class. On the other hand Shudha Saoras have not been converted to Christianity. They are rather more attached to Hindu Culture. The position of *Gomango* is still at the peak of the hierarchy. The people are still obedient to the *Gomango*.

In the Shudha Saora society the *Gomango's* court plays a conspicuous role in the village in deciding village conflicts, feuds etc. Besides this each clan has a group council of its own. In Shudha Saora society there is no *Birinda*, but the clan(Kula). Each *Kula* makes a *Kulamela* in the village. Any matter relating to marriage,birth and death,divorce etc.,are discussed in the *Kulamela* and finalised. The *Kulamela* is constituted of the participant members of each family of the same clan. Further, various *Kulamelas* unite to make a common decision for affairs relating to the society as a whole. Of course, the *Gomango* has a major role to play in the collective *Kulamelas*. *Kulamela* in Shudha Saora society has a significant role. About kulamela in Shudha Saora society Mahapatra(1983) holds "The Shudha Saoras adhere to the types of food they should take as prescribed by their respective group councils '*Kulamela*'. The *Kulamela* in its respective meetings restricts the communality and marital relations with the primitive groups of Saora and the deviants are fined and punished. The significant function of the *Kulamela* is to keep records of their group principles and to add or drop out the new or old principles standing in the way of upward social mobility in the religion". Mahapatra continues with the increasing trend of the Shudha Saoras integration with the Hindu Caste Society further with adding importance to *Kulamela* as 'The proceedings of the *Kulamela* which acts as directives of customs and ideology of respective groups bear the testimony of their affiliation with the wider Hindu society. The Shudha Sabaras are no more a local group. They are wide spread from the agency to plain areas. As the sections of Shudha Sabaras include as different endogamous groups, only three of them hold *Kulamela* at the interval of 2 or 3 years. They are abided

by its mandatory principles, and are in a position to enforce the norms and morality of Hindu cultural life'.

It is clear from the above statement that in the *Kulamela* of the group council the matters of a clan is decided. During emergency *Kulamela* plays decisive role. Further the *Kulamela* decides all matters even the food pattern of the clan, for, each clan has a set of taboos and principles. It strictly ensures the observance of the traditional norms.

POLITICAL SYSTEM AND DECISION MAKING PROCESS

In Lanjia Saora community we came across three important groups having specified status and functions in a heirarchial order. *Gomango* heads the top of the hierarchy. *Dalbeheras* occupy the second stratum and *Karjee* is at the bottom of the hierarchy *Gomango* is the head of the political and judicial structures. He is regarded as the '*Suda bicharamar*' (chief decision maker). Other persons also take part with *Gomango* in the decision making. The role of these heads have been discussed in detail in the previous section.

Judicial function of the Gomango is even more important. The Gomango decide a dispute and charges fine to the guilty or culprit. The charging of fine is called 'aptintinaleji'. He also prescribes punishment to the culprit with or without a fine. When the matters of conflict are of a severe nature especially on the occasion of tension in a family the Gomango and Dalabehera take immediate decision. In such matter the Karjee informs the Dalbehera about the happening and the latter in turn reports to the Gomango for discussion and decision. It has been referred to earlier that the Karjee can give the first hand information immediately about the events. This post is also hereditary or ascriptive within the Birinda. He occupies the third rank of the hierarchy. He cannot enjoy the power of decision making. He acts as the communicator and informant. But Dalbehera takes part in the decision making with the Gomango. The Dalbehera in the Lanjia Saora terminology is known as 'Kudumandran asudomar'. 'Kudu' is for 'all','Mandran' for 'people' and 'asudi' for 'leader' and 'mar' for man. Therefore, it literally refers to all peoples' leader or the chief leader. Dalbehera may also decide the cases of lesser importance. Only major cases are referred to the Gomango.

To explain the role of *Dalbehera* a case study is noted here. Eliazer Dalbehera, aged 52 is one in the *Dalbehera Birinda* and on ascriptive basis is the *Dalbehera* of *Sagada*. In many cases he enjoys the powers of *Gomango*, *Dalbehera* and *Karjee* in the decision making. Interpersonal quarrels, feuds, group rivalry, property transfer, marriage negotiations that often are decided by him. Matters are brought to his notice by *Karjee*.

In the matters of charging or imposing fines (*Aptintinaleji*) decision is made

by the *Gomango* himself. Fines are charged in form of livestocks, buffalo(*Bungtel*), goat(*Kunme*), fowl(*Kanseem*) etc. If a person is found incapable of paying fines he has to give his land on mortgage to any body or to the *Gomango* to pay up the fine. If he does not have landed property then he will have to serve in the *Gomango's* field or house till his punishment amount is reimbursed through his labour(*kambari*=coolie). The fine charged in form of animals is utilised for a common feast. The term *kambari* refers to working without payment till the amount fixed against him is realised. In case of physical assaults the charge is exorbitant.

Dalbehera is also the decision maker when a *Gomango* dies having a minor son. The boy of the *Gomango* remains as the nominal head and the *Dalbehera* becomes the executive head. *Karjee* reports the *Gomango* through *Dalbehera*. *Karjee* never goes directly to the *Gomango*.

As has been reported earlier the socio-religious-political system and the involvement of the *Gomango*, *Dalbehera* and *Karjee* are in the process of disintigration. The inroad of Christianity, the introduction of Panchayatiraj,the Government Administration, the role of Philanthropic organisation, the spread of mass-media and education are mainly responsible in weakening the traditional socio-religious-cultural system in the tribal societies.

In the traditional system of decision making women are never allowed to participate. But now the women are participating in the decision making process in the Panchayatiraj system. People are also marked to take resort to local police stations and the Government Court.

In the Christian Saora communities cases are decided by the Mandali. The crime is punished. People committing crimes are boycotted by the Church Mandali and charged with heavy fine.

The adaptation of alien religious ideology and the emergence of new perceptions in the Lanjia Saora society through mass conversion to Christianity have shattered the old system in the society. In the Christian Community all the matters relating to the village level are decided by the Church authority. In case of refusing a Church's decision, the person is suspended or his membership in the Church is cancelled. The status hierarchy in the Church have thus become a matter of personality and personal status. On the other hand, the Christian hierarchial heads are elected in a democratic way. In both the hierarchial systems there lies a similarity that the persons at the top positions are influential members in the society. A boost in the status of women is marked in the Church where women enjoy the opportunity of giving their decisions in matters relating to a dispute and also they can put forward their ideas, suggestions, problems. This is absent in the

traditional Hindu Lanjia Saora society.

However, the *Gomango* in Lanjia Saora society also gets the respect from converted people. Now sometimes both the groups are found taking together decisions in rather a rational way in the joint committee.

ECONOMIC INEQUALITY AND STATUS HIERARCHY

Economic inequality refers to the differential distribution of life chances, as determined by wealth and related economic advantages. In its simplest form, individuals and groups are hierarchially arranged in accordance with their earning a livelihood, economic status with possession of wealth. According to Marx social stratification is explained primarily on economic considerations and terms. The distribution of power, prestige, style of life, ideologies, attitudes in a society were all essentially determined by the relationship of various social strata to the means of production and distribution.

This viewpoint may be applicable to the Lanjia Saora society particularly in regard to the distribution of wealth or economic status. The point lies with the question of whether the distribution of wealth has been made on ascriptive grounds or on the basis of individual achievement. Among the Lanjia Saora society, *Gomango* and his Birinda members are prosperous representing themselves at the top of economic hierarchy. They have enough cultivable land and wealth naturally exerting a better economic status. The *Gomango* himself is the chief of the economic system. As per the peoples' perception *Gomango* similar to his socio-religious-political status has the better economic position. In the common parlance people informally speak to each other 'brother now you are talking like a *Gomango*, so you lead a better life', and pay importance to the *Gomango* and his *Birinda* members as the rich persons in the society.

Generally, there are two types of status enjoyed by the individuals in the distribution of economy and wealth in the status hierarchy. The ascriptive status of the individuals is determined by their parental status on the basis of hereditary transfer of property. The achieved status may also mean the position or status of the individual in respect to his own efforts, performance, labour use and investment of economy in rather scientific way for a better productivity.

The Lanjia Saora society has no specific gradation in economic hierarchy. It mostly depends upon the ascriptive and achieved status. *Gomango* being at the top of the hierarchy may be having more wealth in terms of ascriptive status, and the *Raita* at the bottom of the hierarchy may be less prosperous in terms of ascriptive status but the achieved status sometimes masks the ascriptive status. Therefore it is not well marked in the Lanjia Saora society about the superiority and

inferiority in the economic class formation. The relevance of personal status lies mostly in the ascriptive status which gives a little idea about the economic hierarchy.

Women in the Lanjia Saora society are not well positioned, particularly in the economic hierarchy. If she possesses a position it is for a very short time when her husband dies. She continues to hold the economic status. A son is adopted to inherit the property. For that period only the women stand the owner of the property. Property never goes in the name of women. It goes with the line of men. In a sense women are not allowed to deal with property in the traditional pattern of economic hierarchy. They are only the makers of property by investing their labour, and it is for her husband. Women are given attention during the transfer of property among the sons of co-wives. If a man has more wives and each wife has sons, then the property of the person is first equally divided among the co-wives. Each wife's share is further divided among her sons.

The economic hierarchy in Lanjia Saora society outlines four grades of people viz : 1.*Jandransing*, 2. *Gandrasing*, 3.*Banaji mar*, 4. *Kambarimar*. In the property status of first type a man must have 5-6 acres of paddy land at the minimum and have cattle and must be using wage labours. The second type is middle graded family with no food problem. The third type is characterised by the, possession of only swidden plots where the members lead a hand to mouth living. The last type covers the landless and homeless people who remain as bonded slaves in the houses of Gomango and other rich persons.

RELIGIOUS HIERARCHY

As has been mentioned earlier, that the religious hierarchy of Lanjia and Shudha Saoras are almost the same with *Buya* remaining at the top. In a sense it is unlike socio-religious-economic hierarchy. Here *Buya* is the sole authority, as performer and practitioner. But the position of the '*Buya*' (here the *Buya* is referred to the chief priest) is not transferred on hereditary basis. For, *Buya* possesses a secret power and knowledge. Any person can be a priest if he is directed by *Sonum*(spirit) to perform. Therefore, a priest is not connected with any particular clan or *Birinda*. Yet they have priestly clan or *Birinda* of their own. Women can also be priests. In this respect she has the equal status with man. In both the Lanjia and Shudha Saora societies female shamanship is prevalent. Even in some cases the female shamans outnumber the male shamans. The fixed set of principles, ideologies, rules and regulations etc. developed by the *Buya* are observed by everybody. The power to exercise the religious rights gives him/her in the society a higher status. People in general are afraid of *Buya* who may harm them if they do not act according to his advice. A male shaman is called a '*Buya*' or *Buyamar* and a female shaman '*Boi*' or *Buyaboi*.

FAMILY ORGANISATION

Family is the most fundamental social unit of the society. Whatever characteristics the societies may have the family always stands as the basic unit. Family is constituted with kin members. The family organisation in Lanjia Saora community also attains a good status in the social organisation and has many important functions like procreation, socialisation etc. Family in Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora communities refers to all relatives living together or recognised as a social unit including adopted persons. The Saora term for family is '*Kutumi*'. It is the combination of two words-'*Kud* and *Tum*'. '*Kud*' refers to giving birth to or taking shape or coming into being whereas '*Tum*' is meant for social reciprocity or co-operation. So the term *Kutumi* is etymologically meant for making of something to a better shape. In this context members living in one house perpetuating mutual and close reciprocal relationship having blood relationship constitute a family. This is the Saora conception of family.

Saora family is male dominated. The senior most male member of the family is the head. It is therefore, patriarchial and patrilocal. The Saora term for patriarchial is '*Jujukukud*' where '*Juju*' is the grand predecessor or grand father and '*Kukud*' refers to the dead person of the extended family. Here '*Juju*'- the grand father mentions that always the family goes in the name of a male member living or dead. Hence the term '*Jujukukud*' refers etymologically to the patriarchial family dominated by the male coparcener. The ownership of headmanship is transferred after his death to the next senior male member.

The Saoras have nuclear family system. The nuclear family is expressed in the term of '*Abakukud*': *Abai* is one and *kukud* is family, and the *Abakukud* is divided into different units after the death of senior male members and after marriage of junior male members. Here arises another term '*Abakuku*' that describes the separated or divided family. Previously this system was prevalent in the sense that after the death of the headman or the brothers of the next generation if one wishes to live separately may do so. But they have regards for their father.

The second type of family is called '*Abarukusing*' (One-joint-house). The etymological meaning of *Abakukusing* is therefore living or residing jointly in a single house under the common roof. This gives the idea of joint family system. Many synonyms are there connected directly or indirectly with the term '*Abakukusing*'. Such terms are '*Irpalnasing*' (Not to become-divided-house). '*Ir*' means 'not to become', '*Palna*' means division and distribution, mainly used to divided something equally into two halves like cutting a fruit. The term is applicable to divided property and artifacts. '*Iransanasing*' as a synonyn to *Abakukusing* refers to division of members in the house. The middle term '*ansa*' in '*Iransanasing*' literally means 'part or share'. The whole term thus encompasses the theme of

distribution or separation of persons in the family.

'*Atengku*' is the term (*Ateng* :huge/more/many, *ku*: persons in the family) that express the persons in a family of succeeding generations. So the term Atengku means a combined living of persons related to each other in a common house.

Since the society is patriarchal, the seniormost male member always takes the charge ofheadmanship and is regarded as the sole authority of the family. Being the supreme authority in the family his decision stands in every matter. In fact, he consults in important matters with his wife and adult sons. He always reserves his preponderance. Women have no right to make decisions independently. She may take part in the decision making inside her house, but never outside the house.

The ownership of property thus always goes to the senior most male member on hereditary basis. Though women play a greater role in managing the properties, they are not given a property ownership in any case. But all the income and expenditure are controlled by the head are bequeathed to an adopted son if the head has no son. The property after the death of the head goes immediately to the wife/wives who divide the same in equal shares. Then mother shares among her sons. Such property is called '*Wayanganji Antanikujal Biti*' (*Wayanganji* - parents, *Antanikui*-accumulation, *Biti*-property). The property accumulated by the parents and grand parents are known as "*Purban Antanikui*".

In the property inheritance the role of a son is highly expressed. After husband's death if a wife cannot get an adopted son, she is not given with the properties of her husband. The property goes to the nearest Birinda members who give the woman's daughter in marriage and provide the woman the livelihood till death. Then the property goes to the Birinda members.

The assets a woman brings to her house after her marriage are her own belongings. Here the husband has no right over her property. The husband in this case is called '*Lutabmar*' (*Lu:* provide food/take care of, *tab*: the husband) or takes care of the livelihood of his wife living with him in his father's-in-law house.

All the properties are not always shared among sons only. A daughter may also take the ownership of her mother's assets such as ornaments and materials. The women are the only coparceners of the ornaments and metal objects that their mothers used. During division of property certain terms are taken into account. '*Bananti*' includes the things like money, land or the agricultural produces or goods that can be measured by measuring vessels (Mana). The last part of the term-'*ti*' is derived from '*Biti*' meaning property having greater money value. '*Ansa*' refers to the individual share of domestic animals, property, house etc. and finally '*Palna*' means the equal sharing of the property.

After a distribution of property among the sons the parents live with the youngest son. For, the youngest son is quite immature and knows little about the works for maintenance of a livelihood. In this case a little more share of property goes to the youngest son as he is burdened with the parents.

The most important function of the family is procreation which is essential for the future generations. A male child is always preferred as he will inherit the family property and perform the *Goar* and *Karja* for the dead parents. Also they do not dislike a girl child as parents will expect good amount of bride price when she is given in marriage.

SAORA SOCIAL LIFE

The social life of the Saoras is maintained and regulated by various standardised norms. The society in term of economy and livelihood is an agricultural society. They are settled agriculturists(Shudha/Lanjia Saora) as well as shifting cultivators (Lanjia Saora). Besides main sources of livelihood, they collect minor forest produces, practise horticulture and work as labourers as in the field and in the public works. Besides, some of them have developed expertise in terrace making, stone setting to make walls, embankments, and road construction, some work in the tea estates of Assam for a better income. Assam and Arunachal Pradesh have become second home for many who migrate there.

In an agricultural society, people work in agricultural fields. In the agricultural seasons all working members of the village vacate their respective houses before sun rise. Their work pattern is very well arranged all through the year. Those who have both plain land and Swidden plots, work throughout the year in a systematic manner. The main working period in Swidden plot continues from February to May and from November to January. The first period is spent for field preparation and cropping and the second period is for the harvesting and further field preparation. They get very little time to relax during the agricultural seasons.

January to March is the favourable period for socio-religious-cultural functions. This is the period when marriage, name giving ceremony, *Karja* ceremony etc are observed. A lot of expenditure is incurred in such observance. The produce from the field is lavishly spent to observe the social events. People irrespective of age and sex get themselves engaged in performance. During this time houses are built, repaired and thatched, fire wood is stocked for future. Guest and friends are entertained. In a sense the Saoras observe various rituals and festivals round the year.

It has been indicated elsewhere that women are more labourious and hard

working. They are found engaged throughout the day in various works. They rise up when the cock crows and start pounding rice, clean the house and premises. After that they cook for the family, fetch water, serve food to all in the family and leave for work. In the work sites, they work till the afternoon and then they return to the village. Women also accompany their small children to the work sites-where they play and the mothers work. During the harvesting period only women are seen in the fields. Hard jobs like ploughing the fields shifting the stones, fencing etc. are done by men. In the evening women fetch water, cook and by about 8 O' clock in the night every body goes to bed. Sunday is important for the Christian. All the Christians gather in their respective Churches: (Catholic and Baptist).

The Saoras are very fond of songs and dances. Songs are sung in formal and informal groups. All the social events are accompanied by songs and dances. They have a number of musical instruments which they play sing and dance.-

CO-OPERATIVE LABOUR SYSTEM

In the chapter "Indigenous Knowledge of Shifting Cultivation", the co-operative labour system of the Lanjia Saora has been dealt with indicating the better productivity from the fields through the co-operative labour. There are different systems of co-operative labour used among the Lanjia Saora. These are- *Ansir, Ganadi, Danadi, Kudadi, Snayam, Jirjir, Budi, Koptang* etc. These systems describe the division of labour in a systematic manner of co-operation. *Ansir* is the system of labour of same age and grade with men or women (Usually ten) grouped together and work on each others field during agricultural seasons. This is a mutual helping process through which the agricultural operations are done in a quicker pace. The reverse of the *Ansir* type of labour organisation is `*Ganadi*' where a man or woman works for another person without expecting any return. This is a voluntary labour system for mutual help. `*Danndi*' is a timely help extended from one family to the other mostly in the intra and inter *Birinda* families. In this system a person helps his kins and relatives in time of their need and in turn demands their labour at the time of his need. The exchange of labour in between the families is called `*Kudadi*'. `*Snayam*' is a form of mutual help in between kin members and in-laws etc, with or without expecting anything in return. `*Jinjir* and *Budi*' are the labourers working on wages. The wages they get either in cash or in kind. `*Koptang*' is a term labour system in which all the families send one person each for grazing cattle by turn.

BARTER SYSTEM

Barter system is an age-old tradition in the Lanjia Saora community. The poor families get money or grains in exchange of labour. In ancient time when there was no monetary system bartering was the only methods used by them. Subse-

quently with the use of currency and the introduction of market gradually they started to deal with kind and cash in exchange. The exchange in kind like one crop to another crop, crop to other things are still is use in the Saora society. In various seasons various crops are exchanged.

In the village level the barter system is still prominent. The Dom women usually carry usable goods into the Saora villages like match box, salt, dry fish, biscuits and chocolates etc. and sell those items in exchange of grains. The Dom women also sell to Saora cakes for crops, vegetables, minor forest produces etc. which they again sell in the market at a higher rate. Doms earn a lot by dealing with this barter basis. The Saoras lose a lot yet they prefer to barter with Doms.

Doms are the local traders dealing with Saoras for minor forest produces, seasonal crops, vegetables-horticultural produces etc. and in their trading they exploit the Saoras. But the system is changing fast. Saoras now sell their produces in the market against cash. The migrants to Assam have now different economic status and are more sophisticated in every sphere. It is interesting that the most of the Lanjia Saoras exchange their product to the Doms in exchange of daily necessaries.

MIGRATION - EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION

In a Saora village one would often come across Hindi speaking Saoras. From the style of speaking Hindi one can easily understand that such people have either migrated(Immigrants) into this place or have spent a long time in the Hindi speaking areas.

In fact, many men and women in the Lanjia Saora community(outnumbered as Hindi speaking people) and are migrants to that Hindi speaking to earn their livelihood. Such migrants are not at all found in Shudha Saora localities.

The Lanjia Saora migrate elsewhere to work in roads and building in tea estates of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. The Lanjia Saoras are very much concentrated in the '*Kemi*' region of Arunchal Pradesh where they do road and building works and earn their livelihood. There they meet the tribal and other people from whom they learn Hindi.

For the people are unable to exactly recall the time. They simply say that since last 50-60 years they have been working in Assam and into Arunchal Pradesh. In recent past they are found working in the road building projects of North-Eastern Frontier Agency (NEFA). But not if they migrate, they choose either Assam or Kemi or Arunchal Pradesh.

Economically all Lanjia Saora people are not sound. Their prevalent

practice of earning livelihood is from swiddening-slashing and burning type of cultivation. Further, there are marginalised families who only have small patches of Swidden plots and no paddy land, some are completely landless. Being poverty stricken they leave their home to seek fortune elsewhere. About agricultural economy they feel, is inadequate to maintain a livelihood. Adding to this the exacting religious practices of the traditional people have to a great extent made them poor. Usually, in the traditional religious practices, animals are sacrificed as prescribed by the Shamans. If the landless poor family suffers from some diseases it is to sacrifice a buffalo as per the direction of the Shaman. It is bound to dispose of his belonging for the purpose. The fear become complex is one of the reasons for turning a poor family to poorer. This is one reason of their economic crisis which has made some people to follow an alien religion. When a man becomes poor in the village he has to move to the plains to work as a labourer and then migrates.

The Saoras explain their idea about the migration recalling what they heard from their predecessors and what they experienced themselves. They hold that in the pre-independence period (when the British Govt. ruled in India), a Telugu Saora from the Tekkali near Paralakhemundi visited the Lanjia Saora areas with some '*Gora Sahibs*' (white people) in search of labourers to work in tea gardens of Assam. The poor Saoras accepted the idea and went in groups with them. Each group worked under a Sardar (Group chief) whom they call '*Partimar*' and the labourers who worked under the direction of the '*Partimar*' come to be known as '*Banudin*' i.e. wage labourers.

Lanjia Saora people are preferred outside for their skill in terrace and contour making, stone settings etc. Hence they got wide opportunity in the gardens. Where their work was limited to terrace making and picking up tea leaves,there they become bonded labourers. When the people reach Assam, they are to sign a contract to work for a certain period. Since then they work as a bonded labourers till contract period is exhausted. The labourers get salary on monthly basis.

In this region, as far as the people can recall the villagers '*Karanjasing*' first migrated to Assam. They left their family in the village and were regularly sending money. From the wife of the first migrant, people heard of money and life in Assam. The next time when the Sardar came, a larger number of people left the village for Assam. About the first migration, a case study is given here.

One Manasi Raika, aged about 50, was the Sarapanch of Sagada Gram Panchayat continuously for three times(15 years): When he was 16 years of age he got married (his wife being taller than him). A Sardar once visited and motivated him to go to Assam for a better livelihood. He and his wife followed the Sardar to Paralakhemundi from where they were taken to Berhampur where there was a

labour recruitment center for Assam tea gardens. After a primary health check up and after a subsequent interview with the appointment authority they were allowed to go to Assam. The Gora Sahib in the recruitment cell asked him if the lady accompanying him was his wife. The doubt arose in his mind on seeing his taller wife. There they stayed in the labourer colony in the tea estate area. When the couple was engaged in work, the Sahib paid him Rs.1.40 paise for his labour and Rs.1.55 paise for his wife. The difference of 15 paise was for the tallness of his wife who was taken as more skillful than her husband. Manasi went to the Sardar and requested him to raise his daily wage. Finally after observation of his skill the Sardar made his and his wife's wage equal.

He migrated there on 13th May'1954. There he signed a contract bond for three years. He faced not much problem there. The cost of rice was 3 kilograms per rupee. Thus he was able to save some money. He left Assam in 1957 after his contract period was over. He did not take further contract for, his parent wrote him regularly to return back. On his return he became converted to Christian and became the secretary of the Church (Baptist Mission). Once again he visited Assam being sponsored by Christian Mission Association to campaign the religion among the labourers in Assam and to motivate them towards Christianity.

Before the peoples conversion into Christianity, Manasi describes that the Lanjia Saora in Assam were doing in strict adherence to their indigenous traditions. They were performing *Karja*, *Goar* and other spiritual and religious function with sacrifices in Assam. But the scene changed with mass conversion to Christianity. These changes in language, costumes, behaviour, market status were also brought into the Saora society.

Migration to Kemi of Arunachal Pradesh , to Nagaland etc. started after this, with them they brought changes in social patterns : religion, behaviour, attitude, cash economy, education and health awareness and so many such things that are manifested in the present scenario of the Lanjia Saora society.

Slow developmental ideas were conceived by the groups in the distant lands. They formed each a group of 10 to 15 persons under one Sardar. In the group, every representative deposits a fixed amount with the group cashier. Then the cash was used by the representative members. This can be made clear by an example.

At present people who are working in Kemi are getting a monthly salary of Rs.900/-. Out of this Rs.900/- they deposit Rs.500/- at the group cashier. If it is a ten person group, then the total collection per month becomes Rs.5000/-. One person may take all the amount to send to his home. For, with a big amount some work can be done like purchasing a piece of land etc. The person who borrowed

the amount cannot borrow further till he repays the taken amount. Then he repays the amount in next nine instalments of Rs.500/- each. So that including the first time and next nine times contribution he repay the taken amount. Similarly each member of the group can utilize the facility. When one borrows the amount, he is not allowed to go home unless he repays the taken amount and the emergency cases are exceptional. This group collection and transaction of money helps them in building proper economic infrastructure in their homelands which they utilize after returning from the distant land. Thus the migration of people helps them to build up a proper economic infrastructure.

Some people also like to live in the distant land for ever. In Kemi where those Lanjia Saora people work, they come across a tribal community there whom they call '*Dapra*'. The young Lanjia Saora people marry the Dapra girls while they are in Kemi and do not return to their homeland. The '*Dapra*' girls are looked down by the Lanjia Saora people for such women are quite lazy at work, they cannot climb up a hill, cannot work hard in agricultural fields and overall the environment in the Lanjia Saora area do not suit them. A man in village Tarbel married a Dapra girl in Kemi and brought her to his own village. she could not do any of the Lanjia saora household works and other works. She fell sick time and again for which her husband returned to Kemi with his wife and stayed there permanently. His landed properties are being share cropped by his *Birinda* members. Sometimes, at an interval of about 3-4 years the man returns to examine his property conditions and after selling the agricultural produces which he got as his land share, he returns. A case in village *Karanjasing* so happened that, a man married a *Dapra* girl in Kemi and afterwards a son was born. The man returned to his village with his wife and son, but the climate and environment and the pattern of food did not suit them at all. For the comfot of his wife and son the man left his village permanently giving away all his properties to the *Birinda* members.

Further, some people like to return and stay in homeland with a feeling that their children (from Dapra women) may get proper scope for education in their homeland. Therefore, they stay there. A case study in this regard goes about Theophil Dalbehera, aged 29 of village *Sagada*, who is working as a field supervisor in the developmental works of Lanjia Saora Development Agency, running at *Puttasingi*. According to him his parents are living in Assam for last 50 years. He and all his brothers and sisters took birth there. But for language barrier he was left in a residential school of this area when he was 6 years of age. His younger brother James joined him when he was 8 years old. But his other brothers and sisters(they all are 6 brothers and 2 sisters) joined in the primary schools at Assam. One of his sisters could go upto 9th standard and the other stopped in the primary level. In the homeland Theophil completed his B.A. course and Jamesh his matriculation. One of his brothers returned and managed the parental

properties. Theophil said that his father has bought a house in Assam in last 1990-91 and has become a permanent resident there. His parents are well versed in Oriya, Hindi, Saora and Assamee. Theophil says that his educational life could be properly shaped in his homeland. He has got a wife who is convent educated upto 5th standard in Assam and Theophil dreams of making his son properly educated in his homeland after he got a son three-four months earlier.

The present Special Officer of Lanjia Saora Development Agency(LSDA) aged 55, a Post Graduate of his time tells that his father was working in Assam as a Sardar. He became economically sound and thought more about his children. His father left him (Laxman Sabar) in the homeland for his studies and gave sufficient attention towards his studies. He passed M.A. and is now the Special Officer of L.S.D.A. He holds that because of the high thinking of his father he could fetch the position. Now he has three daughters and two sons, excluding one daughter who is B.A. and has married to a person who passed O.A.S. (Orissa Administrative Service) and is working as Block Development Officer at Padmapur, all other children are studying M.B.B.S. Course in Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati Medical College and Hospital at Berhampur. He holds that they all are enlightened by his late father.

Another case study adds value to understand the feelings of migrants towards education. Ansu Raika is a Christian male of aged about 52, an inhabitant of Angora. He did not have an educational background. He is of opinion that for an improvement in his economic standard he migrated to Assam and stayed there for 10 years. He could be able to uplift his economic standard to a great extent. Then he returned to get his sons in schools for formal education. He says that his two daughters went to the level of matriculation before they were given in marriage. He has two sons, the elder one serving in Sukinda of Jajpur district as a Welfare Extension Officer who got the post immediately when he was continuing second year M.A. in History from Utkal University. The other son is studying in the residential school at *Sagada*. The man now feels satisfied that in expense of his labour at Assam he could educate his children and thus is satisfied by educating his children.

From the above case studies and events discussed, it is clear that the migration to foreign lands have significantly developed the idea of people towards the world outside their locality. The migration has made a shuffle of the culture, language and other processes of modernization. These have great impact on their present pattern of livelihood and socio-religious-economic status in the community. Further, the Lanjia Saora people show a better response towards education while living in Assam or returning from there when they give priority in sending their children for formal school education. The cases of Laxman Sabar, Theophil Dalbehera, Saloman Raika- the son of Ansu Raika, etc, may be given as

examples.They are now better figures in the Lanjia Saora society. With all those factors of changes, the major change that has appeared in the Lanjia Saora society is that people have started to speak in Hindi more often than learning the local language- Oriya. A migrant to Assam for two to three years learns Hindi easily whereas during his 15 to 20 years of stay in the homeland he fails to be well versed in local language-Oriya. This is a new change that has brought a socio-religious-cultural mobility towards modernization, cash economy, better response to education and religious(Christian) institutions. Migration therefore, has become a major phenomenon of social changes in economy, livelihood, language, culture and in all aspects of the cultural matrix.

RELATIONSHIP OF SAORA WITH DOM COMMUNITY

The Doms are the immediate community to the Saora community. Since time immemorial the Doms and Saora are living side by side with various modes of interdependence and socio-religious-cultural relations. It can be said that the Doms are the co-inhabitants of the Saora in the Saora locality. Though the Dom population is few compared to the Saora still the influence of the Dom Community over the Saoras is very much observed in these areas. On the Shudha Saora communities the Doms have very little influence, though the Dom community has shown itself -to be more influential in the other sides of social inter dependences. The Doms are lower caste Hindu communities who are always looked down by the Saora with the aspects of comparative culture, food patterns, etc.

The Dom people are known to Saora as the traders. With the settlement of Saora communities in the forest and beaten tracks, the Doms appeared before them as traders who were dealing with minor market product for practical uses by the Saoras. In the cosmogonical myth of Lanjia Saora also there is the description that Dom women were carrying salt, dry fish, matchbox, cakes etc, to the Saora villages and bartered against crops. The Doms are still found visiting the Saora villages for trading in the barter system.

The traditional Saora people know the Dom community as the supplier of sacrificial animals to them. The Lanjia Saora religious culture indicates that they hardly celebrate a festival or religious events without a sacrifice. Big sacrifices like buffalo are often made in their religious affairs. They purchase buffalo from the Dom people on a crop to animal barter basis or cash to animal basis. Whenever a Dom sells an animal, he sells the meat of the animal and not the other parts. Usually when a Lanjia Saora man purchases a buffalo, from a Dom, he gets it on payment of about Rs.500/- to Rs.600/-. But the Dom keeps a condition that the Saora must return the horns and skin of the animal to him. On this condition the Saora purchases the animal and after sacrificing the animal the horn and skin of the animal are given to the Doms.

Doms always roam around the Saora villages to purchase the agricultural produces and minor forest produces. In the villages the Doms get the products at a cheap rate. On market days, they open purchase centers on the way where they purchase the minor forest produces like flower and fruit of *Mahula, Karanja* seeds, tamarind etc, in exchange of salt etc. The Saoras, find it easy to dispose of all their products to Dom people on way to market and thus get relaxed from travelling a long distance to the market. Besides, the Doms purchase fruits from fruit bearing trees on auction. Usually the drumstick, mango, jackfruit etc, are auctioned when the fruits are immatured. Then the Dom people pluck fruits from the trees and on their own labour carry them to the market. In the auction system of fruit bearing trees the Saoras suffer from great loss and they never understand it. It is a very clean method of exploitation by the Doms. Yet the Lanjia Saora people do not disrespect the Doms.

Doms are always considered untouchables. A Saora family, never allows a Dom to enter into their house. Also they never enter into a Dom house. Yet, in some special cases the Dom-Saora relation becomes very close. The Doms are beef eaters and the traditional Saora and Catholic group Christians are also beef eaters. Dom people often kill cows and sells the meat to the traditional Saora and the Catholic group Saora people. This makes a good attachment in between Saora and Doms.

Local Doms are all Christian converts. The Christian Saora and Christian Doms are good friends. They sometimes have reciprocal dealings with exchange of materials. Yet some Saoras (Christian converts) do not allow the Doms to enter into their families. The Christian Saora's disliking to Doms is observed in market places. When the Christian Saora women carry goods to sell in market, the Doms on the way want the women to dispose of their goods to him at the collection centers. If the Christian Saora women do not give, then there happens a push-pull between the buyer and the seller. This is very much disliked by such women and for the same many dislike to take goods to the market and want that the Doms should purchase the goods from their houses.

In Shudha Saoras the Dom people are looked down upon as people of low caste. Therefore, they never allow Doms into their houses with a feeling of untouchability. The Shudha Saora people never sell their produces to the Doms rather they like to sell these in the market. There is seen no socio-religious-cultural interactions of Shudha Saoras with the Doms. As usual the Dom women carry market goods to Saora villages but in Shudha Saora areas such Dom women are rarely responded.

SOCIAL CHANGES TRHOUGH DEVELOPMENTAL PROGRAMMES

- Developmental programmes are oriented towards the an improvement in

the standard and quality of life. An improvement in the standard of life takes into account so many factors that are associated with the social life and patterns of livelihood of these communities. An improvement in the quality of life here implies to the motivation in developing a thought for sustainable development in the overall scenario of the people through a collective effort and a close knit interaction between the Government and the beneficiaries. This attempt to development pertains to the better well-being of people. The idea of the tribal people is not always the same as the Government think. For government, the idea of well-being lies in the developmental plan and is more or less addressed to make the tribal people like people in the mainstream. Therefore, the developmental programmes give priority in agriculture, education and economy of the tribal people so as to change the social sceneries in a way to uplift the tribals from illiteracy to literacy, from a crude mode of subsistence to a viable and alternative mode of livelihood. From a poor form of economy to a modified stage there lies the idea of using the natural resources in a better way to achieve better economic goals. However, these are in general attempted by the various plans of governmental development programmes which have both the consequences: positive and negative-as the tribal people feel about it.

Government agencies like Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA), the Tribal Welfare Department are highly functional in the tribal localities. The ITDA is also running micro-project at specific localities where the tribal situation is very primitive and so they are in the main focus of development. In the locality of Saora, particularly in the area under study an Integrated Tribal Development Agency is located at Gunupur which is functional over a large tract of the tribals in the locality. There is a micro project -Lanjia Saora Development Agency located at Puttasingi that is functioning under the Chairmanship of the Project Administrator of ITDA and the micro-project is opened for a sustainable development of the Lanjia Saora people. But the Shudha Saoras in the locality are developed to a standard when they are able to realise the importance of the aspects to which developmental programmes address and therefore they are mobilised by themselves for their own development. The ITDA has little to do with the Shudha Saora people. Infrastructure for health, education and other necessities being very important are running with addition of new infrastructures at the areas where such infrastructures hold to be a most need.

The overall process of development has visible indicators in the infrastructure base under the head of health, economy, education, tribal skill development, environment, agriculture and horticulture etc, which speak of a socio-religious-economic development of the tribal people. The socio-religious-economic development goals are multifaceted. Sometimes it is seen that the developmental ideas held by the Government do not coincide with the developmental ideas held

by the tribal people. Some of the programmes are not based upon an approach of peoples self motivation and orientation towards the economic policies. As a result the tribals do not accept the programme nor show any interest in their implementation. If such projects met a failure the Government reshape them and reinforce in the tribal areas. Therefore the developmental programmes have considerably changed the socio-economic pattern of living and earning a livelihood. The Lanjia Saora people are in the main focus of the programmes for, they are the primitive people yet with their mainstay as shifting cultivation, and terraced cultivation and collection of minor forest produces. Therefore, the changes in the Lanjia Saora society is mainly attempted and highlighted in this approach. The visible infrastructural base and the method of approach to development are much more concentrated in Sagada Gram Panchayat and the villages are undergoing changes. The Lanjia Saora Development Agency is in function in the said areas. Other areas in the area dominated by Lanjia Saora people are dealt directly by the ITDA. In this approach emphasis is given in studying the influence of developmental programmes and the social changes that have appeared in the locality.

EDUCATION

The educational status of Lanjia Saora people was very poor in the near past when people were showing little response to the education. But now the facilities are being provided to them in many ways. Mainly the facilities have been extended by providing special residential and non-residential schools, school buildings, free studentship, scholarship and stipends, free dress, reading and writing materials, meals in the hostels etc. The motivation towards education has been found successful. In the area under study there is a primary school which is attached with a residential hostel. The school was opened by the Education Department of the State, and the hostel is attached to it by the Integrated Tribal Development Agency in 1984. After the hostel was attached to the school, people in the area gave importance on education by sending their children to the school. In the schools the proper intellectual development of the students is far from satisfactory. It is observed that the parents are as if sending their children to study in the hostels for free meals and enjoy other facilities that are provided to them. This has decreased the status of a school. Girl students are not at all seen in the residential school at *Sagada*. Besides, there are other educational schools which are non-residential. but in such schools negligible attendance is seen. For, such schools do not provide free meals and so students and parents have no interest. Therefore, studying in the local schools particularly in residential schools, the main attraction lies in the facilities provided for. School education at the primary level ensures the literacy in the very minimal sense.

To boost up the literacy in the area, the micro-project has opened many non-formal educational centres; one in every village under the jurisdiction of LSDA

which is opened to build up the educational awareness and perceptions in the Lanjia Saora people. Those schools are called *'Gyana Mandir'* in which pre-primary education and adult education are provided. In such schools regular attendance of the students are ensured by the informal approach of the teacher to the parents and children. Yet the attendance is very poor and in some periods, particularly at the time of collection of minor forest produces and agricultural practices in the swiddens the attendance in such schools tends to zero. Students in such schools are provided free books, writing materials, and dress materials by the LSDA. Some years back, when the schools were opened free meal provision, particularly a supplementary nutrition was provided to the students, which is now stopped. The tribal people point out that only for motivation of parents and children the supplementary nutrition was provided. The teachers hold the responsibility of motivating the parents to send their children to primary schools.

The attitudes of parents towards education and in sending their students is very general and the attitude of the parents depends upon their household economy and future of their children. In the first preference, when a parent takes interest in sending their children to schools, they look for a residential school where their children can be enrolled. By sending the children to a residential school the parents feel easy, about their children. They feel that their children are safe in the residential schools. If a residential school is not found in the locality they take little interest in sending them to formal school education. Children are also important as their little bit contribution in the work pattern helps the family. Therefore, children after attaining a certain age get engaged in various traditional works.

Now the motivation about education has gained interest in the tribal people. Many are taking interest in sending their children to schools, mostly to the residential schools. But various factors are interwined to achieve the desired result. The crisis of people, lack of awareness, economic hardship, lack of congenial environment, unsuitable atmosphere like space and light for reading, lack of parental care and guidance, lack of motivation, enthusiasm, knowledge on utility of education, the difference in language develop communication gap in between students and teachers. Along with that many other socio-religious-economic factors are associated in failure of the programme.

The Christian Saora people take much interest in sending their children to formal school education but among the schools residential missionary schools, and other residential schools are preferred. Many cases are seen where parents have sent their children to far off places.

Over all, the formal school education is accelerating in the Lanjia Saora community particularly in the Christian section. The religious conversion goes side by side with awareness of education. It is therefore that with mass conversion the interest in people for formal school education is stepped up.

TABLE - 1

MATERIAL CULTURE / HOUSE HOLD ARTIFACTS OF SAORA

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Sl. No.	Materials/articles/ artifacts names in English-Saora-Oriya	Raw material used	Available/production. from (Indigenous & Exogenous)	Purpose of use, way of use	Manufacturing Process/design	Remarks
			(A) WATER STORING ARTICLES (PARINASENG)			
1.	Big pot - Saleng - dang - Hindi	Earthen	Purchased from Saora Potters, Local market	Used for storing water for house hold use	Made to the required size in the potter's wheel	Usually one or two such pots found in every house.
2.	Gourd - Kureitung-Tumba	From *Lageneria picaceria* gourd	Cultivated in homestead lands, Swiddens. One big furit is left for making gourd.	Used for storing water and carry-ing water to swidden plots. Toddy is also carried in it.	Mouth cut to open inner contents removed, sun dried and further inner wall scratched to make it clean	Before earthen pots were avail-able it served all purposed. Being used still.
3.	Big Drum - Bungsang - Kunda	Wood from Siongni tree (Gmelina arborea) mainly	Tree trunk if hollow collected from forest and design to the shape of a drum.	Used for storing water for live stocks, used to feed the live-stocks.	The Saora himself is the Carpenter who makes it using Carpentry tools and implements	Not much in use now-a-days due to scarcity of desired wood, replaced by the earthen vessels.

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(A) WATER STORING ARTICLES (PARINASENG)						
4	Pot - Ajangbang dang - Dekchi	Metal (Aluminium)	Puchased from local big market - Gunupur and Parlakhemundi, Rayagada	Used to store water for household use.	Made to the size of big pot, lower part and upper part rounded separately by a mid line constru-ction.	Economically viable families possess one or two of these as per their family requirement.
5.	Pot - Gadiaseng - Gara	Metal (Brass)	Purchased from big markets at Gunupur, Parelakhemundi Rayagada, etc. From brass artisans locally at Jaltar.	Used to store water, rice and other important things.	A small opening compared to alumini-um pots, tapering towards mouth, broad at base.	Not common in all families. Mark of status symbol.
6	Pot-Ajengbanseng-Gara	Metal (Silver)	-do-	-do-	-do-	Common in every house hold at present.

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(A) WATER STORING ARTICLES (PARINASENG)						
7.	Patcher - Jarisul - Mathia	Earthen	Mde by Saora Kumbar (Potter)	Used to carry water from water sources to house, used to carry toddy also.	Made like a pitcher. Pitchers used to cook liquor of Mahua slightly bigger sizes are made, sometimes made with a side outlet.	Very commonly found, every household. More numbers are usually kept for , they are breakable.
(B) SLEEPING ARTICLES						
1.	Cot - Sandi - - Khatia	Wood and rope	Wood like Sal, Piasal (Pterocarpus marsupium), Gamhari (Gmelina arborea) made available from forest, ropes purchased from local	Used for sleeping to relax, to dry crops on it, sleeping is confortable	Made with four legs two frames of longer size and two frames (width) of smaller size woven to one design.	Not much of cots are found for use of cots demand more space in house. Portable cots are usually made.

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			(B) SLEEPING ARTICLES			
2.	Mat - Salad - Patti.	Leaves of Date palm *(Phoenix sylvestris)*	Available in plenty in the locality for a woman co-oplerative society in village Alangada manufacturing the	For sleeping drying crops and covering things.	Designing specific to certain people wearing not known to all	More than one would be found in every house-hold.
3.	Clothes - Sindring-Kantha for bed	Made from old tum cloths.	Made in Saora households for their own.	For sleeping purpose.	Many layers of clothes sewn to make a thinker one.	Commonly found in every household, one or more.
4.	Cloths for - Sindring - Luga wearing	Loom made.	Purchased from market traditional dresses from Doms.	To hide the body.	Variously designed except traditional type.	Market items are now being preferred.
5.	Blanket - Kamal - Kambal.	Woolen	Purchased from market	To get rid of of cold in winter	Designs as are available in market.	A recent addit-ion. Common in every house.
6.	Bedsheet - Birinakap - Chadar.	Cotton	-do-	To cover beds, to wrap around body	-do-	Common in every house hold.

MATERIAL CULTURE / HOUSE HOLD ARTIFACTS OF SAORA

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			(B) SLEEPING ARTICLES			
7.	Bed - Arasan-Khata	Wood (Sal)	Wood made available from forest	For comfortable sleeping	Made by Saora carpenters.	Not much seen. Not much prefe-rred as they can not be displaced and replaced all the times. Mark of status maint-aining people who have bigg-er and more rooms.
			(C) STORING ARTICLES.			
1.	Large vessel-Tudud- Bada	Bamboo blades	Bamboo available in the forest plently.	Keeping rice, paddy, other crops for long	Blades woven to make shape, outer and inner sides smeared with cowdung to avoid cutting of hand by bamboo blades	Bamboo made articles are mostly used for materials that could substitute bamboo are
2.	Medium sized	Bamboo blades	-do-	Used to carry crop produces		

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				and minor forest produces.	that are sharp edged.	rarely found in the area e.g. canes. Dom people have good enterprise in making those things which develope a dealing between Saora and Dom for these materials in exchange of crop materials.
3.	Very small containers-Sundrui-Dala	Bamboo blades	Bamboo available in the forest plentily.	Used for eating dried food items in it. Used during rituals	Bamboo is foiled and `blades are made. These are then drenched in water to be soft. Then woven sun dried. The rim of the container is made stronger with additional thick bamboo blades	
4.	Winnow-Ayer Kula	Bamboo blades	Purchased from local Doms Some people are capable of doing it.	Used to separate hush from rice after pounding paddy		
5.	Flat container Adenja-bada dala	Bamboo blades	Purchased from local Doms.	Used for drying wet food materials and crops	Base round and flat Girth of the container slowly tapering towards the open end. Depending of the container,	

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			(C) STRONG ARTICLES			
6.	Big flat container Bidra - Bada dala.(Measuring about 5 kgs. of crops).	Bamboo	Purchased from Doms.	Used to keep raw food items, vegetables, rice, salt, chilli, etc. in kitchen rooms.	rims are fixed to it at various places, making the container divided into many parts from outside.	
			(D) AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND WEAPONS			
1.	Plough -Irrtup-Langala.	Wooden, mostly wood of Sal is used. Other strong wood	Wood is made available from forest, small logs are chosen in the forest, cut from the tree and brought home	Ploughing paddy lands. Made by themselves or by a carpenter	As per designn it isj of three parts : Mundair (body), Araralang(iron knife with flattened base, Insa (Shoft.)	Used only to plough paddy lands since in swiddening no plough is used.
2.	Yoke-Kadasirang Juali. Kada+si+rang= Strong+hard+joining. Or Sinipaplang= Sini+pap+lang=	Wood of Sal and a piece of irron. In most cases Pisal wood *(Pterocarpus*	Wood available in the forest a long, unbranched or without modes is preferred for the purpose	To control and balance the force between two bullocks or work animals while	Divided into two parts : Sinipan lang- the iron part at middle and two small pieces of wood fixed at their ends	The Sinipap lang has another meaning. That the control point of the

MATERIAL CULTURE / HOUSE HOLD ARTIFACTS OF SAORA **TABLE - 1**

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(D) AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND WEAPONS						
		marsupium) is preferred or *(Grewia tiliaefolia)*		ploughing.		artifact is regarded as the balancing centre of vice and virtue.
3.	Leveller - -Pratikal - Moi. Prati+ kal= level+ soil.	Wooden made out of Ukur tree*(Grewia tiliaefolai)* or Asan *(Termin-nalia tomento-sa)*, Saragia, *(Shorea robu-sta)*. Preference to Bangdru tree *(Schleich-era oleosa)*. Arakal *(Caryota urens)*.	Collected from the forest Mostly Sal is available *Grewia tiliaefolia* and *Scheichera oleosa* are not adequately found in the forest.	Levels the earth after ploughing. In muddy lands it helps in	Divided into four parts. Pratidang Dandikad. Midi and artuda.	While in process, a stone is put over the leveller to add more weight.

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(D) AGRICULTIURAL IMPLIMENTS AND WEAPONS.						
4.	Harrow - Kurudi-Bida.	Wooden made out of Caryota urens, Grewia tiliaefolia, Gm--elina arborea, Terminalia. tomentosa-Ban--dada tree..	-do-	Used for weedi--ng by main for direction to bull-ocks pull it.	Divided into four parts: Dantia, Bridang, midi--dang, insas.	Specific design described latter
5.	Hand hoe-Gubla-Khusuni or pikudu.	Wooden mater--rials made out of bamboo, sal, and other species.	-do-	Used for hoeing in swidden plots, homestead lands, digging etc. Made by Saora people, sometim--es purchased from market.	Designed to the shape : a shaft one end straight or slightly bent with the other end fixed to a flat and sharp iron piece.	Mostly used for swidden cultiv- Various types with various names are found purpose being more or less the same.
6.	Hoe-Kudaladang-Khusani. Another type of hoe called Bureidang, used to	Wooden shaft with an iron flat piece.	-do-	-do-	More or less the same as above.	Little difference remarked by different terms.

MATERIAL CULTURE / HOUSE HOLD ARTIFACTS OF SAORA

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	(D) AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND HAND WEAPONS					
	used to remove sto--nes from earth.					
7.	Dibbling rod / mattock : Gurusan--gdang- khanati. Guru+san+dang= Digging+Pigeonpea +stick.	Wood, iron, brass ring.	Wood available in forest Iron piece is purchased from market and fixed to the wooden shaft.	Used as dibling rod, very much used at the time of putting seeds in swiddens.	A wooden shaft to one end of which a brass ring is fixed and the other end carries the iron nail.	Dibbling rod is the main imple--ment for agric--cultural practi-ces in swiddens.
8.	Sickle-Kadati-Daa.	Wood, iron.	Previously was being made by Saora ; blacksmith now depending upon market.	Used for cutting paddy and other herbaceous crops.	A small wooden part for first, rest iron part dented like a saw, curvy.	There are two types of it with another name : Kakara, not dented. It is us-ed to cut sagop-alm inflorescen-ce to tap toddy.
9.	Web-Kadisabda-Kodi.	Wood, iron	Purchased from the market.	Used for cutting earth mostly used at places where plough is	A wooden shaft with a very flat and sharp edge.	Used for cultiv-ation in homes-tead lands.

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(D) AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND HAND WEAPONS						
				impossible.		
10.	Hand stick-Sabdidang-Badi. Sabdi+dang : Cleaning stick.	Wood and brass ring.	Skilled carpenter can do it.	Mostly used by Gomango as a mark of pride, as a symbol of aristocracy, used as weapon for self protection.	The stick has a cylindrical part at the first and the distal part broad, angular usually triangular, one edge very sharp, brass rings fixed at three places.	It was used by the Gomangos at the time of group rivalry for self protections.
11.	Spear-Sila-Barchha	Wood or bamboo and iron part.	Made by Saora itself iron iron part purchased. The shaft called siladang and iron paret called Silalang.	Used during hunting, thrown with a perfect projectile to attack somebody.	A long shaft ending with a rhombus like iron part, edges sharp, tip pointed.	Two types of it are found. The other type has a small shaft, with rhomboidal head two acc--essory sharp parts on either sides of the head called Sanasila.

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(D) AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND HAND WEAPONS						
12.	Bow-Yanga-Dhanu	Bamboo and string.	Made by Saora itself.	Used for hunting.	Half circled bamboo, two ends held tight by a string which is also a bamboo blade, the either ends being tied by sheathfibre of Sagopalm tree.	A very ancient weapon.
13.	Arrow-Aam-Sara.	Bamboo, iron part.	Shaft of bamboo made by Saora iron part purchased.		One end of the shaft carries iron part, feathers fixed at the other end.	
14.	Gun-Balla-Bandhuka.	Wood and iron pipe.	Purchased.	For hunting and weapon at the time of group rivalry.	To the shape of a country gun, single barrel and double barrel.	Licenced, renewal of licence regularly done.
15.	Axe-Enjung-Kuradhi.	Wood, iron.	Wood available from forest and iron part purchased from market. In past Saora itself was the market.	For cutting trees.	A wooden shaft (dang) sharp flat face of iron (luangjum), bold part of iron (rudijum).	Buffalo killing during rituals done by this. By the bold and of

TABLE - 1

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(D) AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND HAND WEAPONS						
						the axe strike is given on the animal head to death.
16.	Axe-Angi-Tangi.	Wood, iron	Wood available from forest and iron part purchased from market. In past Saora itself was the marker.	Cutting small plants, killing animals and slicing, of ritual importance, a dance item.	A wooden shaft (dang) sharp flat face of iron (luangjum), blod part with a difference in the iron part which is more flat.	During traditio-dance, the axe is used as a customarily.
17.	?- Sarayel-Gublakanta.	Full iron.	Self made	While fixing iron parts to hand hoe, the shaft boring is done by this.	A handle with a pointed hard iron nail like structure rather thick than a nail either sides sharp.	The very indigenous material made by the Saora.
18.	Saw-Karta-Karata.	Wood and iron.	Purchased from market.	Used for slicing wood (logs).	A flat blade, dented, one or two ends of	A very recent addition used

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(D) AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND HAND WEAPONS						
				For carpentry works.	which are having wooden handles.	to avoid wastage of wood by cutting with axe
19.	Gun pipi-Odiaballa - ?	An iron pipe.	Purchased from special places where available.	Mostly have ritual use, used to send message from one village to another about one's death and emergency events.	An iron barrel with a hole at the back end and a hole on the barrel body at the enterior end.	Explosives kept inside and fired from one end to make the sound.
20.	? - Tarep-Barsee.	Wood and iron.	Purchased from market.	Used in carpentry works.	Shaped like a web, with a flat, angular sharp edged iron part attached to a wooden shaft.	Recent addition in the material culture.

3

SOCIETY AND CULTURE OF SAORA- II

INTRODUCTION

A common question that often hits the Mind of people(who are curious about the tribes of Orissa)- which tribal group is the most ancient. Orissa has the distinction of possessing a great diversity of tribal communities and each one has specific patterns of society, modes of livelihood, unique culture and certain special features that are not commonly seen in non-tribal communities. To trace the most ancient tribe is rather a complicated task for, the tribal communities are mostly forest dwellers since time immemorial. Their culture reflects a culture of forest dwellers. To trace the ancient type among tribal communities would mean to dive into the ancient past. In this regard the oral tales, stores,and other forms of oral tradition happen to be the main source of its history. But even their folk culture fails to give an exact idea of the primitiveness of a tribe in a chronological order. Whatever informations are available from tribal folks speak of a time when they evolved. In this regard their evolutionary myths and legends appear to be the only reference of study through which the feelings, perceptions, facts and fictions connected with their evolution, their society and culture can be discussed.

Tribals have different a patterns of livelihood depending upon the forest, their own social norms and principles. These make them an isolated group in terms of ecology, livelihood, economy, food habit, social organisation, religious and political system etc. The tribal people are mostly endogamous, homogeneous groups. Some are exogamous but the patterns of social and cultural identity turn them a homogeneous group. The belief of tribal people in animism, animatism, naturism, witchcraft, black magic, sorcery and taboos and superstitions have kept them limited within a special framework of social organisation and religion. The

tribals' belief on the animate and inanimate things and beings as supreme entities or the spirits and gods make it a backward Hindu cast society. The tribe is also known in many other words such as Adibasi(Primitive inhabitants) Girijan(Hill People) aboriginals and primitives etc. Inhabitants living in interior hilly pockets, existing in a region from earliest times and living with a primitive mode of livelihood generally come under the category of tribe. About the identification of a tribe, one definition of prof. Mazumdar holds very much appropriate "A tribe is a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous with no specialisation of functions ruled by tribal officers, hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognising social distance from tribes or castes but without any stigma attached in the case of a caste structure, following tribal traditions, beliefs and customs, liberal of naturalization of ideas from alien sources, above all conscious of a homogeneity of ethnic and territorial integration" [Naik in Vidyarthi(ed)1968 : 86] Simultaneously the tribal community shows a common belief, more or less common occupational practices,feeling of belongingness to a group and group leader. A tribal group always maintains its own customary lows and practices.

A tribal society is therefore, very much characterized with a definite territory amidst hills and forests, a pattern of gamete life as is approved by their society, a comprehensive culture in a general description and uniqueness in independence as far as their relationship to the outsiders are concerned. These are fundamental features of a tribal society. Society and culture are like two sides of a coin-obverse and reverse. One side is complementary to the other.The groups in a society are culturally self sufficient and self contained enabling the group to fulfil all the requirements of social life.

Culture is a complex term, defined in many ways. including all that is customary and traditional in society : under developed or developed, aboriginal or civilized. It includes the knowledges, belief, moral value, religion, custom, costume and any other facets which turn a man as a member of the society in a particular period of time. These act as a potential guide for the people in a society. Culture is the way of life of people in a society. The way the people behave in a society reflects the cultural background of it. In the words of Herskovits, "Culture is man and his works". That means every facet of a society is a part of culture, which distinguishes one community from the other. Another view in regard to culture is that it is the sum total of agrifacts (agricultural products), mentifacts (religion and all the mental faculties) and socifacts (social organisations). Therefore culture at large is whole set of human behaviour in various spheres of life, the mode of aggregation, interaction, dependance and interdependence etc. If society is taken as a structural unit, then culture is the functional unit. Therefore the behaviour of man in group life or in a society gives his socio-cultural identity and hence the whole set of human behaviour is based on both the structural and functional units: the

society and the culture.

The groups of tribals show a great diversity in their socio- cultural way of life. The pattern of life they exhibit, is made in accordance with the principles outlined in their socio- cultural identities and background. Further the culture that appear to be unique in each tribal society is conceived in a way that suits to their living in a specific ecological habitat and the physical environment. Their habit, habitat in a concentric patch make their economic mode of livelihood.

In Orissa, tribal communities are many. The Orissas ethnographic scenario includes as many as 62 tribal communities. Out of those tribes the southern Orissa carries two main tribes of Orissa: Kondhs and Saora or Shabars. Out of these two tribes in southern Orissa, the Kondh population is the most numerous and Saora comes next. Here in this paper we are concerned with Saora, particularly with two communities of Saora: Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora found in concentric patches of Rayagada district of Orissa. Kondhs are highest in population and therefore may be said as the ancient tribe in Orissa. But in the same way Saora, though is not equivalent in population size with the Kondhs has also reserved its identity as the most ancient tribe. This is evident from the description of Saora in the Hindu epics and myths. The original question about which tribe is the most ancient in Orissa is confronted with a debate here. That the Kondhs are well known as the most ancient in terms of its vast territory and the population, whereas the Saoras are mentioned in the Hindu religious texts and myths, that date back to time immemorial. The Saora therefore has got its ethnic identity from long time back and has found its place in the mythical history of Hindus; This indicate that the Saora is the most ancient one.

ETHNICITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

There are both tribal and non-tribal versions regarding the ethnicity of the Saora. It begins with the evolution of Saora, embedded in the mythical versions which gives the tribal version of its ethnicity. This is very much observed in the cosmogonical myth of Saora. But the non-tribal version takes no reference of the Saora idea of its primitivity and cosmogonical myth. It is based upon the literature developed over a given time, when the tribe is said to have existence. However, both the tribal and non-tribal versions indicating the evolution of Saoras, base upon the myths and legends recorded over a given time. But the either versions varies a lot. This factor of variability is exhibited in the recording of data about the tribe's evolution and their consequent existence as social beings. The non-tribal version is a recorded one and is fixed to a particular time and a particular idea. Hence it appears to be more scientific. But the tribal version is preserved only in their oral traditions. As it is evident in a traditional tribal society, the oral traditions sometimes vary with the initial text of oral tradition. Their sense of history is

shallowed. They remember history of some generations which get merged in mythology. Therefore myths of different types sometimes give an idea of their history of some generations. But the cosmogonical which makes the basis of their identity dose not change at a quick pace.

In this context, the tribal version holds to be importan For, within it lies their ideas, beliefs, knowledge and so to say the historical records of their ethnicity, preserved in their oral traditions. This is considered to be very important, for there lies their cultural identity. It makes the first hand information of the investigation which is rather a self perception of their cultural backgrounds.

The non-tribal versions that probably has emerged out of oral traditions which in latter era was shaped as oral literatures, is also equally important for, it gives a mention of the historicity of the tribe in primordial times. Here, Saora is mentioned to be one of the oldest known tribe. Tracing the root of the term Sora or Saora, Patnaik;1989 holds that "The term Saora appears to have two connotations- one derived from *Sagories*, the Scythian word for axe and the other from *Saba Roye*, the Sanskrit term for carrying a dead body. Both of them fit well with their habit of carrying an axe always on their shoulders with their primitive occupation of hunting and living on spoils of chase".

Further "Being an ancient community of India, the Saoras are found to be mentioned in Sanskrit literature, the epics, the Puranas and other religious texts. For example, there is a reference in Mahabharata to Jara Sabar, who mistook Lord Krishna for a deer and killed him with an arrow. A verse in Amarkosh written in 7th century A.D. records that like *Nishada, Schwapacha, Kirata, Pulinda* and other primitive people, Saoras were *Antebasi*, that is, the inhabitants of peripheral regions who lived by hunting and food gathering". Here it is clear that the Saora has got a better position in the myths, epics and Sanskrit literature. The name *Jara Sabar* in Mahabharata takes the Saoras back to the Dwapara era, the era of *Lord Krishna*. Saora is described is *Antebasi*-which means to its habitat in the forest and a mode of maintaining livelihood in the forest.

Further, reference to Saora goes with the placement of the tribe in the Hindu religious texts. Patnaik :1989 maintains "The epics and Puranas refer to their devotion to Hindu religious heroes like *Rama* and the *Jagannath* cult. The legend of *Viswabasu*, a Saora king who worshiped the image of *Vishnu* in the form of *Lord Jagannath*, indicates the impact of *Vaishnavism* on the Saoras". Adding to the gallantry deeds of Saora it is quoted that- "The history also bears the witness to the supremacy of Saoras in some regions. Many legends relate to the aristocratic representation of some Saora families." It is said that *Dhenka Saora* founded the erstwhile feundatory states of Dhenkanal and the legend relating to the origin of *Barasambar* estate in Sambalpur states that the progenitor of this Zamindari family

was a cross-breed between the four heroic youths of *Rajput* origin and a *Lohra Saora* girl"

The myths and legends often appear to be the richest sources to give an idea about the tribe. Many legends associated with the description of Saora in the ancient texts are still preserved in the Saora oral traditions, which speak high of the Saora community as the priests of *Lord Jagannath*. Reference may be given to the chapter "Myths, Legends, World-view and Cosmology of Saora" Where in the section of the cosmogonical myth of Shudha Saora, it is mentioned that the Saora community worshipped the *Lord Jagannath* in the beginning. From them the *Lord Jagannath* was taken by the king named *Indradyumna* of Puri where the lord till established. But *Lord Jagannath* when was being worshiped by the Saora was named as *Madusa*- a term derived from *Madu* and *Sum* (dead body and spirit/ deity). The non-tribals often know the *Madusum* of Saora as '*Neelamadhab*' the incarnation of *Lord Vishnu* on his appearance on the earth. When the Shudha Saora mentions that *Lord Jagannath* was known to them as *Madusum*, the Lanjia Saora give mention of the Lord as *Lobosum* (not in the myth), which appears to be a legend or an imaginative idea. The Lanjia Saora people hold that they regard the Lobo sum i.e. the earth spirit as the most powerful deity who is also the deity of property. They link the *Lobosum* to *Jamal*(crop/grains). Crop, that are sown on earth for agriculture are known as Jamal Lanjia Saora demand that *Jamal* is related to *Jagannath*. Further mention goes that the primitive mode of livelihood of Lanjia Saora based on shifting cultivation in hills and forests. They attribute that *Lord Jagannath* was hidden in the *Jamals* from which grew the first crop. There is no direct evidence to justify this as there is no such legendary tale that is ancient of Lanjia Saora. But this idea has developed to a form of legendary tale. A legend about *Lobosum* links the *Jamal* which is described latter. If worth mentioning here that the Saora community wants to make point always as the first priests of *Lord Jagannath* where lies their main cultural identity and the comprehensive ideas of their fellowship to *Lord Jagannath*. The Saora community likes to be referred as the first people associated with *Jagannath* cult.

In this text two sections of the Saora community has been taken into account : Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora. The Shudha Saora community gives its evolution from So:ara, the former referring to 'hidden' and the latter to wood. This is mentioned in their cosmogonical myth with their emergence from *Kureitung*. This fixes the identity of Shudha Saora as a people who were hidden in a wood trunk as per the myth. This makes them a forest living community. On the other hand, the Lanjia Saora people describe in a different way of their evolution from *Kureitung* which was a bottle gourd (*kurpal*). After evolution from the *Kureitung* they got dispersed in the forests and made their livelihood there. Thus both the sections of the community regard themselves as the forest dwellers originally.

More about the forest dwelling life of the Lanjia Saora is mentioned in the chapter 'Society and Culture-I'. With this reference to their cosmogonical myth telling about their evolution and their consequent forest life, this may be said that their first cultural identity started from dwelling in the forest.

In relation to the forest dwelling life, another identification of the sections is perceived from a Lanjia Saora legend. The legendary tale describes the different castes and sections of the Saora and others. The legend goes that, after the people emerged out from the *Kureitung*, they started wandering here and there. They were living by gathering fruits and roots from the forests. They saw the different phenomena of nature. The evolution of fire sparks from rubbing of dry branches of trees. They took interest in killing animals for meat. All the people gathered and decided to go far a mass hunting. They went into the forest and killed many animals. They sliced them and kept the meat on a huge stone. The meat was made into many parts with proportionately equal share for each one in the hunting group. Out of the people emerged out from *Kureitung*, a person was idle and did not participate in the group hunting. But he was observing the distribution of meat among the participants in the group. When individual shares were made the participants carried their share of meat in different ways as was as it is convenient to them. The first person took two shares by tying the meat in either end of a napkin. He became a person ofhigher class for his act of carrying the meat in a napkin. The napkin was tied to a stick(*Menedadang*) without touching the meat. The person carrying meat in a cloth(*Jikale*) became *Gamsimar* or the lower class Harijan. Those who carried meat by keeping it in leaves(*tingbamle*) and moved towards the plains became the Shudha Saoras. The person who took the pieces of meat in the form of a garland, by piercing the pieces of meat through a stick and moved towards the caves cake to be known as the *Jadu Maranji* or the hill Saora, (the present Lanjia Saora). The stick in which the Hill Saora took his meat is called '*Sindiole*'. The Hill Saora in course of t'me became the Lanjia Saora or Malia Saora for specific features of their clothes and behivoural patterns. The Hill Saora here is identified with his habitat in hills. About his dress pattern, the male were seen to wear a dress very traditional in its pattern called *Uliakap* which is a loin cloth worn through the thighs.

The Hill Saoras also became known as *Jadu* Saoras who lived in more inaccessible regions of hills and forests. In course of time the Lanjia Saora society became splitted up into two-the emerging one being the Christian Saora.

The Saora are known to the outsiders as very efficient witch practitioners. Their witch practice has made them known in the remote past. Patnaik: 1989 holds in this regard that "There is also Saora cultural influence in the magical lore which is popular in rural Orissa. In the incantations, conjures repeat two names- the

Nitai's mother(a washer woman) and the *Kitai's* mother(a primitive Saora woman) to rid the patient of the evil lye. It is a popular belief among the villagers that Saora are the best charmers and sorcerers and their medicines and incantations are effective curatives of all kinds of illness". Further in village life of rural Orissa absorption of certain Saora cultural traits is observed in the Hindu Social systems. Gramdevi(village goddess) worshipped in each village in Orissa is a non-Aryan element and exists as a survival of the Saora tradition of Thakurani worship. With this is mentioned about the dance of *Patar Saora* (Saoras who wear leaves) is one of the most important items of entertainment in the village drama.

About the distribution of the Saora community Patnaik is of opinion that "with the Indo Aryan speaking people coming to India, they had several encounters with the Saoras and other tribal communities, over powered them by means of their superior social organisations and technology and succeeded in pushing them out of the plains and the fertile belts of lands. The tribals could not resist the Indo-Aryans and in the process they had to move bit by bit to farther and further areas until they came to find their refuge in relatively more inaccessible regions of forests and hills". In the records, the frontier regions are called Pratyanta Desh and those who live in these regions are Antebasis. Most of the Saora in question are Antebasi living in Pratyanta Desh of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa.

Further identity was fixed to the tribe after scientific study of their social affinity with other ethnic groups and are recognised from the affinities they exhibit in their language and culture with main ethnic groups-called by various names like Sabara, Saura, Saur, Sora etc, they show their racial affinity with Proto-Australoid group(Patnaik: 1989) and many, though not all, of these 'tribals' are assumed to be aboriginal and to predate the arrival in India of Aryan and Dravidian populations they are also widely thought to be somehow not Hindu(Vitebsky: 1993). Further, their linguistic connections lie ultimately with South East Asia. Linguists identify the Saora language as belonging to the Munda group which includes some other Indian 'tribal' languages such as Mundari, Ho, Santhal and Bondo : while they consider this group itself to be a branch of the Austro-asiatic family which includes Mon-Khmer languages such as Cambodian, as well as many other languages of the interior of the Malay peninsula and of the Montagnard people of Vietnam[(Pinnow 1959, Zide 1966) (from Vitebsky: 1993)]. Vitebsky(1993) mentions " though there are historical uncertainties, this suggests that such peoples from an ancient stratum of the population across tropical Asia who in each country have been surrounded and dispossessed by larger, settled rice growing population". G.V.Ramamurti an authority on Saora language says" it varies considerably not only between villages but also between individuals" (Patnaik: 1989)". Verrier Elwin says, "The Saoras who give the impression of being rather matter of fact and prosaic are surprisingly picturesque and metaphorical in their speech".

Vitebsky(1993) holds that 'the ethnic environment of Saora is cosmopolitan'. To the north-east like the 'Hindu' Oriya population who speak a language of the Indo-Aryan Family and to the South live the 'Hindu' Telugu, belonging to the Dravidian family. To the north-east like the Khond or Kondh who, though they speak a Dravidian language, are also considered 'tribal' and whose culture is in many ways similar to Saora 'The similarity of the Saora to Kondhs may be due to the geographical distribution of both the communities, almost remaining aside to each other.

Adding to the above descriptions Mahapatra(1983) holds that this tribe is not a homogeneous one although its major sub-divisions share a common cultural heritage. In his description he has divided the tribe into three sections: the primitive Lanjia Saora, the Hinduized or Shudha Saora and the converted or Christian Saora. According to him, the primitive sections consists of the endogamous social groups like, *Arsi*, *Kindal*, *Mane*, *Malia* and *Lanjia*. However, the common identity of Lanjia Saora is expressed in their lineage- '*Birinda*' or '*Kheja*' organisation, in religious beliefs and rituals such as participating in the worship of common spirits and ghosts, and in their pre-occupation with supernaturalism pervading the social and economic life. The Shudha Sabaras consist of the endogamous group of Saora like *Jurei*, *Jara*, *Jati*, *Bima*, *Sarda*, *Mala*, *Sunapania* who are in different stages of Hinduization. The groups take on the appellation of Shudha Sabara exhibiting in dress certain cultural features of Hindu castes. Despite the division their identity is marked by excluding the Lanjia Saoras in matters of marital and commensal relations. Further, the identity is expressed in having the social organisations, similar to the caste councils, for regulation of Social life along the line of local Hindu castes. The third section,Christian Saora, is drawn from different groups of Saora. The adaptation of new religion has segregated them from other two sections and other local castes. But the Christian Saoras are not a homogeneous group. The groups observe lineage(*Birinda*) exogamy, hold their group identity under the Christian Section, congregate under separate church establishment in order to isolate their ethnic identity as distinct from that of Pano Christians. Mahapatra sums up his description in a general way that Saora community is not a homogeneous tribe, on the levels of cultural autonomy, economy, literacy, goal orientation and holding uniform attitude towards the outside world.

The Saora community has many sub-divisions as may be pointed out from the point of view of their habitat, prevalent occupation, social organisation and status hierarchy, economy and livelihood. According to Thruston's classification the community has broadly two divisions, the Hill Saoras and the low country Saoras. The hill Saoras include six sub groups namely (1) *Sabara*, *Jati Sabara* (2) *Arsi*, *Arsi* or *Lamba Lanjia* (3) *Luara or Muli*, (4) *Kindal*, (5) *Jadu* and (6) *Kumbi*. The low country or plain Saoras are divided into two sections called *Kampu* and

Shudha. (Patnaik: 1989)

Further, with reference to Sitapati, the Saora community is divided into as many as 25 sub-divisions. The important sections are *Jati*- who consider themselves as superior to other sections because unlike others, they do not eat beef. They are cultivators, *Arsi*- the weaver section of Saora community, *Jadu*-those who live on high lands, *Kindal*- the basket maker section, *Kumbi* : The potter section (adopted pot making), *Luara*- the section serving as blacksmith, *Malia*- the agriculturists and basket maker section, *Shudha*- as a result of cultural contact they have become '*Shudha*' meaning purely *Kampu*- those who speak Telugu language, *Kurumbas*- the section practising shifting cultivation, *Lamba Lanjia*(Long failed)- who are really the primitive section of the community, called so because of their manner of putting the loin cloth in which a long tail hangs behind just like the tail of the monkey.(Patnaik: 1989)

These sub-divisions of Saora community are further reviewed by Vitebsky(1993): "The Saora perceive themselves as falling into several main divisions. The Saora groups in the plains, such as the *Sarda*- [clean `(in our note as Shudha)] and *Kapu* [cultivator' in Patnaik: 1989 as *Kampu*)] Saora, live by various occupations and resemble their caste Hindu neighbours more or less closely. These groups remain virtually unstudied. The Saora with whom I lived call themselves the Lanjia Saora and are also known variously as *Lamba Lanjia, Jadu*(wild). *Mone*, and *Arsi*(`monkey`)".

Vitebsky (1993) comments upon the physical anthropology of the Saoras- "As one draws away from Gunupur, certain contrasts appear between the Saoras and people of plain. Many of the Telugu and Oriya castes, and even the Sarda Saoras, have comparatively long limbed, dark, often almost ebony-skinned bodies and their men have a strong beard growth and hairy legs `like a bear'(*Salua amrid*). By contrast, the Lanjia Saora have shorter bodies, sometimes with a light reddish broom skin, rounder faces, often with distinctly south-east Asian features, no beard growth and very little body hair. Among both men and women, the chest is usually bare when they are among their own kind".

Vitebsky with reference to earlier scholars like (Campbell: 1864, Macpherson 1867 and Padel 1987) quotes about the history of the Saora community and thereby giving some idea about the present enclave of the Saora. According to him "historically, the evidence suggests that the Saoras have been squeezed into their present enclave from a much wider area. Many villages along with coast from the Mahanadi valley well into Andhra Pradesh have Saora names but few if any `Saora' inhabitants. The Saora did not appear to practise human sacrifice and so did not attract the righteous British campaigns which were waged against the neighbouring Kondh".

The above descriptions are very aptly mentioned to give an ethnic identity of the Saora. However, the Saora community is not only limited to these views. The legendary tales if gathered at one place, the tales being perceived by the Saora itself, would make a grandeur of Saora identity and ethnicity in various dimensions over different periods of time and situations. The Saora is cosmopolitan in distribution is not however clear for, it is not easy to exactly locate the Saora at different places though it shows ethnic and linguistic identities similar to many communities in the South-east Asia. However, to limit our discussion about the cultural identity of the Saora, which is reserved here for further points in this text, a comprehensive cultural identity is given in the following table.

TABLE - 3

COMPREHENSIVE CULTURAL IDENTITY/IES OF SAORA (LANJIA/SHUDHA)

LANJIA SAORA	TRAITS	SHUDHA SAORA
From *Kureitung*. *Kureitung* is meant here as gourd of *Kurpal* (Bottle gourd)	1.Myth of Origin	From *Kureitung*. *Kureitung* is meant as wooden hollow trunk of *kurei* tree (*Holarrhena antidysenterica*)
Carried meat with a *Sindiole* (a stick of date palm-*sindi*) and named as Lanjia. Moved towards hills.	2. Legendary tale, telling of meat distribution.	Carried meat with *Tingbamle* i.e. Wrapping the meat with leaves and moved towards the plains.
Jadumaranji/Lungur maranji/Malia Saora	3. Popularly known	*Sarda maranji/* Shudha Saora.
Hills and forests.	4. Habitat	Plains.
Shifting cultivation and plain land cultivation.	5. Occupation & livelihood.	Plain land cultivation.

LANJIA SAORA	TRAITS	SHUDHA SAORA
Uliakap,Gatungkap (males) (females)	6. Dress Pattern (Traditional)	*Lungi* (males), white saree-green border.
Sora	7. Language	*Sora*(may have little phonetic difference than Lanjia Saora)
Uabkul(Wet rice cooked with red sorrel leaves), Sorghum,millet, grams,roots,tubers, spinach,meat.	8. Food pattern (main)	Rice mainly, vegetables, roots, tubers, spinach. Meat not much.
Birinda	9. Lineage term	*Kula*.
Hindu (to not be regarded as Christian)and Christian.	10. Religion	Hindu(They follow Hindu religion and Hindu habit)
Lobosum	11. Main deity	*Kittung suml Madu suml Jagannath*.
Sun-spirit (Uungsum)	12. Offsprings	*Kittung sum*.

The main context of the chapter is limited to the discussion of the social and cultural life of two selected sections of Saora viz: the Shudha Saora and Lanjia Saora. More attention has been given to the studies on Lanjia Saora for its primitivity and Shudha Saora is taken here for a comprehensive comparative study. As is evident from earlier discussion that the Lanjia Saoras are mainly identified from their traditional dress pattern which is a loin cloth worn in a pattern that a part of the cloth hangs at the backside like a tail of monkey. The Lanjia Saoras are therefore, regarded as the *Arsi* Saora by Vitebsky though *Arsi* is regarded as the weaver section by Sitapati who refers to the Lanjia Saora group as *Lamba Lanjia*.

The Lanjia Saora also have a notion regarding themselves with a similar attribute that they are monkeys in the literal sense of *Arsi*. The idea that the Lanjia Saora are the *Arsi* group is reflected in one of the legends. Earlier where the identity of the Saora was got from a legendary tale of distribution of meat, the Lanjia Saora was named as *Jadu maranji*. Where *Jadu* refers to a creeper dominated forest, they designing themselves as forest living section of Saora and its further identity as *Arsi* Saora is hidden in the next part of the legend which has links to the Lanjia Saora religious culture that speaks high of *Lobosum*- the earth deity. The rest part of the legend goes that even after the Lanjia Saora took its part of meat, another share was left behind. For that share came another person who is regarded by Lanjia Saora as '*Alagumar*' literal meaning of it being the 'left odd man' for, he was a separate man not belonging to the *Kureitung* dynasty. He took the left over share of meat by a long stick to avoid the falling of blood from the meat on his shoulder. The *Lobosum* or the earth deity came to a fury with this act of the man. The deity cursed the man to become a monkey(*Arsi*) which immediately turned the man into a monkey. The lips and thighs of the monkey became strong with muscular fitness. For, it was curse by the *Lobosum* that at the moment of its death it salutes the *Lobosum* after which it dies. Observing this phenomenon that the monkey salutes the *Lobosum* before its death, the Lanjia Saora people became convinced that the earth must be very much powerful. They started worshipping the earth deity with great honour. This made their self perception that they are more or less same as monkey for, both worship the earth deity. But the non-tribal version about telling the Lanjia Saora as monkey is rather insulting. Further, the non-tribal version regarding the Lanjia Saoras as Malia is based on another observation, which speaks of the very disciplined life of Lanjia Saora. That when a group of people walk on a road or goes to the Swidden plots or goes to attend a ritual in the neighbouring village, they walk in a queue, the procession looking like a garland of people in which the Lanjia Saora individuals are like the beads. This idea designs them as the Malia Saora-specially the Shudha Saora people mean this about the identifying mark of Lanjia Saora.

It may seem interesting to note that the Saora people are identified in a mass from a phonetic expression that comes out spontaneously. This is the self perception of Saora. The Lanjia Saoras use a dialect '*ooh*' for 'yes'. This comes out spontaneously when a Saora admits a saying about anything. '*Ooh*' is the vocal outcome that means yes. The person engulfs air that rush into his vocal cord and brings out the expression. A vibration in the vocal cord makes this expression. A Saora is easily identified from this expression. For, this type of expression is not seen in case of non-tribal people. Both Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora give their expression in this way but Lanjia Saoras are most often worked out since Shudha Saora have replaced the term with non-tribal terms. This is held to be an important

character for, with change in dress patterns, rare use of Saora language in market places made a confusion in identifying a Saora person and the person is marked out, from this phonetic expression '*ooh*', as a Saora.

BIRINDA AND CLAN - LINEAGE OF SAORA

The Lanjia Saora people do not have a clan or Sib organisation.But the Shudha Saora have a clan organisation. The Lanjia Saora family unit are descended from a common ancestor known as *Birinda*, which mentions of the agnatic lineage of them. On the other hand, the Shudha Saora family units are called clan and in their language as known as *Vansa* or *Kula*.

Birinda is an exogamous unit which refers to the extended family descended from a common ancestor. The Lanjia Saora family system is patrilineal. *Birinda* therefore is a patrilineal family unit. The *Birinda* is aptly described by Acharya and Mohanty(1994) in a way that "the most striking feature of their culture is that the absence of clan organisation, totemic cult and powerful presence of non-totemic agnatic lineage group called '*Birinda*'. To them, the extended family called among themselves as *Birinda* includes all those descended from a single male ancestor is all important in regulating birth ceremonies, marriages, funerals and inheritance". The entire social structure of the Lanjia Saora people is made with and based upon *Birinda* relations. People in one *Birinda*, of the same generation are regarded as brothers and sisters and thus people maintain a unity-Birinda in the society(many *Birinda*). The society is in the form of diversity and *Birinda* is the unity, as is evident in the Lanjia Saora Social Organisations. Being an exogamous unit, marriage between people in one *Birinda* are restricted. From there comes out many restrictions, taboos etc, which the *Birinda members have to obey.*

Birinda is the agnatic lineage system of Lanjia Saora people. One becomes a member of the same *Birinda* to which its parents belong and going with fore generations it will be found that the *Birinda* is descended from one male ancestor, thus making it a unilineal descent group- *Birinda*. Membership to the *Birinda* is acquired by birth. In family level the consanguineal kins belong to one *Birinda* and the affinal kins belong to different *Birinda*. The affinal kins can never be of the same *Birinda* for marriage within the *Birinda* is a taboo. After marriage, a woman is still regarded to be from a different *Birinda* and she never takes fellowship of the husband's *Birinda* though she is known by her husband's name in the society and so also goes with the husband's *Birinda* in the society after her marriage. The children belong to their father's *Birinda*. *Birinda* relations with regard to marriage is dealt within the marriage systems. According to Singh 1984, 'the *Birinda* system points to the earlier extended patrilineal bond organisation'.

Birinda is distinct from clan or Sib as there is no name, guardian angel or

mythical ancestor, totem and totemic rites and taboos associated with it. Dead ancestors within living memories are considered to be the founders of *Birinda*. It is based on the concept of patrilineage and discharges functions like political, religious and economic and persons related to one another by fathers blood comprise one *Birinda*(Acharya & Mohanty 1994). Usually *Birinda* members upto three generations are reserved in the memory for, it is very important during giving name to a child. Usually a boy is given a name which was the name of his grandfather and great grand-father and a girl is given the name of her father's grandmother. Therefore, upto three generations all people of the *Birinda* are remembered by the living agnates of the *Birinda*. People above three previous generations forgetten and their names are not taken normally to give mention of the *Birinda*. It is a self perception of Lanjia Saora that the names of people after three previous generations are of no use to them as they do not name a child with such names. Therefore, *Birinda* people of three generations are usually remembered by Lanjia Saora.

Sexual relationship among members of the *Birinda* is strictly prohibited. Violation to this principle creates social tension in the *Birinda*. In fact the sexual relationship among members of the same *Birinda* is considered to be a severe sin (*ersi*) and a person committing such a sin either suffers from a social isolation or is penalised. In cases of being isolated from the society, they may be again approved by the society after they pay for a ritual called *Gading*. *Gading* is a process of being freed from violating the taboos and restrictions that are framed in the general principles of their culture. All the taboos and restrictions are commonly known with the term *ersi*. In the context of *Birinda* if a person violates the principles of the *Birinda* he is pointed out to have committed an '*ersi*'. Therefore such people are isolated from the *Birinda* and are again accepted by the *Birinda* members after performing *Gading*, which is mentioned in detail in the section of kinship. The sexual relationship between members of the same *Birinda* is restricted for three generations. Of the three generations, one generation is living in a geographical isolation, the sexual relationship between members of the two geographically isolated families is also considered a sin. Here one case study of an intra-*Birinda* sexual relationship and its consequences is cited here.

The case study is about Iliazar Sabar of village *Gudada*-one hamlet of the village *Sagada*. He is about 25 years of age. He had illicit sex relationship with a girl of his own *Birinda*. The girl is the daughter of Iliazar's patternal uncle. The sexual relation developed and the girl became pregnant. Then the matter came to the lime light. The parents of the girl burst with fury and a quarrel broke out. Iliazar demanded to marry the girl. But the society did not approve his demand for both are from the same *Birinda*. The matter led to a case in the village court where the *Birinda* members and the village *Gomango* decided that Iliazar should pay a fine of Rs.500/- to the parents of the girl and forget the girl.

Iliazar is a Christian convert. But the girl is a Hindu Lanjia Saora. Therefore *Gading* could not be organised in the way it is done. The girl lost her status in terms of virginity for which it was sure that she may not get a partner in the locality. The parents of Iliazar also sent him to Assam for a short stay so that he will forget the girl. On his return from Assam he paid Rs.500/- as was fixed by the village court to the parents of the girl and got himself freed of the commitment of the sin.

After paying the fine in Christian system or after performing a *Gading* in the traditional way the people who violate the *Birinda* principles are further taken in by the *Birinda* members. Thus the sex relation within the *Birinda* is highly prohibited and also commonly obeyed. The offenders of the *Birinda* principles are socially ridiculed, humiliated and this is ostracised. No penalty is inflicted on the marriage of persons who are working outside the village (Acharya & Mohanty: 1994). The statement is not clear in the context of illicit sex relationship and consequential marriage in the *Birinda* members. It happens that if two persons of opposite sex fall in love with each other who belongs to the same *Birinda*, they are penalised. But if they decide to marry,and leave the village and live in a different place then the *Birinda* members have nothing to do. But if they return to the society and wants to be approved by the society, they need to pay the penalty amount fixed by the *Birinda* members. Therefore when such persons develop affair in the village and afterwards leave the village before their relationships comes to the knowledge of village people and stay outside, in such cases no penalty is charged to them. But whenever they return to the village they are bound to pay the penalty fixed upon them.

In the traditional society a well maintained *Birinda* relation is viewed in the occasions of birth, marriage and death rites, where all the *Birinda* members participate and contribute proportionately or as per their will for the expenses in the processes. This shows a form of mutual interest among all families in a *Birinda* who help each other and participate with each other in different social events, thus maintaining a unity. Besides the marriage, death rites are the important occasions where all members of the Birinda participates and shows a reciprocal feeling towards each other. Such death rites are *Goar*(the second death ceremony) and *Karja* (the tertiary and last death ceremony).

After a person dies, the *Birinda* members demand the dead body. It the person is a female, then her dead body is demanded by her *Birinda* members, may be living in different villages. After marriage, a woman may go to a different *Birinda* but never looses her *Birinda* identity. After death her living consanguineal kins demand her dead body to be cremated in their *Birinda* cremation ground. Usually the brother or father of the deceased women take the dead body for cremation, perform the Goar and bear all the expenses. If the dead body is cremated

in the husband's village then the husband has to bear all the expenses for cremation and *Goar*. Even if the husband organises the *Goar* still the parents or brothers of the deceased woman. However details about it is given in the death rites.

Each *Birinda* have its own cremation ground in the village. The stone planting site where a menhir is erected in the memory of the deceased is of the commons. The stone planting site is called '*Genuar*' and the cremation ground is called '*Kintlo*' in Saora terms. In one cremation ground owned by one *Birinda*, none of the cases of a dead body of a person from another *Birinda* is permitted to be buried.

In *Karja* ceremony,(the final death rite) all the deceased *Birinda* members in the last three years are invoked by the Shaman. The ceremony is of commons irrespective of the *Birindas*. But the *Birinda* members shows a better organisation and participation in the *Karja* ceremony.

Property rights and property inheritance are decided by the *Birinda* members independently. However if any conflict or tension is raised in the property distribution and inheritance of properties the case is decided by the senior *Birinda* members and in few cases it is referred to the village head's (*Gomango*) court. The details of property distribution has been given in the stratification and inequality section in the chapter "Society and Culture-I". In addition to it, one interesting feature is to be mentioned here that if a person is issueless, he is to adopt a male child who would inherit his property. In case he dies without a child, particularly a male child, his wife has to adopt a male child as the legacy holder or the heir of the person. However the case of adopting a child is as per the Saora kinship, preferably the nearest male kin of the departed person is selected to inherit the wealth and it becomes obligatory for the inheritor to perform all the funeral rites viz: *Karja* and *Goar*, for the deceased. If the only surviving kin of a deceased is a small boy or a girl, someone in the family or the Birinda performs the Goar ceremony and manages the property in association with the dead's wife and leaves the property to be managed by the boy when the boy grows to the proper age. In cases when a person is unmarried and die soon, his property goes to the other *Birinda* members or in a *Birinda* court the property is given to the nearest male kin of the deceased. The property inheritance is very important in the *Birinda*, for the inheritor has to perform *Goar* and *Karja* for the deceased. They have a strong belief that *Goar* and *Karja* are important rites for, without such ceremonies a departed soul cannot be stable in the underworld. So the issueless couples, adopt a child from their own *Birinda* with the approval of the *Birinda* elders.

Property relating to trees are always possessed by persons who planted them or are regarded as their properties which are in course of time inherited by their sons. In case of issueless couples, the property ownership goes to the *Birinda*

till the adopted child is grown up to manage it. In case of landless couple, after their death, their children are fostered by the Birinda members.

The feature of Lanjia Saora economy is given by Mahapatra(1983) in relation to the possession of properties by *Birinda* as " They upheld a very high morale of economics that the economic advantage at the expense of his lineage or community members is against the social norms. Violation of such norms, progressively reduces the individual's social well being... . The social arrangements for property relations and its inheritance in Lanjia society, put a strong brake against the economic individualism. All landed property jointly owned are turned as '*matam*'. The landed properties like swiddens and terrace fields are inherited and distributed jointly as such there are '*Kheja Matam*' (Swiddens and terrace fields inherited by the lineage members), '*Jojul matam*' (common inheritance from the lineages of great and great grandfathers),'*Salal matam*'(swidden and terrace fields are created by joint labours), Sagu chasa (joint claim over the income from *matams*). The group solidarity and social cohesion of the Lanjia Saora society is further expressed in holding the property of '*Garjang Andraku*' (village ownership). The members of different lineages and religious groups living in the village have claim of joint ownership, and inheritance of the property of *Garjang Andraku*. As an agricultural community, the property relations in the Lanjia Saora society are the major concerns and have been variously expressed in their social life of lineage identity and village unity. There are reasons for standing against the conclusion that the lineage members of the Lanjia Society remember and recognise the ancestors till 5 or 6 generations after which the social principles of lineage or *Kheja* exogamy, thin out. The amorphous character of Lanjia Saora society is assumed from the fact that the Lanjia Saora migrate very often from one locality to another terrain in search of fresh swiddens. But the property relations and the equi-distribution of income from the '*matam*' sources among all the lineage members, however they live in distant places, cement the band of '*Kheja*' or '*Birinda*' continuum. The social solidarity of Lanjia Saora is in no way weaker than the tribal people having centralised political organisations for self regulations of their cultural and social autonomy".

The above description fits most to the present context of Lanjia Saora lineage, yet having contradictions at certain point. In the present social scenario, property inheritance has become very much a matter of personal possession. That, no property is now considered as belonging to the '*Birinda*'. The property inheritance goes with person to person(s) on a hereditary basis. But personal properties and property acquired personally goes with the name of the person and not by the name of the Birinda. Of course, in some cases when issueless couples die, the property goes to the *Birinda* for a short period and is finally left to be managed by the adopted child. This has taken place in a manner with the move of

the society towards rationalisation. Further, the principles of *Birinda* exogamy thins out after three generations. The *Birinda* members do share cropping in the fields of the migrants. Thereby the migrants feel that the *Birinda* provides social security to their properties. However, the joint possession of land by the *Birinda* members and the equidistribution of the produces among all Lanjia members is not at all seen now. For, the status of people in a *Birinda* and the status of '*Birinda*' have changed a lot when violating the *Birinda* principles have become common due to various factors like religious conversion,social changes, acculturisation and increasing trends towards migration.

The Lanjia Saora society exhibit better understanding among *Birinda* members in their labour organisation. The co-operative labour organisation(*Ansir*) in a manner to help each other among the *Birinda* members is highlighted in the society. (Refer society & culture-I- co-operative labour). The co-operative labour and mutual benefits are at the base of helpfulness, generosity, amiable temper, co-operative attitudes are dimensions of Lanjia Saora *Birinda* life and so of the social life as a whole.

CHANGING SCENE IN BIRINDA SYSTEM

A lot of changes have taken place and the changes are now an ongoing process in the Lanjia Saora traditional culture and society. One major factor that can be cited for this change however is the religious conversion to Christianity. By this there appears two sections of the society, one traditional and the other converted. The Christianity has brought into the society great many changes.

The converted Saoras dislike the traditional features of their society for, they are motivated with new morale, new ideologies, thoughts and philosophy and think the traditional system as sub-standard, and superstitious. In the present context of discussion with *Birinda*, it can be said that the Christianity has put more impact over the socio-political and socio-religious affairs of the society: in family level, in *Birinda* level and in the community level.

The Christian Saora is highly motivated towards the modern world. and thus attempts to mingle itself with the mainstream of population. They dislike to be regarded as Lanjia Saora any more forgetting their ancient ancestral stocks. Their likings and dislikings are oriented towards a better economy and one god philosophy. They have developed this inclination towards traditional ritual practices and other socio-cultural events. But the *Birinda* system has not gone away with the religious conversion though changes have taken place.

In the socio-political scenario related to *Birinda* system has been trodden to some extent by the Panchayatiraj system of the Government. That any tension or conflict in *Birinda* level is now decided by the ward member of the village (his

position in the Gram Panchayat) and as a *Gomango*. With the implementation of Panchayatiraj system, the cases that were once decided by the *Birinda* members are taken to the ward member. But the *Birinda* still is in its continuity. Any person seen to be violating the principles of the *Birinda* is punished. The converted people also stick to the *Birinda* principles. But in cases of interpersonal misunderstandings the Christian people are preferring the church authorities. This has considerably decreased the status of *Birinda*.

In the past in the socio-cultural events all the participant *Birinda* members were extending co-operation. But after conversion of people to Christian religion, crisis of co-operation is marked. In cases of socio-cultural-religious affairs relating to the traditional style Christian *Birinda* members help their non-converted *Birinda* brothers with some sort of monetary aid. They do not participate in traditional rituals and religious practices. Their participation in such events has become quite formal. They cannot leave a *Kheja* as has been mentioned in their religious texts(Bible). It has become quite common that in a *Birinda* some of its young members have been converted. It is found that parental generations stick to the traditional way of life. Advent of Christianity is not a matter of recent event. In many families or *Birindas* both the parental and offspring have been converted.

In case of performance of a death rite there are conflicts arising between the parental generation and the offspring generation. In the cases of death of a man, his son if a Christian convert, denies to perform his father's death rites in the traditional way. But the non-converted *Birinda* members demand the death ritual in the traditional way to which the dead's son and other converted Birinda members refuse. There arises the social tension. The matter then is taken to the ward member for proper justice. To the queries of the ward member as to why the son is not interested to perform the death rites of his father in a traditional way, the son replies that he does not have enough money for the ritual. Moreover if he does so he will violate the church principles. Then he puts the matter to his non-converted *Birinda* members if they would like to take the dead body and perform the death rites. If the *Birinda* members agree to do in a traditional way, the son keeps him apart and makes it clear before all that he will not be held responsible for the expenditure with his father's death rites.

Celebrating the death rites of a person ultimately is organised by the *Birinda* members if they feel like and are able to organise the death rites. This becomes a question of money for the *Birinda* members to perform the death rites. If the *Birinda* members feel incompetent to pay for the expenditure the son performs the death rite as per the procedure of the Christianity. If the son is economically stable and agrees to the *Birinda* members of the non-converted types he may organise the work. When the son observes the death rites according to the Christian principle the other *Birinda* members may or may not attend. But in case

of the mother's death her brothers (if not converted) perform the death rite traditionally and if her brothers are converted the ritual work is done according to the principles of the church. It is noteworthy here that the female partner of a Christian Saora couple belongs to her husband's *Birinda* after her marriage. So all the death rites are performed by her husband's family. Another remarkable feature of the Christian Saora and Lanjia Saora about the performance of a death rite is that the Christians bury the dead body while the Saoras cremate it. But when in the same *Birinda* two sects of Lanjia Saora demand to do each of their practices at the same *Kintlo*-the cremation ground then the conflict arises.

When a *Birinda* is divided into two sects : (Hindu and Christians) the common cremation ground of the *Birinda* is divided into two parts : one part is left for the Christian Saoras and the other part for the traditional Saora. For, without a prior separation of the cremation ground social tensions take place among the members of a *Birinda*. Therefore, the cremation ground is naturally shared among the two religious sections of the same *Birinda*. For, the part of the cremation ground that is left for the Christian people is further divided into the two sections of Saora : Baptists and Catholics (the Baptists are known to be the first in this area). Some of them also use cremation grounds in common with the non-converted types at the same site for burning the dead bodies. If the place available in the cremation ground seems less for the traditional people, they do not allow the Christians to share with them for *Kintlo*. Therefore, the Christian people make a new *Kintlo* at a site choosen by them.

In marriage, name giving ceremony, etc. the role of *Birinda* members is very important. When the *Birinda* includes both traditional Saora and converted ones , the traditional Saoras attend the function and take food there. But the Christian Saora if attend the ceremony for the sake of *Birinda* relations, do not take food there and whatever help they contribute is made in terms of money or in kind and simply attend the function. They do not give full participation in the events rather attend as courtesy bound. When the non-converted types attend the events, they help the people whose family organises the event with labour and food materials. They hardly give cash. They take food there. In attending a death rite of Christian Saora, the non-converted people, take some quantity of soil from the coffin of the deceased if he belonged to their own *Birinda*.

Birinda may be compared to the Kutumba of the Hindu caste societies which refers to all consanguineal and affinal kins in an extended family or in a joint family.

To sum up, *Birinda* is a patrilineal extended family system. The relationship of *Birinda* members as one family is maintained for good social relations, co-operation, showing a commensalism in the manners of mutual help. The members

are held in the orbit of the *Birinda* principles with rules and regulations, taboos and restrictions. Violation to the principles of *Birinda* by anybody would mean to a social isolation. Though the *Birinda* system as changed considerably due to the Christianity, it has not altogether lost its unity, religion and culture. The term '*Birinda*' comes in every spheres of Lanjia Saora social life. Even if some one migrates to other village, his *Birinda* identity is not lost. After his death, his bones, etc, are brought to his original village. In case, all the *Birinda* members die at a time in an area then *Birinda* members from any other region would come forward to perform the deceased death rites.

(Geneological chart showing Birinda Structure ... in Table - 4)

CLAN ORGANISATION OF SUDHA SAORA

Clan is a unilateral kin group, based on either matrilineal or patrilineal descent. The members of a clan believe that they are descended from a common ancestor through the culturally accepted line of descent (matrilineal or patrilineal). They, in fact, share a common biological ancestor. Clans usually practise exogamy having religious, political, economic and other functions. If clan is defined as a matrilineal descent group, the term 'Sib' is used for the group defined in the same way, as a matrilineal sib. Further, clan is a kin group that not only claims unilateral descent but also practises unilocal residence.

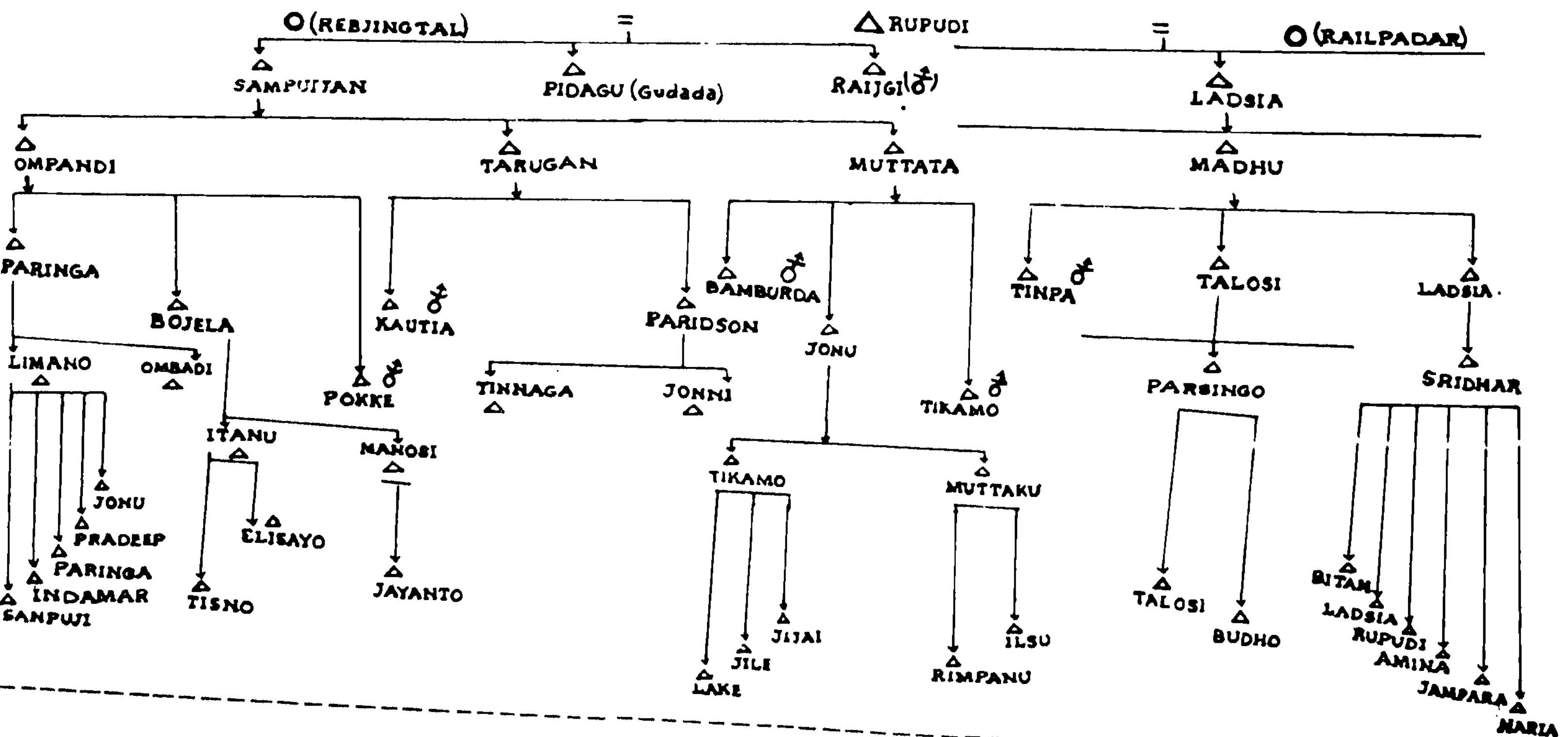
The Shudha Saora people believe in their culturally accepted line of descent. They are a group more developed than the Lanjia Saora in aspects of food, clothing, religious practices and in many ways. The Shudha Saora social stratification and cultural manifestation outline the whole group of them to have come from different clans(*Vamsas*). It is not easy for any of the Shudha Saora to give the total number of clans in their societies. The clans are subject to principles of taboos and restrictions. Each clan has an identity of its own and legendary tales about its line of descent. There are a number of clans found in the Shudha Saora society. Some out of the large number of clans are discussed here. Usually in Shudha Saora society fourteen clans have been noted. Such clans are : *Kundingi, Mandingi, Arika, Nimla, Palka, Kapalu, Kondogare, Patika, Kumbrika, Bidika, Arsi, Imrika, Naga and Gayala.*

KUMBRIKA

The clan is named after the professional trade of the group. By profession people of this clan are '*Kumbiji*' as is called by Shudha Saora people. *Kumbiji* means Kumbhars i.e. potters. Therefore, people of this group are potters. The *Kumbrika* clan took its birth from *Kumbri* tree (*Careya arborea).*

TABLE NO. 3

GENEOLOGICAL CHART SHOWING BIRINDA STRUCTURE OF THE FIRST INHABITANT IN THE VILLAGE SAGADA.



Note: All are inhabitants of village SAGADA except Pidagu and his legacy holders.

Key: Δ - Male, O - Female, ♂ - Sterile, = - Marriage.

BIDIKA

People of this clan are derived from *Kumbiji* clan. The *Bidika* bifurcated from *Kumbiji* when the people of this clan started making only '*Bidi*' i.e. earthen pots. The pitcher and, pot maker clan is known as *Bidika*.

MANDINGI

The brass pot making group. This group adopted to making brass, kitchen utensils, pots, eating vessels etc. The people of this clan are restricted to use the wood of *Sunari* (*Cassia fistula)* as firewood. So their clan was originated from the Sunari tree. Further, the clan people are restricted to burn the wood of Neem tree (*Azadirachta indica*) and Bael tree (*Aegle marmelos*) which they regard as sacred tree species. It is interesting that they do not use brass vessels for eating though they prepare those for use of others. For eating in brass utensils by them is a taboo.

ARIKA

Traditionally, on the occasion of community festival or collective ritual, ceremonial functions, participating people from distant or nearby places attend the functions and present goods, articles..etc. Sometimes people come with food grains and food stuff to the ritual site which may be used for collective feast. The person who remain in charge of receiving guests and keeping the gifts are called Arika. Therefore, the *Arika* group extends services in common affairs of the community.

KAPALU

The cultivator people are taken in this clan group. They also represent the *Kapu Sabaras*. They are specialised groups who only work in the agricultural fields and are agriculturists. The seeds for cropping are traditionally kept under the custody of this clan people who take charge of distributing them among other cultivators. They claim the *Kadamba* tree as their ancestor. Identifying the tree is confusing as some show the tree *Anthocephalos cadamba* to be the *Kadamba* tree and some people attribute Alandhu tree(?) to be their ancestral stock.

KANDAGARE

It is regarded as a poor section of *Kapalu* group. The people of this clan are mostly pastoral and marginal farmers. Their status in the village is like cow-herd and goat herd who are taking all the livestocks of the village to graze in the forest and look after them. Traditionally, such people are provided with food by the people who are leaving their livestocks in charge of the cow-herd people for the whole day. The section is looked down upon by other clans.

NIMLA

The clan members are descended from the Neem tree (*Azadirachta indica*) and therefore are named as *Nimla*. They pose themselves as the priests of *Lord Jagannath*-the Sabara deity. The clan claims to be the direct descendant of *Kittung* and *Radab*-the two mythical characters who gave birth to the Saoras. After coming on to the earth members of the *Nimla* clan started worshipping *Neem* tree which is very much associated with Saora *Jagannath* cult. They feel that since *Lord Jagannath* first sheltered in a *Neem* tree and *Neem* wood is used to make the wooden figure of *Lord Jagannath* the tree is considered very important. The clan reserves its superiority in the society as the priests of *Lord Jagannath*.

The clan members therefore never cut the *Neem* trees for anger of *Lord Jagannath*. They therefore never cut, it never burn the *Neem* wood as firewood, nor make wooden artifacts from this.

PALKA

The *Palka* clan members are of higher class in the society. They are rich groups belonging to the traditional *Gomango* families. They reserve the judiciary rights under their headmanship. On account of their property possession, personal and social status, they look after the Law and order of the society etc. The *Gomangos* holds a very huge status. The *Palka* clan is said to have been descended from the *Patika* clan.

PATIKA

Palka clan is originated from the *Patika* clan. They are also the *Gomango* families who have a special status in the society. They trace their ancestry, from a tree called *Kasi*(*Bridelia retusa*).

ARSI

The *Arsi* group of people took birth from Monkey. They are shifting cultivators, minor forest produce gatherers and hunters. Since they are mostly confined to the works in forests they are regarded as monkeys by other clan people. They never kill monkey as they trace their origin from this animal. Some people attribute the present Lanjia Saoras as belonging to the *Arsi* clan.

IMRIKA

The clan members are born from a tree called '*Idingumuda*'(?). They don't have landed properties and are like wage labourers. Traditionally the clan members were working in the fields of *Gomango* as bonded labourers. They usually work in others fields,now are seen to be doing share cropping.

NAGA

The clan members regard themselves to be the descendants of *Naga*(Snake Cobra) and so do not kill the Cobra snakes. The members of the clan are very few. In some villages they are not at all found.

GAYAL

The ancestry of this clan is confusing. Some people of this clan regard themselves to be descendants of a tree called *Gayar*(?) and some claim their ancestry from *Gayal*(Bison). The people of this clan are dwelling in interior pockets with prevalent occupation of agriculture.

However, the Shudha Saora community is not limited to the above clan types. There are still many clans which people can not recall. Even the people of one clan do not know about the clan to which they belong.

In the Shudha Saora community clan groups play important role. As in the Birinda level of Lanjia Saora affairs are decided by the senior *Birinda* members, in the same way the matters and disputes in the clan level are decided by the clan members in the Shudha Saora community. Some matters creating social tension,(be the matter of intra clan affairs or inter clan affairs) are taken to the court of group council(*Kulamela*) for decision. *Kulamela* is organized in the group level and the court of *Kulamela* sits at an interval of every two or three years. But for serious matter the *Kulamela* may sit on an emergency call.

The clan members exhibit exogamy. The cross-cousin marriage is very much approved in the Shudha Saora society. In such cases the two partners must be from two different clans. The male and female partners are always from two different clans. Like Lanjia Saoras the sexual relationship within the clan is a taboo. Even the developed Shudha Saoras(who are in slow changing process towards Hinduization) feel that if such sinful works are done, the door to heaven is sealed for ever. This feeling keeps the clan to lead an exogamous life. In any case if any person develop sex relation within the clan member he is socially isolated. For, Shudha Saoras believe that a person who commits a crime or a sin will be punished after the death. Therefore the social restrictions have now turned to spiritual restrictions and the group consciousness is now sedimented in the individual consciousness. So none of the individuals violates the rules and regulations relating to the clans and the society.

This is observed from a restriction of the people relating to firewood. Most of the clan people give their identity in relation to certain plants and trees from which they are descended. Therefore they do not use such wood as firewood. If someone deviates the principle despite of the restrictions from senior clan members

nobody takes major interest in opposing the person, for they believe that if somebody commits a crime, he will be punished in the heaven.

The Shudha Saoras do not divide the village cremation ground into parts on the ground of the clans. They all show their relaitonship to the total *Kula* or group. In every village a common cremation ground is usually there.

Further in a community event of the village all the people from different clans participate and contribute for the expenditures in the event. This keeps their unity at the clan level and then in the group level. If a ritual is confined to the clan only it is organised by the members of the families in the clan. However, in the changing scenario certain clan members who now make a different group do not give their active participation in some rituals and religious events. For, there is a motivation in such group that the traditional pattern of religious affairs should be there but the processes are to be changed. Hence newly formed groups render their indirect participation in the events.

The ownership of property and membership to a clan are more or less functioning in a traditional way. Property inheritance to the living kins, in some cases to adopt heir is going on in the traditional way. More or less similar to the *Birinda* of Lanjias the Shudhas clans are mobilising different social affairs but changes are often seen in the issues relating to religious affairs. The main difference is that the Shudha Saoras are tending towards Hinduization and therefore are in a way changing their social pattern of behaviours and integrating the Hindu way of life whereas the Lanjia Saoras are different

KINSHIP SYSTEM OF SAORA

Kinship is a social relationship based upon family linked phenomenon. The culture determines which family relationships are considered significant, what are their rights and obligations for specific types of persons. The Kinship system has mainly two aspects: Consaguineal relationship, i.e. relationship based on ties of blood, and affinal relationship, i.e. relationships based on marriage. Both the forms of kinship are important. Further, not relating to family relations, a kinship relationship established on the basis of some functional social relationship (as god father or god mother) rather than upon blood or marriage ties is called ritual kinship.

The customary system of status and roles acts as a model for and governs the behaviour of people who are considered to be related to each other through marriage or descent from a common ancestor. The classification of kinship terminology makes the system better understood. The use of the same kinship terms emphasize the social rather than the biological or lineage aspect of the relationship. Classificatory kinship terminology is sometimes contrasted with

descriptive terminology, which defines a precise biological relationship. Some terms of kinship terminology are more classificatory in character, while others are more descriptive.

In the kinship system very often the consanguineal kin group is more clear in the society. It is a group consisting of persons related by blood, not all residing in a common household. Their relationship is socially determined-that is, it is based upon the fact that the group members believe they are all descended from a common ancestor.

Like other societies, tribal or non-tribal the kinship system of both Lanjia and the Shudha Saoras are too broad. Family is the basic kinship unit of the social structure. A Saora family carries both consanguineal and affinal kins.

In Lanjia Saora society, the consanguineal and affinal kin are also confined within the *Birinda*. When a marriage proposal is negotiated for someone, they first trace the geneological chart of the boy and the girl for the last three generations. If the people find no consanguineal or affinal relationship between the boy and the girl for the last three generations, the marriage takes place. They use different terms to call their consanguineal as well as affinal kins. However,the kinship terms of both the Lanjia and the Shudha Saoras are found to be almost common.

The Saora society is patrilineal, patriarchal and patrilocal. The father is called '*Wang*' and mother '*Yang*'. Mother has least role to perform as far as the family decisions are concerned. The elder brother is called '*Kakung*' and the elder sister as '*Kaking*'. The younger brothers are either called by their name or are called as '*Ubang*'. But the term has dual use. In the family level no-body calls a younger brother as '*Ubang*' rather calls by his name. The term of address of a girl to a boy is '*Ubang*' meaning younger brother, whether the brother be related in consanguineal terms or in affinal terms. The same is also applicable to the elder brother. The younger sister is called by name or by a term'*Aing*'. The maternal grand mother is called '*Yuyu*' and the maternal grandfather '*Juju*'. The maternal uncles are addressed as '*Mamang*' and the mother's sister as '*Oonthale*'. If the mother's sister is junior to the mother, she is called as '*Yayang*'. The mother-in-law is known as '*Yang*' and the father-in-law as '*Wang*'. However, the relationship is known in other terms as '*Kunyar*' to father-in-law, as '*Kinnar*' to mother-in-law.

The paternal grand father and paternal grand mother are termed as '*Juju*' and '*Yuyu*' respectively. The father's elder brother is '*Tata*', and his younger brother is called as '*Dading*'. The elder sister of the father is termed as '*Aawang*' and the younger sister is also termed as '*Aawang*'.

In the affinal kinship terms, the son-in-law is called as '*Aan*' by the in-law parents. But another term is used by the commons to the son-in-law as '*Reyam*'.

Daughter-in-law is called '*Aan*' that holds her relationship to her in-law parents. She is also known as '*Kain*' or '*Kaun*' or '*Kinnarsum boi*'. The term '*Kinnarsum boi*' adds respect to the daughter-in-law and expresses her as a new but important person in a family.

Sister-in-law is called '*Kaking*' and also as '*Buning*'. The brother-in-law is called '*Kakung*' by the juniors and by the seniors in the name of the person. The relationship is called '*Buni*'. The brother-in-law is '*Kakung*' and the relationship is called as '*Baung*' by the in-law juniors and as '*Reyam*' by senior in-laws.

Husband, as per the relation to a women is called as '*Tanangba*'. But his wife never takes his name rather she calls him by the name of her son or daughter. In case of issueless couples a woman calls her husband in simple relation terms. Similar is for a husband who never takes the name of his wife and calls her by using the name of his son or daughter. The relationship with wife is called '*Insolo*'. To make the terminology clear it can be stated that the term that a wife uses to call her husband and the vice versa has two parts: *Wang* and *Yang* are prefixed by the name of a son or a daughter.

A son is called by his name by his parents and the relationship is called '*Anger-on*'. A daughter is called by her parents by her name and the relationship is known as '*Insolo-on*'. Grand children are termed as '*Uleng*'. The male grand child is known as '*Anger-on-Uleng*' and female grand child is called '*Insolo-on-Uleng*'.

The above terminologies applied to understand the relationship in the kinship system of the Saora society is too broad. These terms clearly specify the individual relationship of people in family level and in the society level as a whole. However, to describe all the terms concisely a table (Table-C) is added to this text.

There are no descriptive terms in the Saora society. The husband and wife relationship is specific. When there is no descriptive terms in the kinship system the other terms applied for individual to individuals relationship may mean individuals are more or less at the same position as all fall under the classificatory terms. To make it clear, examples may be given of the paternal and maternal grand parents who are meant with the same classificatory term. For, both paternal and maternal grand father are known in the term '*Juju*' and as such grandmothers are known with the term '*Yuyu*'. It shows that in the patrilineal society the maternal relatives also get the equal respect as the paternal relatives. This is evident from another term '*Aan*' which is used to mean a son and son-in-law. The applicability of the term to son-in-law means that though son-in-law is not a son, yet he is like a son to his in-law-parents.

The Saora kinship system is more classificatory by nature. The kinship

system is not at all descriptive in their society. Further the relationship among various individuals in the kinship system is decided and made comprehensive by their socio-cultural principles.

TABLE - 5

English terms showing relationship	Lanjia Saora terms showing relationship	Shudha Saora terms showing relationship	Terms used to call the kin(Lanjia)	Terms used to call the Kin (Shudha)
1. Father	Wang	S	Wang	S
2. Mother	Yang	A	Yang	A
3. Brother (Elder)	Kakung	M	Kakung	M
Brother (Younger)	Ubang	E	by name	E
4. Sister (Elder)	Kaking		Kaking	
Sister (Younger)	Aing		by name	
5. Son	Anger-on		by name	
6. Daughter	Insalo-on	A	by name	A
7. Wife	Insalo	S	by name	S
			* - Yang	
8. Husband	Tanangba		* - Wang	
9. Grand child	Uleng		by name	
(Boy & Girl)	(Angeron & Insalon)	L		L
10. Grand Father (P & M)	Juju	A	Juju	A
11. Grand Mother (P & M)	Yuyu	N	Yuyu	N
12. Father's Sister(E)	Suda tubang	J	Tubang	J
-do- (Y)	Sana tubang		Tubang	
13. Mother's Sister(E)	Oonthale	I	Oonthale	I
-do- (Y)	Yayang		Yayang	
14. Mother's Brother (E & Y)	Mamang	A	Mamang	A
15. Son-in-law	Reyam		by name/on	
16. Daughter-in-law	Kain	S	by name/on	S
17. Elder sister's Husband	Baung		Kakung	
		A		A
18. Younger sister's Husband	Reyam		by name/on	
		O		O
19. Elder Brother's Wife	Buning		Kaking	
		R		R
20. Ypunger Brother's Wife	Kain		by name/on	
		A		A

English terms showing relationship	Lanjia Saora terms showing relationship	Shudha Saora terms showing relationship	Terms used to call the kin(Lanjia)	Terms used to call the Kin (Shudha)
21. Father's Brother		T		T
- Elder	Tata		Tata	
- Younger	Dading	E	Dading	E
22. Wife's Sister(Y)	Irilboi		Irilboi	
-do- (E)	Kinnar	R	Kinnar	R
23. Husband's				
Brother (E)	Kunyar	M	Kunyar	M
-do- (Y)	Irisi	S	Irisi	S

* - Carrying the name of a child, if the couple has a child.
E - Elder; Y - Younger; P & M - Paternal & Maternal

Joking system is prevalent in the Saora society. The grand children(*Ulen*) and the grand parents can be involved in joking relations. Elder brother-in-law may be involved in jokes and merry-making with his in-law brothers and sisters. Younger brother-in-law is never joked by his elder in-law brothers and sisters. An elder sister-in-law can not be joked by the younger. Words used in the joking relations has a minimum regulation. That in a joking relation with grand parents, the words that are considered obscene are not used. But in joking relation between a lady and her husband's younger brother, between the husband's younger brother and the wife's younger sister (if both are of about the same age), the obscene language is often seen to be used. In any case in a joking relation where obscene language is socially approved, the male partner in the joking persons start the jokes. The male partner in the joking relation often touch the private parts of the female partner. This is not a restriction in the society, even it is done openly. It is noteworthy that in between a male and female who can be involved in an obscene joking relation can marry each other. This is common in both Lanjia and Shudha Saora societies. But in case of Shudha Saora no obscene scene is marked.

In Saora societies cross cousin marriage is socially approved. In Lanjia Saora community the cross cousin marriage is not always seen. But in the Shudha Saora societies cross cousin marriage is preferred. Thus in life cycle rituals the role ofthe maternal uncle is more important than other kins. The role ofmaternal uncle is described in the life cycle rituals.

To some extent avoidance is marked in Lanjia Saora society but is of indirect type and in Shudha Saora society the avoidance relationship is highly marked. In either of the Saora societies a wife and husband never utters name of each other in any case. A wife is restricted to utter the names of senior in-

laws(*Kunja*). *Kunja* means to elder brother of husband, parent in-laws and all the elder people in her in-law's house and village. The same is for a married male member to show avoidance to the senior in-laws in his in-law's house. For a woman this avoidance is a hard and fast rule whereas for a man it is not so much.

If any female member in Lanjia Saora society is seen to violate this principle it is regarded that she committed an '*ersi*'. *Ersi* here means sin, taboo etc. The sin is considered in a manner that by committing such a crime the person disrespects the senior agnates and cognates and also it is considered a severe offence to supernatural entities and ancestral spirits. Then to satisfy such respectful persons, ancestral spirits and super natural entities the offender has to perform a '*Gading*' which is understood as a purificatory rite.

The crimes or violation of the social norms that demand a *Gading* are of various types. They may be summarized as follows:

1. If a woman climbs up to a tree planted by her *Kunja*.
2. If someone brings another wife in the presence of the first one.
3. If someone keeps sex relation with another, both belonging to the same *Birinda*.
4. If a wife does not participate in the house building work done by her husband, she is not allowed to climb up to the loft(*Mada*) in the house. In this case if she climbs up to the loft then a *Gading* is demanded from her.
5. If a married or un-married but adult woman eats pig meat. (Taking pig meat is prohibited to all women).
6. If a woman is somehow confronted by a *Kunja* when she is bare bodied or taking bath or in any such events.
7. If two persons of the same *Birinda* marry outside the locality and return after long days.

Besides in many other events women are accused for violating the social norms and are imposed with a '*Gading*'. The Lanjia Saora women usually remain topless all the times. But the breasts of women that remain uncovered are not regarded obscene and thus it in no way disrespects the '*Kunjas*', spirits: ancestral and supernatural.

In case if a *Kunja* finds a women bore bodied in her ignorance the *Kunja* stops talking to the in-law woman and also do not accept food from her. Then the in-law-woman performs a *Gading*. Here the *Gading* is like a compensation. The woman shall have to pay either Rs.5/- or a bracelet or a fowl to the *Kunja*.

When a woman climbs up the *Mada* or to a tree she is impelled to give a sacrifice of either goat or buffalo or cock in the name of the ancestral spirits. The sacrificial animal is considered from the point of view of the economic status of the woman. After offering the sacrifice she is socially accepted. There is a prevailing fear that if after committing this sort of sin, if the woman does not perform *Gading* she is harmed by the supernatural entities. The reasons why a woman is not allowed to climb up a *Mada* are many. If a woman has not married to her husband with '*Akui*' system of marriage, further, has not participated with her husband at the time of house building is not taken as the wife of the person: She climbs up to the loft, the ancestral spirits become terribly angry. Further, the first wife of the husband and other family members are not found completely one with the woman and all these reasons account for the *Gading* of the woman.

A case study may be given here to clarify the process of *Gading*. The case study is about Agina Dalbehera, who brought a second wife with home he had love. The man is from the village *Dangdungar* and the woman is from the village '*Kereba*'. The woman, named Duidui was then a widow when Agina fell in love with her. Again both were related to each other as brother-in-law and sister-in-law. Agina was also then a widower. When Agina brought her home and started conjugal life, one day Duidui suffered from fever. Agina consulted a *Kudan* (Shaman) who requested the supernatural entities and ancestral spirits to cure Duidui. The *Sonums* (spirits) said to the *Kudan* that they have not got anything from the Agina and Duidui when they started living together. Further, the *Sonums* maintained that Duidui is not married to Agina in the traditional system and yet is not hesitating to go up the *Mada* (loft) which disrespects the spirits. Therefore, the *Sonums* demanded a *Gading* and asked for two buffalo sacrifices. The *Kudan* assured the spirits that the woman would perform a *Gading*, based upon the commitment of the woman. Then she got cured. The woman immediately arranged a *Gading* ceremony, lest, she was supposed to be again in high fever by the wrath of the *Sonums*. The details of the processes of *Gading* is mentioned in the chapter "Religious Practices, Magic and Concept of Health".

Gading is therefore understood as a purificatory rite or a compensation paid by the offenders. In the other cases like keeping sex relation within the *Birinda* members compensations are fixed by the people in the society. In cases of such severe crimes or sins, the religious processes involved are a worship inside the house of the offender with the sacrifice to satisfy the supernatural entities. A common feast is arranged for all the *Birinda* people. By this the offender's sin is excused and he/she is again accepted by the *Birinda* members, *Kunjas*, the society and the supernatural entities and ancestral spirits..

The avoidance relationship in the Shudha Saora society is very much marked between a woman and her husband's elder brother. It is more common

with the relation of the woman to her senior in-laws. But among the Shudha Saoras the offenders are not impelled to perform any ritual like *Gading* for their sins. But to commit a sin depends upon individual consciousness. Since they are in a way to integrate themselves in the Hindu social and religious systems. They believe committing a sin they will be severely punished by the supernaturals after death and can never go to heaven. Elders are always respectful in this society and their advice is followed.

In both Shudha and Lanjia Saora societies reciprocal respect in between the husband and wife is very much marked. That by not taking the name of the husband by the wife and the vice versa gives an understanding that both husband and wife have equal status in terms of respect. The kinship relationship of Lanjia Saoras is not only maintained with the consaguineal and affinal kins, but also with the ritual kins (*Mandring* or *Gading*). The making of a ritual kin in the traditional customs is limited to inter *Birinda* and intra community. But now making a kin is also marked between two persons of different communities.

In the traditional way the formal friendship begins in a village social gathering or in market places. A person from a distant village on way to the market often takes rest at somebody's house. There friendship starts. Then after long friendship both decide to be '*Mandring* or *Gading*'. Their decisions is communicated to the *Gomango* of the stranger friend's village. Then the *Gomango* fixes a date when the stranger friend goes to the host friend in a customary way with most of the villagers of his village and they bring with them a buffalo, new clothes for the host friend. On the scheduled day a grand feast is arranged in the host friend's village in which the stranger friend gives new dress to the host friend and the host friend also gives the same to the stranger friend. Then they both eat in one eating vessel. Both the friends feed each other in their hands. Then they become *Mandring* or *Gading*. Then another day is fixed when the host friend becomes a stranger friend and visits the other friend's house and a similar event takes place. After that for the rest period of life they extend mutual help to each other and attends the social land cultural events in each others house and village.

Mandring or *Gading* relation takes place between two persons of the same sex. After becoming ritual kins gift exchange on various events becomes a common affair. In the process of making a ritual kin good relationship between two different *Birinda* as well as between peopleof two different villages is established.

The ritual kinship is now however, not limited to the traditional Lanjia Saoras only. The converted Christian Saora also make ritual kin with the people of other communities. Christian Saoras are found to make friendship with Telugu Kumuti people and also with the Shudha Saoras. The relationship is established with formal gift exchange. They start their kinship relation of an auspicious day

when one friend visits the other with gifts and in the next turn the latter visits the former friend with gifts. This develops a goof friendship, good understanding in between two persons of different communities.

In the Shudha Saora societies the ritual kinship is also maintained. But the process involved in the ritual kinship is more developed then that of the Lanjia Saora. The ritual kins call each other as '*Sangat*'- between male-male or female-female or as '*Baula*'- between female-female. With a formal gift exchange and exchange of dresses, the two friends take food with each other in a common eating vessel and become kins hence forward. In economically viable families common feast is arranged. There is no exchange of gift in the form of animals. Here we mark the adoption of Hindu way of making friendship-Sangat.

GUEST TREATMENT AND HOSPITALITY

Lanjia Saoras are very much particular and sincere in matters of guest treatment and hospitality. They show good respect to the guests. The manner of guest treatment and hospitality therefore highlights their customary way of life.

A male guest is known as '*Dayalmar*' and the female guest '*Dayalboi*' and the host's house is called as '*Dayalsing*'. The term *Dayal* is derived from two words: *Ada+ilai* (which means 'yes' and I've come respectively). To a guest the host first of all asks politely '*Ilaipa kaking/Kakung*' (have you come sister/brother). The reply goes '*Ooh ilai*' that ('yes I have come'). The guest is received with this polite conversation and is welcomed by the host to his house. Then the guest presents the gifts which he/she brought for the host. The gifts generally consist of seasonal crops, vegetables, edible roots and tubers, etc. The guest is provided a place on the verandah or in the inside house to take rest and relax. The guest and the host sit for a common chit-chat about their families. The host then takes the gift. Since direct avoidance is not there, in absence of the head of the family, the other partner receives the guest. But if both the partners of a family are found present then the male usually receives the guest.

The guest is offered with liquor of Mahula(*Madhuka longifolia)* or toddy(*alin*) of Sago palm (*Caryota urens)* whichever is available at the host's hour. Then the female host cooks food for the guest. The food served is of very common type. On ritual occasions a guest is served with dried buffalo meat or fresh meat.

The guests are usually seen to participate with the host in household and agricultural works. The female guests take part in the works of the female host. During the heavy agricultural operations and harvesting a guest is highly welcomed by the host as he gets an additional labour. When heavy work is there the guest is requested by the host to stay for some more days.

The Lanjia Saoras entertain two types of guests invited and un-invited. The guests are invited by the host on the occasion of ceremonies, functions, construction of house,..etc. They remain till the work is completed. But the un-invited guests come with specific purpose of their own, or come just to relax when they are confronted with difficulties. They stay hardly for one or two days.

When the guests leave the hosts house, they are presented with potful of rice, vegetables like bottle gourd, banana, legumes or seeds of cow pea and pigeon pea, etc. They also give buffalo meat if available. To the female guests the host gives cooked rice in sal leaf pots. It is said that the male guests are *Gannar mar* (nomadic) and their returning to their home at a particular date is not certain. They may halt at other friend's houses. But women leave the host village and go straight to their village. Therefore the cooked rice packets are given for the passage.

Very often the hosts give liquor pots full of liquor to the guests at the time of a farewell bid. It may be Mahuli liquor or toddy of Sago palm. In few cases women do not like to take liquor with them. For, they feel that liquor is taken away from the pots by spirits on the way. Further it is believed that there are chances of evil spirits accompanying person carrying liquor to his/her house.

Serving liquor and sending liquor to friends houses are prohibited in the Christian Saora community. They welcome a guest with the word '*Limtam*' followed by a hand shake. While uttering *Limtam* they touch their forehead. Some also say '*Limlam*', *Limjing*, *Lim-see*, etc. The words used here to receive the guests make a gradation of the guests. The term '*Limtam*'- *Lim* refers to '*Pranam*' and tam refers to 'the whole body'. *Lim* is also used as prefix to '*jing*' that means legs and *see*(hands). '*Limlam*' is the word the guest says in response to *Limtam* which literally means '*Pranam*' I've come(*Lim*). The '*Limjing*' therefore, refers to '*Pranam* to your legs'- here the guest is highly respected and the term is used for very respected guests. '*Limjing*' also gives respect to legs of the guests for, it is the legs that brought the guest to the host. The implication of *Lim-see* becomes a *Pranam* to the hands that is used to provide food to the guest. While uttering *Limtam*, the forehead is touched. Forehead is respected as it deals with-intellect knowledge etc.

Similar terms are used by the Shudha Saoras while receiving a guest. They believe that in various parts and appendages and organs of the body different gods and goddesses reside. Therefore, the respectful '*Pranam*' goes to the different gods and goddesses residing in different parts of the body, reciprocated with the words like *Limtam*, *Lim-see*, *Limjing*, etc. But in the Shudha Saora or in the Christian Saora society, guest are hardly treated with liquor. The guest treatment in the Shudha Saora society goes with the formal manner. But a guest is never requested from the host's side to stay for more days for working in the field.

In all cases a polite conversation between the guest and the host are marked very much with reciprocal feelings towards each other Some such polite conversations are noted here.

TABLE - 6

Host	*Airaipa ?*	Have you come ?
Guest:	*Ooh. Ailai. Masidaling. lilleche iranaiji gamll ilai*	Yes I've come I wanted to see you. So I have come
Host	*Ado. Bansa deli aman Aiaichin Asan-deli. Janang angli lagi de lelen*	Ok fine. We also wanted to see you since long.
Guest:	*Insaim nampo ilai. Reyamlen anerung laipo*	Why did you come alone Why did not you bring others (Children)
Host	*Ijja. Irurung insoiyen ille yertenai. Umeng yertenai iamle irurung.*	No, I have come alone, I have work here and I shall be back after the work is finalised.
Guest:	*Itindo - anorunglai ?*	Why did not you bring ?
Host	*Yen-ja, butin jinkude Sudam deli*	Who will hold them. They have grown up
Guest:	*Reyaleyen anurunglai ?*	Why did not (our) Son-in-law/Brother-in-law accompany you ?
Host	*Baraban yeraji tasan aniniten, miyen janang umeng inai, gamleinji*	There is work. He stayed. Has also told me to go back soon without halting here.
Guest:	*Ee - Ee ?*	Why ?
Host	*Alangan agai daku. De agatai kambooran idrun gu-u-re.*	Thatching grass cutting is not done Sorghum is ripe. What to do. Thatching is not done.
Guest:	*Alangbin alagabden tilen mba*	If you get more thatching grass give us some
Host	*Arika, alantin, detadi, inade, alidam balinglen deti adi izade*	No ther is not much. We have few It may not be sufficient for our roof.
Guest:	*Dakulinden, apungbutin*	Some is there, I may give.
Host	*Ooh, ado, aitai tin*	Ok. I will come

The dialogues quoted here is an example of normal chit-chat in a very polite manner between two relations. It continues. The dialogues indicates that a guest

comes with

some purpose. They come with some purposes and on finishing the work they leave. This is very much linked to their pattern of livelihood. Since Lanjia Saoras are shifting cultivators, they often come across their friends and relatives while they visit to their fields. Therefore they never halt in a friend's or relative's village if they do not have work with them. With the end of the normal chit-chat further matters may be discussed and after a very short stay the guest leaves.

Now the market is close to the communities. Whenever a person visits a relative's house, he takes some market bought food items as gift. In the relative's house, the guest is treated with market bought food items, mostly fried items, biscuits, cakes etc. A non-tribal guest in the Saora family is treated very warmly. At time of the guests return the host gives items of agricultural produces, fruits,vegetables etc., to the guest. But such a reciprocal gift is not always common.

Now-a-days tea is offered to the guest. When a female guest leaves the host's house a polite conversation takes place in the following manner.

TABLE - 7

Host	*Maitede-ring ring te umeng-umeng ira*	Go quickly before it becomes evening.
Guest :	*Ooh.*	Yes.
Host	*Ere-gam. Angalijena akai irai.*	Visit once again
Guest	*Ambi ayeeba*	You visit us once. I've already came(once).
Host	*Ada singyen amndranji gama*	Ok. Tell others in your home that I was asking about them.

With the words used to respect or honour a guest the term '*Simtam*' must be added. *Simtam* is a new term meaning 'Thanks' or 'Thank you'. This is the word a guest utters when he leaves the host's house.

The guest treatment and hospitality prevalent in the Saora society maintain a good relationship among the friends and relatives. It makes the friend's phere quite broad and elaborate. Now it has become common that guests arrive time and again to take rest or halt when they return from distant places at night. This has considerably influenced the gift exchange system Instead of agricultural produces, market items like biscuits, chacolates, cakes and other such materials are offered by a guest to the host.

GIFT EXCHANGE IN FORMAL AND INFORMAL GROUPS

Gift exchange within the formal and informal groups is quite customary in the Saora societies. The term used to mean gift exchange is *Dandrul* (a composite word made from *Dan*-to remember and *rul*-to give by plucking from trees. It refers to exchange or a give and take relationship. This is courtesy bound and customary but not compulsory. The gifts that one gives to the other is remembered by both the giver and the taker and the gift received is always returned somehow with some specific formality. The Lanjia Saora shows a better way of gift exchange. This gift exchange and give and take relationship develop social tie among people in the society.

In the name giving ceremony(*adniman*) of the Lanjia Saoras, *Birinda* members collectively send gifts. They decide among themselves about the things that are to be gifted to the person who organises the name giving ceremony for his child. The liquor, rice, if possible fowls or goat are offered to the family organising the ceremony.

But in Christian system, gifts are not given in kind but in cash. The amount paid here is about Rs.5/- or according to the capacity of the giver.

In marriage ceremony the traditional *Birinda* members give one litre liquor, 3 kilograms of rice and if possible a cock or a goat, etc. Collectively they go to collect firewood for the feast. But for Christian sections, they offer rice, dal, vegetables etc for the marriage feast. After the feast the guests give Rc.1/- to Rs.10/- or Rs.20/- each as per the capacity.

In *Goar* the *Birinda* members giving rice and liquor is obligatory. Exchange of buffalo is known as '*Panangsing*' and *Irbang*'. If the relatives who return buffalo are from nearby places are called '*Irbang*'. If the buffalo is returned from far off places or relatives of the distant places it is called *Panangsing*'. The *Reyam* or the son-in-laws also sends a buffalo for the *Goar* of any of his in-law parents. If they fail to give a buffalo on the Goar ceremony, then in the '*Karja*' they must send a buffalo Otherwise, the son-in-law is ridiculed by the people of the society. Therefore, the son-in-law attends the *Goar* or *Karja* and brings with him buffalo and liquor. The gift of the son-in-law is almost binding. When the son's-

in'law family is in crisis or is poor to afford a buffalo all his *Birinda* members contribute for purchase of a buffalo and save the prestige of the son-in-law. This collective contribution to purchase a buffalo is called '*Tandrablin Guarnai*',(means *Goar* has been organised by the children born of a single mother). If the sons of the deceased are poor this collective sharing for purchasing a buffalo is done. The *Reyam* gives rice and liquor to his capacity but his status is marked from the buffalo. But before a gift is sent, the *Birinda* members decide the other things to be sent. Then the gifts are listed as per the collective decision of the *Birinda* members.

In Christian system when a dead body is buried (the day is called '*Karnyen*') nothing is given from the Birinda members as gifts. In any case the gift exchange depends upon the events for which gifts are to be sent. Accordingly the quantity of gifts are decided. In case of the traditional gift exchange the items like rice, liquor and buffalo being the three main things are presented. If it is exchanged between the Christian Saora or from a Christian Saora to a traditional Saora, the gifts are given in terms of money.

After marriage when a girl leaves the parent's house for the in-laws house for the first time she is presented by her parents with agricultural produces, vegetables, roots and tubers. She also gets rice for children in in-law's house. If the in-law's are poor the bride takes with her only rice. But in case of rich parents of the bride a lot of agricultural produces all varieties of crops grown in swidden plots are sent. But in cases of marriage by 'elopement' the girl's parents feel dis-satisfied with their daughter and gives her nothing. Otherwise the parents, keep on sending gift to the daughter time and again. But in case the parents of the girl are dead it depends upon the brothers to send gifts. When in-law's family and the girl's brothers are not in good relation no gift is exchanged. In case of Christian Saora they give clothes, household materials, cosmetics, money to the girl after marriage.

In case of gift exchange between two persons or two families of different communities, it is in terms of cash, but not in shape of agricultural produces. But a Saora family always prefers to offer agricultural produces, vegetables etc., and in the non-tribal friends in return present market things like soaps, cosmetics, sweets etc. The Saora friend sends lots of banana, vegetables, black gram, green gram, red gram, etc, to the non-tribal friends. Mostly this exchanges of gift are done on specific occasions.

The female members of either community get more gifts than the males. And also to their non-tribal friends they give enough gifts. The mode of gift exchange in between a Christian Saora and a non-tribal Telugu Kumuti is given in a case study here.

Sampena, a Christian boy(Saora) and Prasada, a Telugu Kumuti boy living together at Jaltar are ritual friends-'*Gadingsung*' Sampena has a cycle repairing shop at Jaltar and Prasada has a grocery shop. Sampena says that since the day they became friends, he has been sending gifts regularly approximating in total Rs.3000/-. But in return he has not received anything from Prasada so far. While the two friends meet each other, often in market places Prasad treats Sampena with a cup of tea and some snacks. One day Sampena was in need of some money ; he asked Prasada to loan which the latter denied showing some reasons. This has developed a disliking in Sampena for further friendship with Prasad.

This is of common happening now-a-days. The younger mass is very much interested to make friends. They make friendship with the non-tribal boys or girls and extend cordial gifts in form of agricultural produces time and again without receiving anything in return. Now that, the non-tribal showing interest to be bound with friendship with the tribals with a crippling intention.

SAORA LIVELIHOOD AND STATUS OF WOMEN

Discussion about the livelihood of the Saoras has been made in the chapter on 'Society and Culture-I' and 'Indigenous Knowledge of Shifting Cultivation'. Here an attempt is made to show the status of women in this agricultural society with emphasis on Lanjia Saora women.

It is a common scene that from dawn to dusk the women keep themselves engaged in the field and inside the house. Both inside and outside the house she plays a dominant role. She is not only confined to rearing and breeding children but also is burdened with agricultural works and household works of multifarious nature. Apart from the collection of minor forest produces, roots, tubers, spinach for food etc., women provide adequate labour in agricultural operations both in plain lands and shifting cultivation. She takes the products to the market. One can not ignore the potentialities of women at work. In fact, they are the chief economic backbone of the Saora family.

When a women attains pregnancy the family desires a son from her. Though the women are the chief input of labour in the production process and sole authority in the household works yet the society is patrilineal and patrilocal showing the dominance of male members. Thus from a pregnant wife the husband desires a son who would foster them at their old age. But if she gives birth to a girl, the child is gladly accepted by the family members. The girl child is never treated coldly nor is considered inferior to the male child.

A son is desired to own the parental properties as an heir and a daughter is given importance for her work ability and bride price. Laziness(*Batua*) among boys and girls is never liked by the parents. They must be hard working.

Upto 5/6 years of age the children are not given any work. They are only allowed to play and are called '*Pasei*'- children. But when a boy or girl attains 8/9 years of age, they start observing and learning the work patterns. The girl child helps her mother in fetching water, firewood and in collection of minor forest produces, pounding rice in the house. Gradually she learns the work patterns in *Baroon* and *Saroba* (Swiddens and plain lands). She accompanies her mother to different work sites : *Baroon*, *Soroba*, market, etc and learns from her the work procedure. Mother is therefore the first teacher of the girl child who teaches her various skills. Many things she learns from observation. At the infant stage, the mother takes her to the work site and on keeping her under a tree she goes to her work and give timely breast feeding and care. The child's observations are reflected at its play ground with other playmates. With the help of a stick she plays as if she is pounding rice in the playground. She transplants, cooks at her play. One can observe the type of play the girl children play on the village road. It is in a sense the child imitates her mother's work patterns at her playground. They imitate a Dom female in the way she sells her articles in the Saora villages. The children imitate the various works in the society which are reflected in their play and game and the observation are put to action in course of time. The gender inequality is also reflected in the playground. While playing with a boymate,the boy demands the girl to do much of works.

In mythical versions women are described to be doing more works than men. When the '*Kureitung*' people (in the myth) started to live in different places of hills due to increasing population, one Saora of a hill top gave her daughter in marriage to a man of low land. The son-in-law wanted to ask his father-in-law when should he come to take his wife with him. The utterings of the son-in-law was heard by a tiger who turned to the father of the girl to ask when he thinks to send his daughter to the son-in-law. The parent-in-law with other people of the village put a bamboo basket on the daughter's head which was full of seasonal crops, produced from the agricultural fields. The legend indicates that from the very beginning the women are luggage carriers. Males never take burdens of luggage.

When a girl attains maturity, she is found to be an expert in all household works. Menstruating girls are not subjected to a separate room or remain as untouchables. No ritual is connected with puberty. The male members never know about it. But in religious functions, the menstruating women are not allowed to touch the offerings and related things put before the *Sonums*. One legendary tale adds to this that, in ancient times there was a female priest. Once when people were offering to *Lobosum* (earth deity) at that time the menstruating girl was sent to fetch water from the nearby stream. The *Lobosum* got annoyed with the girl for she had fetched water for the *Lobopur* (earth-worship) at her menstruating stage and the deity harmed her by keeping her ill. After that the people asked the deity about the

girls illness. The deity said that he got annoyed for the girl brought water while she was at menstruating stage. The deity was then possessed with the g Sometimes he felt satisfied with the girl. And the *Lobosum* liked to be her '*Yangyangnar Sonum*' (chief deity) and liked to be with women whom he taught processes of worship. Therefore, the female priests regard the *Lobosum* as their teacher. Since then the women shamanship started. It is said that before that event *Lobosum* did not possess any of the women and when he got possessed for the first time in the body of that women he liked the women and made some of them as the priests (*Kudanboi*). A *Kudanboi* at the initiation to her priesthood and at the beginning of each ritual, invokes *Lobosum* first. But *Lobosum* put a restriction that at the stage of menstruation neither the *Kudanboi* herself nor anyother girls at the same stage should touch the offering or organise the worship or to take part in the religious processes. But at the menstrual period they are not opposed to do household works.

The Saora girls enjoy sufficient freedom The girls at this stage made good grouping with other girls. They are free to choose or select their spouses. On the otherhand, if a girl is liked by youngman who decides to marry her then there takes place a competition among such youngmen to fetch the girl and the powerful one among such youngmen becomes the winner. The girls select their partners when, their marriage is not given much attention by the parents. For, the parents feel that by giving the daughter a marriage, they are leaving a permanent labour from their family. They always want the girl to be with them, so that the parents can use their labour always. They therefore do not deny the illicit love of the girl with others provided they do not belong to the same Birinda of the girl. The girls decide to leave their parents and go with their chosen male partner in the ignorance of the parents.

When a girl becomes a daughter-in-law in somebody's house, the senior in-laws demand sufficient respects and regards from the daughter-in-law/sister-in-law. The girl is then imposed with lots of taboos, restrictions and ties that are customary. She is forbidden to climb a tree, not to be in bare body before a '*Kunja*', not to take the name of the husband and the '*Kunja*'. At this stage the girl is regarded as a '*Ka-en*', meaning keeping something in the house or getting something into the house. The bride has to maintain such taboos, restrictions etc, '*Kukumba bububa*' is expected from her. The meaning of the term goes that she should keep the things carefully, add more material things to the household material culture by using her labour and intellect and never to get things confused or dislocated and is desired to be always truthful. '*Kukumba bububa*' is not always meant in terms of economy, rather it goes with the social and moral values. She is expected to keep good rapport with others in the family and in the society, keep the family integrity, love to all and service to all, so that family disputes will never

take place.

In Shudha Saora society when the parents of the boys go for *Pankui*(a form of marriage) they ask the parents of the girl as '*Singbing alan/Tarba dakulage ailai*' which means- "a leaf/flower is living in your house whose sweet scent has attracted us". The girls are expected to do such works adding to the meaning of sweet scented flower so that they get the society's appreciation and praise. For the male members the moral values of the women means a lot. The women regard the men as '*Gannarmar*'(nomadic). They also regard them as '*Bhatuamar*' (lazy man). But the women never like to be called as nomadic or lazy. Women are not allowed to take pig meat. They are not also allowed to participate in religious events where pig is sacrificed. They are not allowed to '*Garasal*'- liquor(not toddy) drinking place. Though they are not restricted to take liquor and toddy, one who desires to take liquor or toddy may take it outside the *Garasal* or *Arasal* (Toddy drinking place) or may take inside the r house. They are not allowed to take liquor in front of their partners. They are aot allowed to take liquor in front of their *Kunjas*.

The motherly stage of a girl is always imposed with great burdens. After delivery or before delivery she never takes rest for more than 15/20 days. No Saora women like to stay at home or sit idle without doing any work. After becoming a mother she attains the position of a *Kunja* before others who are juniors. She sells her agricultural produces and kitchen garden crops in market and reserves the right of buying and selling. She becomes a woman who save for future of her children and thus thinks high of her children.

In case a quarrel breaks out between husband and wife, before the husband gets another wife. When a husband brings a new wife, the first wife opposes her entry and thus the quarrel occurs. The new wife is accepted by the old one(co-wife) if the new one performs a '*Gading*'. The husband parts his love equally with either wives. If the husband even gives more time to his new wife, the old wife does not mind. If the old one has already got a son, she never minds her husband's rough deeds. In this polygamous society keeping more wives is a mark of the economic status of the husband. Examples may be given of late Sridhar Gomango of village Sagada who had twenty wives and of Aranchu Sabar of village *Rebjingtal* who has got eleven wives.

A barren woman (*Anjiboi*) is always looked down upon by the society and the woman is always held responsible for her barrenness.

A woman having no son spends a lonely life in her '*Talab*'(old) age. She adopts a son from her *Birinda*. If she is divorced or left by her husband she becomes a '*Kundraboi*' (helpless woman). When she becomes a helpless one at her old age

other members of the *Birinda* and also people of the society extends her sympathy and help her at times. But then nobody agrees to remain with her as a son. In old age even, women do not like to be burdens on others. They are still found active, acting to their capacity to earn livelihood. But they need a person who would look after her at her illness. An old woman is called a '*Talabboi*'.

Widows are never disrespected or looked down upon by the society. There is no specific restriction on them· They may marry if they so want. But after that they lose their right on husband's property if by that time she does not have a son who may inherit the property. When she adopts a son he becomes the heir of her husband's property. Till the time she adopts a son, she is cared by the *Birinda* members. The *Birinda* members do not dislike the widow for, she is still able to work in the fields and generate economy from her husband's landed properties.

The female priests (*Kudanboi*) are dealt as a different section in the Lanjia Saora society. They are given a better status in the society in comparison to the general women. Economically, socially, ritually they deserve a higher status than others. They are gifted women who have the ability to keep bilateral kinship with ancestral spirits (by marrying the underworlders ritually). A *Kudanboi* has two husbands ; one is the physical being- her life partner and the other is a spiritual being whom she marries at the time when she became a *Kudanboi*. She is regarded to have sex relation with underworlder spirits and have children in the underworld and all these happen in dream and in trance But those things never hamper her personal status in the society as a woman. When someone falls ill, *Kudanboi* performs a ritualistic invocation to different spirits and a subsequent trance when she talks to the spirits. It gives the *Kudanboi* a doctor's status in the society. In fact, she is a witch doctor who observes the symptoms of the disease, predicts the *sonum* who causes the disease, makes the diagnosis of disease in consultation with the underworld spirits and prescribes medicine.

The *Kudanboi* never demands any fee for her diagnosis, ritual work and subsequent curing of the patient. But the patient's family gives her rice, meat etc. as her fee for the work. The *Kudanboi* has one or two assistants always called as '*Idaiboi*' who are the disciples of the *Kudanboi* who learn the religious processes from her. But because the *Kudanboi* is a religious authority she performs for the people. With all her household works, agricultural works she takes the burden of this religious works. She never refuses to perform a ritual work. She is also imposed with the taboos and restriction of the society which she is must obey as a woman in the society. But a woman turning to be a *Kudanboi* develops a fear complex in her husband so that the husband never disregards or disrspects his wife, never thinks of leaving her and gets any new wife lest the spirits may do harm to him for his negligence and disrespect towards his wife. The *Kudanboi* and her assistants are never allowed to take beef.

In the traditional system reciprocal respects are marked between the husband and wife. But in the changing scenario of the society, Christianity and modernisation are accounted for. There is an erosion of respect marked among women towards their husbands if the husbands commit some wrong. Now women who are Christian convert women want to forget their ancient tradition and feel shame to be called as Lanjia Saora women. They have been a pretty idle with the impact of modernisation and are always in a motive to participate in the market economy. Some women do not like to carry their produces to the market with a feeling of shame and they want that the traders should come to them to purchase their produces. This has given ample opportunity to Dom community in trading with the Saora households and purchase their produces at a less cost than the market. Christianity has considerably squeezed the polygamous life. Men are restricted by the rules of the church to maintain polygamous life and have more than wife. If somebody gets another wife, the first wife puts a petition in the church against her husband and the church strikes out the name of the husband from the church record. The man is then not allowed to attend the church meetings, if he however goes there is not regarded as a member. The new wife is not entertained by the church. If a wife opposes her husband when he thinks to bring a new wife, conflicts arise in the family level. In any case if the husband brings a new wife he is ridiculed by other members of the church.

FOOD PATTERN

The Saora people are accustomed with specific type of food habit. About food they mostly depend upon the food items that they produce from agriculture. Mostly the food components are cereals, millets, pulses with some fruits, roots, vegetables etc. The food habit of Saora people is very much attuned to the produces from the paddy lands, swidden plots, kitchen garden and collection from the forest.

The major food habit of Saora is rice, preferably wet rice which they prepare from cooked rice. This is called *Kudu*. The cooked rice with gruel is called '*Darai kul*'. It is the most widely accepted food habit of Saora. In *Kudu* type of preparation they add leaves of red sorrel at the time of cooking rice. The preparation is called '*Uab kul*' which gives a soury taste. '*Uab kul*' is very much preferred by them. The powder of red sorrel leaves (*sunsunnab*) is preserved and added to other food materials especially to '*Uab kul*' intermittently for quite a long period of time. These plants are seasonally cultivated.

Of the millets, Sorghum, Bajra, Ragi and other minor millets add substantially to their food habit. Usually they prepare gruel out of such cereals and millets. Such preparation of gruel is called '*Tungdakul*'. The soury leafy vegetables are procured mostly from red sorrel and a wild weed called '*Kurkundadingab*'(?). The

people with better economic standard prepare their food with rice and vegetables whereas the economically poor families do with Sorghum, little millets, etc.

The vegetables, roots and tubers are additional food items. Priority is always given to the young seeds of cow pea, pigeon pea, beans and other legumes as important additions in preparation of rice, gruel etc. Sometimes the dried seeds of cow pea and pigeon pea are boiled to make the supplementary nutrition to children, pregnant mothers and also for people fasting for ritual purposes. The boiled seeds of pigeon pea is the only food on which an '*Italmar*' (ikon painter) survives when he paints an ikon. Besides, raw vegetables and other food items that can be prepared within a short time are eaten while people are at work and cooking is done at the work site. The people working in swidden plots and doing hard work usually prefer the gruel and boiled seeds of cow pea or pigeon pea.

When the production of crops like millets,tubers,cow pea, pigeon pea etc, in the swidden plots,stops people depend upon rice and seasonal vegetables grown in kitchen gardens. Rice, no doubt, is considered as ideal food, but paddy harvested by an average Saora family lasts for 3/4 months only. In the other months millet is the main food. During summer season, mango kernel, tamarind seeds sustain their life.

An ordinary meal in the Saora family consists of rice: hot or wet with a dal; curry is hardly prepared. With rice salt, chilly, tamarind soup are mixed. The vegetables cultivated in their kitchen gardens like papaya, banana,_brinjal, bottle gourd, bitter gourd, ribbed gourd, tomato, carpet legume, beans, ladies finger, cabbages and cauliflowers are sometimes added in their food items. These are usually sold.

Tubers such as: '*Gadagai*', '*Anrengulgai*', '*Margudi*', '*Butigai*', etc, simply boiled and eaten.

In rainy seasons mushroom(*Bati*) and young bamboo shoots(*Tabang*) mostly constitute the side items to the main food. The variety of musharooms available in the area are recorded below:

1.	*Raganpid*	(Redgram-mushroom) : The mushrooms available in the swidden plots develop from the decomposed root base of Redgram (*Cajanus cajan*).
2.	*Tarra pid :*	The mushrooms available in Dosshera season.
3.	*Alangpid*	(Straw-mushroom): The mushrooms that grow on the decomposed straw.
4.	*Sirabanpid:*	(Sravan-mushroom)- Mushrooms grown in forests and plains during Sravan month(July).

5. *Sargiapid :* (Sal-mushroom): Grown from trunks of Sal tree *(Shorea robusta)*.

6. *Udapid:* (Mango-mushroom): The mushrooms grow on trunk of mango tree *(Mangifera indica)*.

The leafy vegetables and spinaches used by the Saoras:

Saora Name	Oriya Name	Botanical Name
Bardam Uab	Barada Saga	*Bauhinia purpurea.*
Sunsuna Uab	Khata Palanga	*Hibiscus sabdariffa.*
Ruruda Uab	Sunsunia Saga	*Marsilea minuta.*
Asangtangar Uab	Khada Saga	*Amaranthus species.*
Engdre Uab	Khada Saga	*Amaranthus(wild).*
Samtilla Uab	Chana Saga	*A type of gram.*
Atungal Uab	Kakharu Saga	*Cucurbita maxima.*
Muninga Uab	Sajana Saga	*Moringa oleifera.*
————	Poi Saga	*Bassela rubra.*
Mula Uab	Mula Saga	*Raphanus sativus.*
Kabi Uab	Kobi Saga	*Brassica oleracea.*
Sorisa Uab	Sorisa Saga	*Brassica campestris.*
Karilla Uab	Kalara Saga	*Momordica charantia.*
Titin Uab	Tentuli Saga	*Tamarindus indica.*
————	Chakunda Saga	*Cassia tora.*

In the food items the spices are rarely used. Edible oil is prepared from the seeds of Red sorrel *(Hibiscus sabdariffa)* and mustard*(Brassica compestris)*.

Meat is an important item in their traditional food habit. They eat the meat of fowl, goat, pig, buffalo, cow, etc. Buffalo meat is dried and preserved in their houses. The Christian converts do not take beef and pork. But the catholic group of Christian eat beef and buffalo meat if they are not sacrificed in the rituals of the Hindu sections of the Lanjia Saora. They purchase meat from local Dom butchers. Meat constitutes an essential item on the festive occasions and treatment of guests.

Lanjia Saora people usually take two types of liquors : Mahuli i.e distilled liquor prepared from Mahula*(Madhuka longifolia)*,'*Abasal*' and toddy of *Ali* (*Caryota urens)* called '*Arasal*'. Besides these two types of alcoholic drinks they do not prepare or take any of the crop beverages. The Christian sections do not

drink liquor. Both men and women irrespective of age drink liquor (in traditional sections) and no ritual is observed without liquor.

The Saora are invertrate smokers. They roll tobacco leaves in a piece of dried Sal leaf and smoke it. Smoking is not prohibited to men or women. Tobacco (*Nicotiana tobaccum*) is not cultivated by them but purchased from the market or from the Doms.

Shudha Saora people on the otherhand, have adopted food habit of traditional Hindu families. They like dishes mainly with rice. Ragi and other millets are rarely seen in their food types since they do not cultivate such crops. Vegetables are very much preferred in their food habit. Oil and spices are very much liked by them. But none of the Shudha Saora people are beef eaters. Smoking and taking alcoholic drinks are very much limited in their societies. But toddy of Sago palm tree is not restricted.

COSTUMES

The name Lanjia Saora is derived from the peculiar dress pattern. A traditional Lanjia Saora man can be easily identified in a mass from his long loin cloth hanging at the back side. The myth describes that the first cloth which the Lanjia Saora man wore was made of cotton designed by other people. The traditional dress of Lanjia Saora man is called '*Uliakap*' and the traditional dress of woman is called '*Gatungkap*'.

'*Uliakap*' and '*Gatungkap*' are their common dress. *Uliakap* is a piece of loin cloth with thin red border. They tie it around their waist and the two ends of the cloth hang to the front and back sides and looks like a tail. For this type of wearing pattern of Saora, they are known as Lanjia Saora(Lanja-tail). With the introduction of market garments the *Uliakap* and *Gatungkap* are slowly losing their identity. Economically sound people are used to wear '*Agurkap*' and '*Tarbaul*' in addition to '*Uliakap* . *Agurkap* is a loin red cloth worn in a manner so that the cloth makes a cross on the chest which appears like the English alphabet 'X'. '*Tarabaul*' is a piece of loin cloth with thick red border and the parts that hang like tails are given with lace so that they look like flowers. *Agurkap* and *Tarbaul* are regarded as the aristocratic costumes which the traditional *Gomango* people wear. Those dresses are now worn on special occasions like in a dancing party or when they go to attend a religious function meetings. The '*Agurkap*' is the dress wrapped a dead body. Those who cannot pay for the cost of the dress, borrow it from others. In *Goar* also it is used. Keeping it on her head, the '*Idaibois*' (assistants of *Kudanboi*) fetches water from stream for *Goar* ceremony. On the death of a well to-do person or a *Gomango*, at the stone planting site(*Genuar*) a stage is made on two pillars on which the *Agurkap* is kept. On the stage also all

the valuable utensils and artifacts are placed. It gives an image of royalty to the dead person as, *Agurkap* is a dress stands for the aristocratic symbol. Due to its red colour it is also called '*Je-kap*'. About the red colour in the Saora costumes Vitebsky:1993 reports "The Saora comment on the limited use of bright colour in their earth and vegetation-tinted world : red(*Je*) is the colour of blood and fire, and a dream of the red borders on clothing presages bloodshed or a violent death". It is the reason why *Agurkap* and *Tarbaul* (white cloth with red border) is given to the spirits at the *Genuar* site. This is their feeling about the red coloured garments. When the same cloth is purchased from another person it is called '*Ananakap*'. *Ananakap* is meant as a dress not purchased, purchased or brought by other people. The word *Agur* has a metaphorical meaning. *Agur* refers to the falling of leaves from tree. A dead man is considered like a withered leaf that has falls down from a tree. This applies to a person leaving the world. Therefore, the cloth is covered on the dead bodies irrespective of sex and age. Whenever a person wears '*Agurkap*' he likes to wear a turban on his head in which feathers of crane are fixed. It gives a red and white composition of colours on the turban.

The dress of Lanjia Saora women is '*Gatungkap*'. This is a cloth wrapped around the waist of women. Traditionally it is a loom made cloth to the size of a towel with red borders and is wide to the knee length. In ordinary days the upper part of the body remains uncovered. They feel easy and relaxed with that. They feel uneasy with much clothes as they feel inconvenient to work. In winter and late rainy days and while going out to market, they wrap another piece of cloth to cover the chest region. The *Gatungkap* is a cream coloured piece of cloth with red borders. But a cloth of the same size to '*Gatungkap*' but white and without colours is called '*Palukap*'. It is used by the *Kudanbois*- the female Shamans at the time of performing rituals. They believe that the Idais (ancestrals spirits) like the *Kudanboi* to perform worship on wearing a white cloth. The ancestral spirits like white coloured clothes. The white symbolises pure (*Mridam*) to them. The white cloth is also called *Pagakap*. When a woman becomes a *Kudanboi*, she offers this *Paluakap* or *Pagakap* to her underworld husband(ancestral spirit) whom she married in dream. When a *Kudanboi* goes to cure people through ritualistic worships, she takes the *Paluakap* with her. When she comes to a trance, the people present there take out the white cloth from her and when *Ilda* (ancestral spirits chief) gets possessed in her the people put the white cloth on the *Kudanboi's* head. By putting the cloth on the *Kudanboi's* head, people think that they have adorned the *Ilda* with a turban. '*Garakap*' is another type of cloth stripped with black and red colours and red borders. *Garakap* is worn around the waist and yet another cloth is there called '*Pansiakap*' which is the cloth used to wrap around the breast. When they sleep in winter days the upper portion of the body is covered by this *Pansiakap* with their legs extended towards the hearth(*Kuda*). The blouse wearing is a recent addition. Blouse is called by them as '*Dranatu*'. Now more people like

to wear shirts in place of blouse.

The male members also now use shirts but do not like mostly pants and trousers. The trousers make difficulties in climbing a hill or a tree. When the people go to market they wear the traditional dresses-males wear *Uliakap* and the women wear *Gatungkap*, *Paluakap*, *Garakap* and *Pansiakap* or with blouse(*Insolo Dranatu*) sometimes or shirts(*Anger-Dranatu*).

With the rapid acculturisation and with their proximity to market places the Christian Saoras have started to wear saree (*Garrodudina*), Petticoat(*Ju-u-lu*) and blouse. But when they go to *Baroon*(Swiddens) they casually wear the traditional skirts (Gatungkap). Needless to be mentioned that the male folks are already in the market. The influence of market and religion have changed their dress patterns to a great extent.

Traditionally the dress of Shudha Saora woman is a white saree with green border and no blouse. The male wear includes a *Lungi* and towel. But the scene is no more in view today. The dress pattern has already changed and only a few are found with traditional dress patterns. Needless to say that with market acculturisation those people have changed their dress patterns. Whenever they go out they use modern dress. Thus it is very hard to identify them as Saora people.

ORNAMENTS

Whether it is a traditional society or modern society, wearing ornaments by women is a part of decorative. The women always like to use ornaments that turn them beautiful. The Lanjia Saora society is no exception from this aspect.

In the traditional costumes, ornaments have a special position. In different social events, ceremonies, festivals both men and women are seen wearing traditional ornaments, beads and other hand-made or market things. Some changes have taken place, yet traditional ornaments are still in use.

Ordinarily one may not find more ornaments on the body of the Lanjia Saora women but in ceremonial events they like to be adorned with ornaments. Most of the traditional women use the ear lobes, a type of wooden circular but solid ring called '*Tanangdrulu*'. When the girls attain about 8/10 years of age they pierce their ear lobes with a needle. Then they suspend some weight tied to the pierced ear lobe. Gradually the pore becomes wider and the '*Tanangdrulu*' is kept in that wider hole. The ornament is made of wood, especially wood of *Kuduchi* (*Holarrhena antidysenterica*) or *Karanja* (*Pongamia pinnata*). When the wooden rings are taken out the ear lobe hangs down. They also make smaller hole on upper ear lobe to wear small rings. The number of rings may be 7/8 in number. The small rings are flattened and made of aluminium or silver called '*Pir-pi-riag*'..

When they wear this *Pirpiriag* they never wear *Tanangdrulu*. In place of *Tanangdrulu* they wear *Anangulu*(small folded silver sticks). The shape of *Anangulu* is zig zag. Sometimes two or three silver balls are found suspended from the *Anangulu*. It swings when they walk. The Lanjia Saora women feel very much luxurious to use this ornaments.

On the nose women use two or three rings made of gold or silver. They call these rings as '*Adangkup*'. Usually girls pierce their nose when they are of about 8/10 years of age. Then the parents give nose ring to daughters. The present day Christian Lanjia women use small ball like nose rings called *Tarbakup*. The poor people use rings of aluminium. Such ornament is called '*Masiakup*'.

The female folk also wear ornaments on their hands. '*Sandaika*' is the thick bracelet. The bracelets are made of brass. On a plain bracelet dotted designs are made. '*Galadanka*' is another type of bracelet designed like a bangle with bulging balls with one side open. The bracelets are variously designed and accordingly are variously named. Another type of bracelet is called *Dananka* or *Lalaka* with plain surface. At present women wear rings on toes(enjeng). The finger rings are called '*Engsee*'. All the rings are made of brass. When they go out in a dance party they wear a *Dagra*(?). Now-a-days the market ornaments are extensively used by the Saora women.

The women wear necklaces (*Tangam*) and bead of all types. The wooden ornaments are made by themselves. But the ornaments made of silver, brass and gold are made and designed by the people of Mali community. Rest of the ornaments are purchased from the market.

The Lanjia Saora male folks are also very much fond of ornaments. They wear ear rings (*Pagdi*) and nose rings (*Guguku* or *Angerku*). The nose ring is very small . The necklace (*Paguada*)is used by the male folk purchased from the market.

HAIR STYLE AND HAIR ORNAMENTS

The Lanjia Saora male and female folk have distinct hair styles. The males are used to design their hair in an unique style. They do not keep their hair on the entire head. They cut the hair from sides and keep a patch in the middle of the head. When the hair of the mid-head portion increase in size, they make a knot which keep the turban fixed and so also the crane feathers do not fall down while dancing. They also keep match box and country cigar(*Pika*) there. The hair style is called '*Puti 're*'. The person who cuts hair or shapes hair is *Kungkungmar* (Hair cutting man-barber). But there is no specific people doing the job of hair cutting. Every Lanjia Saora man knows hair cutting and designing. Cutting hair, moustache, beard are called '*Kung-engten*' from which the term *Kungkungmar* is derived. In

ancient times the Lanjia men were keeping very little of moustache. But now they keep moustache and beard. Most of the people who have accessibility to markets prefer to cut and design hair in saloons.

Female folks before maturity also maintain '*Putire*' type of hair style. They never allow their hair to grow down to the shoulder level. After maturity they keep long hair. They keep hair at the midpoint of the head for *Uungsum* (sun spirit). The same region is also known as *Taringdabap* where water flows. After child birth, they perform '*Jadapur*' to satisfy '*Uungsum*', so that it does not harm the child. The soft region on the head of the child is called *Taringdap*. That is why they keep hair there in the name of *Uungsum* and when they become matured(*Dhangdi-ele*) they keep full hair. They made hair in different styles. They dress their hair with wooden combs. They apply Tola oil (Oil extracted from fruits of *Madhuka longifolia)* and wash hair with claysoil. The design of hair is like french roll, the knot being kept to one side. The side hair of the head is fixed with clips(*Susidang*). The hair style like the french roll is called '*Tandikui*'. Due to the influence of market the traditional ornaments are not much seen now. Increasing use of scented oil, plastic combs, cosmetics, clips, ribbons etc, makes their hair style more beautiful and decorative. The use of cosmetic was not known to the traditional Saora people earlier. But now they have become more conscious of their skins and hair style. Decorative items are available in their areas.

TATTOOING

This is well marked in traditional Lanjia Saora society. Both male and female folk tatto their body parts. But in case of males tattooing is restricted to the foreheads and sometimes small dots on chicks and chins. But almost all the traditional Lanjia Saora females tattoo their faces. The reason why it is popular among them is expressed in a word- '*Taramtam*' which means that it adds to the beauty of the face. They feel that with *Tandikui* (hair style) and the other traditional costumes, tattooing match very well. They compare the dotted tattoo on the forehead with '*Bindi*' of the modern girls. In traditional system of marriage tattooing is keenly marked. A woman who has not made tattooing loses her charm to her husband. Tattooing is called by them as '*Tangtangba*'. There is a legend associated with tattooing. That in the past, a British Collector visited the Saora land and he captured a girl who had not tattooed her face. This was perhaps the Christian officer who could not recognise her as a Saora girl. The women felt that tattooing is a compulsion for them. Tattooing is not appreciated by outsiders. The Christian Saoras dislike tattoo marks.

In Shudha Saora areas tattooing is rarely seen. Some have marks on their left arms, some designs are sketched or simply the person's name is engraved. They feel that tattooing simply disfigures a face. Therefore, they do not like it at all.

Acculturisation has crept into the society changing the traditional style.

CONCEPT OF BEAUTY

A beautiful woman in Lanjia Saora society is called *Langiboi*. The term is derived from two words: *Lobo* and *Angai* (two spirits-*Lobosum* and *Angaisum*, meaning Earth-god and Moon-god respectively). Hence the composite word is *Lo+Angai=Langi* with the suffix *boi*-referring to a women. Certain physical features in the body contribute to their concept of beauty. Socially a women is said to be beautiful if she possess the following characters. She must be:

Baralunga Sakai	Expert at work.
Birnalunga Sakai	Expert in words (Politeness)
Nyanalunga Sakai	Perfect in walk (applicable to both the sex).
Kanellungan Sakai	Good at singing.
Tondrellungan Sakai	Looks nice with any whatever ornaments she wears.
Jijinglungan Tumbuldong	Looks nice with any dress.

Irrespective of skin colour, fair or dark expressed by the Saora as '*Saibang eti janang. Gurnang eti janang*'. A women is credited with the above character and is regarded as a beautiful lady. A characterless women is called '*Saniboi*'.

In specific cases like marriage a number of physical characters are taken into account of women which add to a women's beauty. Such characters are :

She should not be -	*Sasajiboi*	Big tooth woman.
	Senkaranboi	Squint eyed woman.
	Ramadboi	Eye balls not large with the woman.
	Jelinu-u-ka	Long faced.
	Kumbagnuboi	Large nose woman.
	Dudupangboi	Pot bellied woman and fatty.
	Wamboi	Quarrelsome woman.
	Ankiboi	Foolish woman.

Batuaboi	Idle woman.
Siaraboi	Mad woman.

Besides these a beautiful woman should be '*Gurmang*'(fair skinned). *Rassial* (Slim body). She should have known songs(*Kinan*) and dance (*Tangsing*). These character are considered at the time of a girl's marriage. The male folk should not have the following characters.

Jomuka mar	Irregularly swollen face man.
Gadessi mar	Not translatable-man.
Gadejing mar	Lame-man.
Ja-ta mar	Short statured-man.
Lisim mar	Idle-man.
Dudupung mar	Pot bellied-man.

Besides to the above characters a man should be *Gurmang* (fair complexioned). *Lenka* (Tall). *Rassial*(Slim) and *Radumar*(Strong-man), *Ungmar*(Expert), *Umeng*(active), *Areidam*(Fast walking), *Pesang*(flute player), *Kinkingmar*(Singer), *Tangseng mar*(Dancer) and a *Gagera*(a string instrument)player.

The Lanjia Saora society is therefore extremely choosy and selective in finding out a partner. In the concept of beauty the costumes and ornaments are added. This give an idea of beauty. This is applicable for both Shudha and Lanjia Saora.

LIFE CYCLE RITUALS

That a man is born and dies in a common natural phenomenon. In this life cycle from the birth to death is to play different roles in a society with his fellow brethren. As an earthly human being, he is bound by customs, traditions, social norms prescribed in the social system.

Lanjia Saoras are a group believing a worldly pleasure during their life span. The life cycle of this continuity is marked with different stages of growth, activities, sense of moral values,their self perception, understanding the environment, the universe etc. The life cycle, thus of the Saoras is broadly divided into the following stages.

1. *Resasi*	The stage of infants upto 2/3 months after birth.

2. *Tambuda*	The stage in between the 3rd to 6th month after birth.
3. *Lamlanetin*	The stage in between 6th month to the completion of one year.
4. *Tunipate*	The stage of life in between 1 year to 3 years when the child starts walking.
5. *Dudup*	The stage oflife in between 3 years to 5 years of age when the child walks perfectly and choose play mates, observes the activities of people in the society.
6(a).*Dankidali/*	The period of life in between 5 *Lutidanglee* years to 9 years of a girl child when she is able to fetch water and help her mother in household works.
6(b).*Guptanglee*	The period of life of the boy in between 5 to 9 years of age when he can graze the cattle. He starts to learn the works in the house.
7(a).*Tangadintin/*:	The girl within the age group of 9 *Aansirtin* to 12 years when she is able to pound rice. Side by side she learns all the household works. Starts going to the agricultural fields etc.
7(b).*Teranglee*	The boy in the age group of 9 years to 12 years when he learns the cultivation work and other mi nor works.
8(a).*Dhangda*	The youth of the teen aged boy from 12 years of age. By thisperiod a boy shows expertise in all the works for earning livelihood. This is the time when a boy selects his life partner and all the works of a youth.
8(b).*Dhangdi*	The puberty and post puberty period of a girl. By this time she is found to be an expert in all the types of works of a woman. She finds freedom for herself in choosing a partner, making friends, in attending rituals, ceremonies etc, in a friends village. Shows interest in the outer world.
9(a).*Yangtab*	The marriageable age of a girl.
9(b).*Yangbailee*	The marriageable age of a boy.
10.*Kudanlee*	:The motherhood stage of a woman. Burdened

	with responsibilities, attains the position of being a Kunja- senior and superior respect ed person in the family and the society.
11(*a*)*Tungardangdee*	The middle aged stage of woman. Dependance on children starts from this stage.
11(b)*Tungardangda*	A stage before old age of a man.
12(a)*Talaibaboi*	Old age stage of a woman, heavily bur dened with the weight of sorrows, suffer ings but experienced in life cycle.
12(b)*Talaibamar*:	The same old stage of a man.

From *Rasasi* to the stage of *Talaibamar/Talaibaboi* is the life-cycle of a person in the Saora society. During their life time they perform various rites and rituals relating to the life of a person. Though there are several stages of life, as noted above, it becomes the whole sequence marked with three major stages of life: birth, marriage and death. These three stages are associated with a series of ritualistic rites.

In the Saora notion of life-cycle a child is the best property. A Saora woman believes that she steps on the first step of laddar of her life with her motherhood. Therefore, her journey for the fulfillment of her life begins from the child bearing stage. About the synthesis of an embryo in the mother's womb Vitebsky(1993) holds. "A baby is made from the fusion of semen and vaginal fluid; these are called respectively as `*asong-kad*' and `*asong-tij*', meaning literally `exuviae of the penis' and `exuviae of the vagina'...". These suggest that `*asong*' should be glossed as `fluid or semifluid(i.e. formless) exuviae given off and relinquished by a bounded entity or at the outer edge of a concentration'. The child is thus made of substances which during the process of conception and birth derive, in an equivalent manner, from both mother and father. Though in conceiving the mother `takes fruit child' (*Pong-gur-on*), the root *Kad*, `beget, give birth', is used equally by the parents, while the noun formed from it, *kerud-kud*, is used as a more or less precise synonym of the patrilineage. In other words, these images do not in themselves permit the unambigous separation of male and female roles in making a baby(Vitebsky: 1993). The patrilineal kinship of a child starts right from the time of conception-the ideology being hidden in two terms seed(*Jamal*) and blood(*minam*). A child after birth, particularly at the grown up stage, expresses to his `*Birinda*', that " I am of the `same seed and same blood' as my *Birinda* members are' ".

The proper carriage and successful conception of a child depends upon the

goodwill of the *Uungsum*(Sun-*sonum*) and miscarriages and failure in conception is attributed to have happened because of the malevolence of the Sun-spirit. As the Saora self perception goes about child conception and further formation, they hold that the conception and further actions are done by the Sun-spirit and in the same way it is the same spirit who causes the miscarriage, abortion, premature birth etc. The Saoras believe that the conception and consequent growth of a child take place in darkness(*Lungud*). The Saora compare the darkness in the matters of child conception in the mother's womb(*Kampung*) in which the child is carried. When a child comes out of *Kampung*, it sees the world. With this is associated a legendary tale.

In the beginning of the cosmos, both the Sun and Moon had children. The moon (*angai*) had numerous children. Moon once thought that if the sun's children survive inheriting all the characters of sun(Heat is taken here as the main character) the moon's children may not survive. This feeling is concentrated with a perception that sun is one entity and its heat content is enough to burn anything in the world. Therefore if all the children of the sun survive the moon's children may not survive, due to heat generated by sun and his children. Moon thought of a plan. She kept all her children in a box(*kindal*) and smeared the stain from fruit of a plant '*Galungam*'(*Basella rubra)* on her lips and went to the Sun. The moon said to the Sun that she has eaten up all her children and their blood has made her lips red. She gave the reason why she ate up all the children that since she was confronted with many problems to manage so many children, she devoured them all. The moon also suggested the Sun that he should eat all his children to escape from their problems. The sun ate up all his children believing the moon. Then night came. The moon brought out all her children one by one from the *Kindal*. The Sun came to know all about it and came to fury. Burst with anger he sent a Python snake to eat up the moon. The engulfing is known *Mo-o-le* and vomiting is Baite and the moon is *Angai*. Thus engulfing the Moon(*Mo-o-le* + *Angai*) is called '*Mogai*'. Once in a year the sun sends Python to engulf the moon but the snake vomits out the moon as it cannot hold her in its stomach. Since then the '*Mogai*' is understood as the 'Lunar eclipse' and is regarded as a spirit, *Magai-sum*. The Lanjia Saora believe that they are the children of the sun and are earthly beings. They were detached from the sun when he ate up all his children believing the moon. Stars are the children of moon.

The legend relates that the Saora children are the parts of the Sun. Therefore, the conception is an action of the Sun-spirit. According to Vitebsky: 1993, "Though the child once born can be attacked by any other *Sonum* too, the only possible cause of miscarriages and failures to conceive is the sun when she (regarded as woman here) withholds or reverses her formative function. The corresponding healings are highly specific and refer to named aspects of sun

woman and her python (these are included in the list of *Sonums* in appendix-I). For example, in the case of an infertile woman, the python may be inside her, swallowing the foetus almost before it is conceived(*Ural-sim*, 'Bod-drop-*sonum*'),in miscarriages, after swallowing the foetus the Python vomits it prematurely(*Mo-gai-sum*, 'Eclipse-moon-*sonum*') instead of at the properly-timed, viable moment of normal birth, after birth, the Python may drain the mother's breast of milk and starve the baby by putting its own tail instead of the nipple into the baby's mouth(*Ajora-sum*, 'stream-*sonum*')". This idea of Vitebsky probably is based on the above legend from which he points out that the conception, carriage and miscarriages are regulated by the sun-spirit and its associated sub-spirits like python.

Now discussion of the life cycle starts from the conception of a woman. If a woman can not bear a child even after 3/4 years of her marriage, it is believed that her barrenness is caused by *Uungsum* (Sun-spirit). To satisfy and appease the Sun-spirit a ritual called *Garna* is organised. The process of performing the ritual is known as *Garnapur*. The worship is offered to the Sun-spirit and the site of worship is inside the house close to the pounding hole. In this ritual rice, liquor in Sal leaf-pots are offered. The barren woman sits with the *Kudanboi*(female-priest). The *Kudanboi* takes some rice in her fist and chants mantra for *Uungsum*. After praying to the sun-spirit the Kudanboi touches the belly and forehead of the woman. Then a pig is sacrificed to the sun-spirit outside the house; the meat of the pig is given to the male folks. With this it is believed that the conception is assured.

Conception starts and pregnancy is matured. At the time of delivery worship is offered to '*Kunaboi*'. (Those women died earlier by suffering from labour pain during delivery). A cock is sacrificed. With this ritual a safe delivery of the child is assured.

If the delivery takes place inside the house the woman is made to sit in a dark corner of the house, on a stone or a wooden piece stretching her leg to either sides. Her hands are tied tightly and the other end of the rope is tied to the *Mada*(loft). The *Sududianboi*(Delivery-woman) massage *Karañja* oil(*Pongamia pinnata)* on her belly. When the labour pain is maximum two or three women hold the woman tightly. Then the child is born. If the placenta falls immediately the delivery is regarded as safe. Otherwise the woman is not left to outside till the placenta falls and some other processes are done. The *Sududianboi* cuts the umbilical cord and buries it at the place of delivery. The *Sududianboi* washes the child with little warm water and applies turmeric paste(*Sangsang*) over its body. It is believed that since the child is a part of sun spirit, by applying turmeric paste its body becomes cool. The mother is also given a bath with oil, turmeric paste and warm water. For five days the mother is given with hot rice and salt only. The

mother mostly keeps herself involved only in the household works for next 2 to 3 months. If even the delivery takes place in swidden plots, the placenta is buried there.

After child birth a purity ritual(*Irna*) is organised. The process is organised on the third day after delivery for a girl child and after 4 days of a boy child. On that day the *Sududianboi* comes there. Food item being rice, horsegram, pigeon pea,are cooked together. The food is given to all the women who were involved in the delivery process. A root of a plant(?) is brought by the *Sududianboi* and immersed with water is sprinkled on all people present there and in the house where delivery was done. The *Sududianboi* gives fresh bath to the mother and the child and she herself also takes a fresh bath. Then turning her backside towards the house, she gives the child to her mother's cradle.

Within seven days of the child birth or immediately after the birth, the mother reciprocates her thanks to the Sun-spirit for it has given her a child. The ritual is called '*Tapnagon*'. The process goes like the Garna and a pig is sacrificed.

But immediately after the conception is marked, a ritual is organised to satisfy the *Mogaisum*(Eclipse moon deity). This is based on the second part of the legend described above. That because the moon was engulfed by the Sun-spirit's python, the moon may attempt to take revenge in degenerating the conceived embryo, which is believed to be a Sun's child. To satisfy the *Mogaisum*, the *Mogaisumpur* is organised after the conception is marked. If the womb shows abnormalities *Mogaisumpur* is organised. When a child carries the abnormal symptoms on its body after birth the child is *Mogai*-attacked. If the child comes out with dark face the *Mogaisumpur* is organised. In this ritual, about one kilogram of rice is kept over 'Barada' leaf(*Bauhinia purpurea)* and the worship is organised near the rice pounding hole. Liquors are put there. The *Kudanboi* comes to a trance. *Mogai-sum* is possessed in her. Then a pig is offered to the *Mogaisum*(*Kudan*). The *Mogaisum* blesses the child by accepting the offerings. The pig is then sacrificed outside the house, its meat cooked for the male folk. After cooking, three cups of meat are offered to *Mogai-sum*.

The further ritual associated with child birth is *Ajodasumpur*(Stream-*sonum*-worship). In this ritual, a buffalo is sacrificed to the Stream-*sonum*. The worship is organised near a water ghat- the abode of the spirit. A legend associated with Ajoda-pur is given in the chapter "Religious Practices.....".

The further ritual associated with child birth is '*Urna sum*'(?) worship. In this ritual the Sun-spirit is worshipped. A cock or a pig is sacrificed. Inside the house a pitcherful of liquor and about one kilogram of rice are kept. The *Kudanboi/ Kudan* chants mantra, comes to a trance possessed by the Sun-spirit. In the transe

the priest smears turmeric paste on the sacrificial animal indicating that the spirit accepted the offer. If the spirit demands both the animals, their meat after sacrifice is cooked separately. Then the possessed spirit brings the child to its (*Kudan/ Kudanboi*) cradle and cuts some of its hair and keeps on the wall of the house. The '*Urnasumpur*' is organised to attract good eye of the Sun-spirit to the child. If a child dies at its infancy, the cut hair kept on the wall is burnt with it.

After birth the patrilineal ancestors are believed to cause fever in the child's body. At this stage a ritual *Jiengpur* is organised. In the *Jiengpur*, worship is offered to *Idaisum*(ancestral spirit of the same sex to child). After the child falls sick with fever it is taken to the Shaman in a trance and tells the parents that the *Idaisum* wants the child to be named after him. Then the ritual is organised in which a ring(*Engsi*) is tied in the hand of the child, (the process being called '*Jieng*'). The ancestral spirit demands a cock. The worship is organised in a corner of the house where a '*T*' shaped wooden post (*Sabdampida*) is buried. The ring is put to the child in taking the name of the ancestral spirit who caused the fever. And the finger ring is said to have been saved from that ancestor's funeral(Vitebsky: 1993). In the ritual traditional dresses of males and females, bracelet, anklet, rice, ring and *angi*(axe, if the child is a son) are given to the ancestral-spirit. *Jiengpur* is done many times till name giving ceremony is organised. For, many ancestral spirits want that their names should be given to the child and so cause fever in the child time and again and everytime a ring is given to the child in the name of the ancestral-spirits causing fever. The ancestor undertakes to protect the baby from attacks of other *Sonums* and in return receives a sacrifice of a chicken. This is a promise of a buffalo at a big name giving ceremony. (*ad-nim-on*) to be staged two or three years later when the child is fully weaned(Vitebsky: 1993). But cases are seen when the ancestral spirit first offered with the cock fails to protect the child from attack of other ancestral spirits for which *Jiengpur* is organised 3/4 times. Similarly a case is heard when two '*ad-nim-on*' or big name giving ceremonies were organised for a child with two times of buffalo sacrifice when the first ancestral is weakened by another ancestral spirit.

Two or three years after *Jiengpur*, if the child suffers from fever once again it is believed to have beemn caused by an ancestral spirit. The ancestral spirit then demands a buffalo sacrifice and wants that the ring tied to the hand of the child should be taken out. Then the '*ad-nim-on*' or the big name giving ceremony is arranged.

The naming ceremony day is very much awaited by the family members of the child and also by the villagers for, the event is marked by merrymaking, dancing and singing. In a village if there are more children to be named, the name giving ceremony is organised collectively to make the event more colourful and memorable. The ritual is organised by a senior Shaman or an important Shaman who

generally performs important death rituals like *Karja* and *Guar*. On the fixed day the *Idaiboi*(assistants and trainees of *Kudanboi*) gets some twigs of a thorny plant *Kamabli*(?). Vitebsky: (1993) mentions on the use of this plan as- " a prominent theme is that the Ancestor-Men representing the dead namesake enter the house bringing a branch of a particular thorn(*Kumbali*) which they hang over the door inside the house to block the entry of attacking memories. This is the protection which the dead name giver is supposed to provide for a new name sake against even his own death-experience. The first step of the process is marked with the removal of the ring that is tied to the hand of the baby in the name of a particular ancestral spirit. About the ring Vitebsky mentions "This is supposedly one of the rings which each participating household had given to the previous holder of the name alongwith their buffalo, grain and wine, and which had been used at the dead person's stone planting and harvest commenoration. Despite its prominence, the Saora are able to say very little about the meaning of the ring and the texts Sung do not elaborate. Given the gynaecological associations of metal and the fact that the name-giving coincides at least in a structural time, with the end ofbreast feeding and the supposed resumption of normal sexual relations between the parents, I suspect that the ring represents a completely closed and solid firm for the soft material from which the child has been moulded. This seems to be echoed in the iron plough-tip on which the baby steps when entering the house".

In the naming of the baby that ancestral spirit's name is usually given who caused fever in the child. The ancestral spirit may be one among the many for whom several *Jiengpur* were organised. The ancestral spirit who caused the fever wants that the ring of the baby should be removed with a buffalo sacrifice. The sacrifice is organised and ring is removed. The child since then bears the name of that ancestral spirit. The other rings are also removed from the baby's hands on the spot. If any other ancestral spirit who demanded that his name has to be given to the child in the *Jiengpurs* organised earlier and with whose name a ring was tied to the hand of the baby if demands a buffalo after the first '*ad-nim-on*' is done then the parents of the baby organise another '*ad-nim-on*'. But such cases are very rare.

The name giving ceremony is marked with many obscene joke plays, a time when turmeric water is sprinkled over all the people gathered there and the whole night-long dances and singing continue. In such performance most of the villagers participate. Therefore the *adnimon* is the ceremony which brings to people laughter, harmony, jokes and merrymaking. The name giving ceremony is held to be one very important ritual in the Lanjia Saora tradition of life cycle rituals. The name that a child bears on *adnimon* is the representation and rebirth of one ancestral spirit who undertakes the responsibility of the well-being of the child for the rest period of his life. Name giving indicates an addition of life to the society.

Shudha Saoras are more or less silent about the rituals relating to birth of

a child. The final stage of the delivery is called '*Jaronyang*' No ritual is associated in between the conception and delivery of the child. On the 7th day, after the child is born the mother takes a fresh bath(*Urna*) after which she enters into the kitchen. For the 7 days after a child birth mother is regarded as impure. In the very traditional families of Shudha Saora a child is named on the 20th or 21st days. There is no specification about a name. One may be given a name of its ancestor or any other name that is liked by the parents. No worship or ritual is associated with this naming. In well-to-do families the women after child birth do not undertake any hard work. But in the poor families women have to do hardwork. But, after one year of age of the child a ritual '*Ajada* analam *Uungpug*' is organised(stream-pounding hole-Sun-worship). This worship is organised in two phases, the first phase inside the house where worship is offered to ancestral spirits and the Sun-spirit and the second phase is organised near a stream where worship is given to the stream-spirit. For, it is believed that upto one year of age a child belongs to the Sun-spirit. And after the ritual is organised the child spiritually belongs to the parents. Some people of the Shudha Saora community have started organising a 21st day ceremony of the child when a name is given to the child like Hindus.

The *Ajada analam Uungpur* is organised with materials like a new winnowing for, new earthen pots, vermillion, turmeric, black powder, bangles, beads, cooked rice and a goat for sacrifice. On the spot near a stream a banana plant is buried. The place is preferred under a mango tree near the stream where all the materials are gathered. The *Kudanboi* sacrifices the goat. Under the banana plant, 7 leaf pot full of rice with coins, and in 7 leaf pots liquor are required. After the worship is over the people return to the house, feeling that they have freed the child from the sun-spirit. Looking back to worship site is considered in auspicious. Name of the worship materials are taken back into house again and all are buried on the spot after the worship is over.

In the Christian Saora society a baby is taken to the church when the boy is 20 days old and a girl 30 days old. The new born is blessed by the superior people of the church in the church premises and after that the child is entertained into the church. That day the parents of the baby must wear new clothes. After about 5 months the naming ceremony of the child is organised. On that day the mother of the baby takes a bath and wears a new cloth and carries the baby into the church. A feast may be organised by the parents in the village. All the invitees contribute rice and firewood for the feast. After the feast is over the guests may give some gifts in kind or cash etc. No ritual is organised.

MARRIAGE

Marriage is the second important stage of the life-cycle. The Saoras feel

that an heir is enviable to inherit parental properties and to perform *Karja* and *Goar* ceremonies. Therefore mostly they love for a son who would perform *Karja* and *Goar* after the parent's death. If a man does not marry he will be the odd man among the underworld spirits. Therefore marriage is a compulsion. Marriages in the Saora Society are of many types. The choice of mates or partners is the first step of marriage. It is considered very important for they feel that without a suitable partner life would become rather pathetic.

After attaining marriageable age both the boys and girls look for their partners. They choose their partners in different community places, market, swidden plots and in villages. Before marriage a boy and girl express their reciprocal feelings towards each other and later on they decide to marry each other. During selection of partner both the boy and the girl consider much about the 'beauty' of each other. In fact, it is the 'beauty' (refer to concept of beauty) that binds two hearts together and make a suitable matching. This they feel very important. Sex relation is only prohibited among members belonging to the same *Birinda* but keeping sex relations with persons from other *Birinda* is socially approved. It makes the sex relationship simple and even before marriage sex relationship of one with many is not regarded as a crime or taboo or sin, provided the persons involved in sex relations do not belong to one *Birinda*. A man may love many women and such women held in love with the man are called '*Dariboi*', similarly in the premarital life a woman may love many(called '*Darimar*'). The love relationship marks the step towards marriage. The love and marital bond, as the Lanjias think is perpetual when love is mutual'. The different types of marriage prevalent in the Lanjia Saora society are appended below :

1.	*Gandamna*	Marriage by intrusion.
2.	*Daritap*	Love marriage, marriage by elopement.
3.	*Dingding boi*	Marriage by force or capture
4.	*Garboi Sirung*	Marriage by negotiation (Christian system)
5.	*Akui*	Marriage by negotiation (Hindu system)
6.	*Pankui*	By offering liquor
7.	*Pasei Sirung*	Child marriage
8.	*Joar Sirung*	Widow marriage.

1. GANDAMNA

In this type of marriage a girl becomes fascinated towards a boy for certain charming qualities of the boy. She decides to marry the boy and leaving every body and her house she goes to the boy's house. If the boy is unwilling to marry the girl he either leaves his house and goes out for some days or removes the girl from his house but the first way is always followed. The girl only comes with her clothes and ornaments. If the boy lives in the house with the girl the society demands the boy to accept the girl. If the boy leaves his house immediately and does not return to his house soon then the girl gets no other choice, but leaving the boy's house and goes back to her parents. The girl is then mocked, humiliated by others and her status as a girl goes down a great extent. If the boy accepts her, it is final and no other processes are done. But the girl shall have to perform a *Gading* afterwards.

2. DARITAP

Boy and girl choose each other. In this type of marriage the girl helps a lot to the boy. This is a love marriage take place after long love relation between the boy and the girl. In the traditional society, girl's parents expect bride price mainly in kind (Liquor or toddy). If the boy is not able enough to provide liquor or toddy to the need of the girl's parents he expresses his incapability before his '*Dariboi*' (beloved girl) and seeks her suggestions in this regard. If the girl gives full assurance that she wants to be with the boy under any circumstances they both fix up a date when they leave their home and get married somewhere outside the locality and maintains their conjugal life. When again the couple returns to the village, they are accepted by the society but not fully accepted till the girl gives a *Gading* which is like a small feast offered to the spirits as well as to the family members. Then the girl becomes fully accepted by her in-laws and the society. The percentage of this kinds of marriage is more in the Lanjia Saora society.

3. DING DINGBOI

It is the marriage by force or capture. A boy selects a girl and expresses before her to marry. If the girl is engaged with some other boy , she refuses the boy's candidature right on the spot. If the boy decides to marry the girl by any means , the first means is to marry her by force or capture. The boy tells his friends who are very much intimate to him, that he wants their help to capture the girl. When the boy's friends give him an assurance that they will help the boy when a chance comes. Usually they capture the girl while she works in the swidden plots alone or is seen at a solitary place with or without her friends. The boy and his friends rush to the girl and immediately captures her and takes her away. There takes place a push-pull fight between the boy and the girl. Finally the girl is captured

by the boy who carries her on his shoulder and runs away from the place. Then in a house selected earlier or in a solitary place in the forest their cohabitation takes place. Then the girl is bound to live with the boy.

If the girl is still dis-satisfied, she may take the help of the *Gomango's* court to punish the boy. But usually such cases do not take place as the girl once captured by a boy finds all her possible doors sealed. No other person in the same locality accepts her. Ultimately the girl lives with the boy.

4. PANKUI

In this type of marriage the boy's side takes initiatives. The boy chooses the girl at a market place or in a community festival or in a ritual event. He does not tell the girl immediately. The boy goes back to his house and tells everything to his father. His father with some other family members collects a pitcherful or potful of liquor and secretly they go to the girl's house. There they handover the liquor pot in the roof of the verandah without the knowledge of the girl's family members. The girl's father later comes to know that somebody has brought him a potful of liquor for a marriage negotiation. If he is not willing to give his daughter a marriage to the unknown boy, he may through away the liquor pot. The second time the son's father and other people visit the girl's house with another potful of liquor. This time they put the liquor pot near the rice pounding hole and with the knowledge of the girl's parents. The girl's parents if do not accept the proposal, they bluntly refuse to accept the liquor pot. The liquor pot is either thrown or is taken back by the son's father. The next time again the boy's father with other people take another chance with a potful of liquor. That time the negotiation is finalised. If the girl's parents accepts the liquor, they accept it with a condition of further demand of liquor pots. The girl's parent tells the son's father to get more pots of liquor. On the fixed day the son's father, with or without his son visits the girl's house for the fourth time with the demanded number of pots full of liquor. The girl's parents receive the liquor pots in the presence of the village *Gomango.* Then people drink it collectively. After the drinking is over, the boy and his father bring the girl to their house. The parents may present her with some agricultural produces or any other gifts like mother's ornaments, etc. But this depends upon the economic condition of the girl's parents. Accordingly the gift is given. When the girl's parents refuse the liquor pot third time, the boy takes recourse to capture the girl by force.

After leaving the parent's house the girl enjoys her conjugal life with the boy. No further rituals are organised. This is a type of marriage by which a girl is fetched in exchange of liquor.

5. PASEI SIRUNG

This is a form of child marriage. In the past the child marriage was widely practised. But in present day, it is rarely performed. In this system of marriage the father of a boy child chooses a girl child. One day he comes to girl's village with a potful of liquor and hangs it on the roof of the girl child's house. Since then the girl child is reserved for the boy child. The father of the girl child can never give his daughter in marriage to with any other boy. If the girl's father violates the principle of the society by giving his daughter in marriage to any other boy or the girl refuses to marry the boy after puberty he has to pay fine as demanded by the father of the boy. It is paid in terms of a buffalo or some amount of liquor. Generally buffalo is demanded by boy's father. If the girl's father refuses to pay fine the case is brought to the notice of *Gomango* and fine is paid to the boy's father. If the girl after puberty chooses a partner and gets married, the husband of the girl pays fine to the boy's father. With the fine if it is a buffalo, a common feast is arranged in the village. If the fine is in kind or in term of liquor it goes only to the boy's father.

6. JOAR SIRUNG

This is a form of widow marriage. This form of marriage does not involve such elaborations. Marriage is fixed between the widow and the person of her choice. On the scheduled day the widow is brought home by her husband. But the woman is not easily accepted by the family members of her husband, not only for the reason that she is a widow, but for the reasons that she has not married through negotiation. Then she has to perform a *Gading* to satisfy the husband's family members as well as the supernatural forces and ancestral spirits. Before performing the *Gading* she is restricted to climb up a ladder or to take part in the religious functions of the family. After performing a *Gading* the marriage is approved. It is believed that if the widow after marriage does not perform a *Gading* or breaches the rules, she is punished by the ancestral spirits. Mostly the widow marriage takes place between the widow and a widower.

7. AKUI : (MARRIAGE BY NEGOTIATION)

It is a preferential type of marriage widely prevalent in the Saora society. The marriage is settled through four spells of negotiation between both the parties. The spells are *Pankui, Garboi, Rukudang Poankui, Tikkap* and *Akuidina*.

The first step of negotiation is known as *Pankui* which takes place for selection of mate. A boy selects his spouse. His father is intimated about his selection. One day the father of the boy takes a pot full of liquor to the girl's house. The purpose of his visit is made clear to the parents of the girl. If the daughter agrees the father gives his consent by accepting the liquor. He invites other people of the village to participate in the drink. The girl's father tells the boy's father to

bring more liquor in the next term.

In the next step called '*Garboi*' a group of people from the boy's side go to the girl's house to settle the marriage. On that day the boy's group takes some more liquor. The girl's father receives the party and collectively drink presented by the groom's party. Then the marriage is fixed through discussion between the parties. The girl's father asks the boy's father to proceed for '*Rukudang Pankui*' and a day is fixed for *Rukudang Pankui*.

On the appointed day for '*Rukudang Pankui*' a party consisting of boy's father, some family members and villagers visit the girl's house with 12 or 20 pots-full of liquor. On that day the *Gomango*, members of the girl's *Birinda* remain present there. A date is fixed for marriage (*Akui Dina*).

On the '*Akui Dina*' (Marriage-day), iTikkap or the arrangement for marriage is made. The boy's party visit the girl's house. They carry with them all their traditional bridal dress, liquor and rice. On reaching the girl's house they are received by the family members and members of the girl's *Birinda*.

The groom and the bride are taken to sit under a canopy. Music is played with the instruments like '*Papada*','*Ragboi*', '*Gini*' and '*Sarengi*', etc. The bride and the groom are asked many questions by the *Gomango* or head man of the girl's village. The *Gomango* wants to know if they had any pre-marital relationship. A group dance takes place involving the bride-groom and the bride as the active participants. The dance team leads the young couple to sit on a cot. The bride-groom and the bride sit there. The *Gomango*, senior *Birinda* members, the ward member of the village bless the newly wedded couple of the '*Akui yanang*' (marriage-lessons). After delivering the marriage lessons to the couple, the *Gomango* joins their hands together and gives them an amount (about Rs.50/- now-a-days). Then all from the boy's and girl's sides participate in the feast. The bride is brought to the grooms village in the group of intimate friends, and other men and women of her village to in-law's house. They sing, dance and play musical instruments on the way to the bride groom's house. On reaching the groom's village the party leaves the girl there and return back.

8. GARBOI SIRUNG

This is the Christian system of customary marriage restricted to the Christian people in the Lanjia Saora society. The *Garboi Sirung* is a modified form of the *Akui* type.

The beginning of the process is marked with the selection of spouse. A boy chooses a girl when they meet each other somewhere in the market place, church, on the way or at work. Then the boy intimates his father about the girl whom he

likes to marry. The boy then writes letter to the girl, usually for three times and in the letter he expresses his love for the girl and the desire to marry her. Then a group consisting of senior people of the family with other senior members of the boy's Birinda go to the girl's father to settle the marriage. They and the members of the boy's Birinda sit together and discuss. Then the boy's party go to the girl's house in a customary visit. If the girl's father refuses to give his daughter in marriage to the boy then a second visit is made to the girl's house. If the girl's father still refuses a third and last visit is paid to the girl's village. If the third time also the girl's father refuses the marriage no further visits are paid from the boy's side and the proposal is cancelled. If the girl's father accepts the proposal, in the second visit of the boy's party, the parents of both the boy and the girl intimate others in the respective villages about the marriage. This is called 'Pesing garboi'. In this Pesing garboi, the boy's father goes to the girl's house again with Dicon, Chalak(Chair person of church) and senior people of his village. They take with them Lia(a fried item of paddy prepared with molasses) and tea dust. Betrothal is made in the presence of the Dicon and Chalak.

In the next visit the month of the marriage is fixed. The date is fixed by the collective decision in the presence of groups of *Birinda* members of the boy and girl. Then the Dicon is invited. The scheduled month of marriage is announced. This is called *Sirung Angai Ganabhi.*

The next step in '*Sirung-dina-ganabhi*', is to fix of the day of marriage. The Pastor (church chair person) makes a note to record the date of the marriage and intimates it to the boy and girl.

The next step is *Tikkap*, which is arranged in the evening before the marriage day. This is done in the girl's house when the girl is given bridal ornaments of gold, siler and if any other material. In the evening, people from the boy's side go to the girl's house with bridal dress and cosmetics for the girl and new clothes for her partners. Pastor and senior people of the villages sit in a meeting arranged in the girl's village. The bride and the groom are also asked to attend. In the meeting the Pastor asks the boy to know the name of the girl with home he is in engaged. The boy speaks about the girl but usually does not speak out the name of the girl. Then the Pastor calls the girl in front of him and ask her if the boy's statement is true. He also ask if she really likes the boy. The Pastor asks the boy- where had he seen the girl first ?, Why did he like the girl, when did he decide to marry the girl, etc. The same questions are also asked to the girl. The boy is asked again by the Pastor and many letters he sent to the girl. The boy's reply of sending three letters is confirmed from the girl. Then the Pastor asks the boy for gathering. The boy replies that he has arranged the meeting for *Tikkap*- to identify the girl before the mass. The Pastor asks the boy regarding the presents he brought for *Tikkap*. The boy shows the articles.

Marriage commences in the next day. A place is specifically arranged for proceedings of marriage. All the chair-persons take their seats. the bridal party is called to occupy the seats. The boy is escorted to the cot by his friends and so also the girl. The boy and the girl are in white garments. A collective prayer is made. This is called "*Susuna Garbir*". After the *Susuna Garbir* the Pastor conducts the ceremony. He gives some lessons to the boy and girl and to the gathering about the post marital dealings reading their religious text `Bible'. Then the bride groom takes the oath under the guidance of the Pastor. As the oath goes "since today I accept this girl as my wife". I will serve her at her sorrows and sufferings, I shall part with her sorrows and pleasures, and in case of physical anomaly or disability I shall not leave her".

An exchange of ceremonial rings takes place between the bride and groom. The girl and boy both give their rings to each other. The bride groom have to confirm the relationship as husband and wife before the audience which is followed by a sung of the bride's party called '*an-alam-tani*'. All the people assembled go one by one to the couple and shakes hands with the couple and present gifts. Usually money is given as the gift.

The next step is called '*Gantu-ding-sirung-jamdar*'. By the evening of the marriage day a group of the young people from the bride's village escort the girl to the boy's house. They go dancing and singing. The Dicon, Pastor and other people participate in the farewell procession. The girl is given gift (*Karudung*) by her parents, the gifts of agricultural produces, earthen pots and metal pots, pitcher, clothes, money etc. Before the party arrives at groom's house a ribbon is horizontally tied on the door for an arrival. The girl makes a ceremonial entry by cutting the ribbon and opening the doors of the house. Since that day she takes over the charge of the house. The guests stay in the groom's village for a meeting in the next morning. The Pastor conducts the meeting and gives further lessons about a happy marital life. The people of the boy's village present gifts to the young couple and attends feast together with the guests.

The girl's parents visit the boy's house on the next day of marriage.

In the Shudha Saora community marriage by elopement, child marriage and widow marriages were widely prevalent in the past. But in the present day, such marriages rarely take place. As in the Lanjia Saora society, there is no such system of compensation like *Gading* in the Shudha Saora society. The ideal type of marriage is called '*Larung Pankui Sirung*'.

The Shudha Saora community performs certain rituals and observe certain incest rules. When a girl attains puberty which is called '*Dangdi-ele*'. She lives in a scheduled place till her purificatory bath. During that period she is not allowed

to touch the kitchen utensils or items. She is given food by her mother or other women members of the family. Mostly the girl is served with foods consisting of backed cake. After three days the girl takes a bath with application of turmeric paste and oil on her body and washes her head.

LARUNG PANKUI SIRUNG

In this type, a long time is required to settle the marriage. The first visit of the marriage is called '*Dumbasal*'. The father of the boy takes the liquor to the girl's house and offers it to the girl's father. The father of the girl may or may not accept the liquor. Carrying liquor by the groom's party in their visit to bride's house is known as '*Garboi*'. If *Garboi* is done three times it is called *Pankui*. In the second and third *Garboi*, liquor is taken by the boy's father and kept near rice pounding hole. *Garboi* and *Pankui* are organised to determine the consent of the girl and her father to the proposal. As the liquor brought by the boy's father is accepted by the girl's father the consent is obtained. Then liquor is usually served outside the house.

Then the party from both the sides sit together to fix up the date. This meeting is called '*Takuisal*'. If the marriage is fixed, groom's party offer liquor, three '*mana*' of rice and some amount of cash (which is usually Rs.3/-) is presented to the girl's father. When people of the boy's side come for '*Dumbasal*' to the girl's house, the people of girl's village ask about the purpose of their visit. The people of the boy's side reply that they have seen a flower in their house. The sweet fragrance of that flower attracted them. Then the people of the boy's side keep the pot of liquor near the rice pounding hole of the girl's house. This is called '*Garboi*'. If the concerned girl is free to accept the liquor, if she gives her marriage consent otherwise she returns it. In the *Dumbasal* of the girl's party does deliberately lingers to determine the girl's consent. So the pot of wine is returned to the people of the boy's party. Then in the subsequent *Garboi* the consent for marriage is given by the girl. The betrothal (*Akkuisal*) is done. In the '*Takuisal*' the boy's party keeps the rice, liquor and money near the rice pounding hole of the girl's house. The marriage is settled. Then the boy's party takes food in the girl's house and fixes up the date of the marriage. Usually the marriage programmes are fixed in the months of 'Baisakh' (April), 'Magha'(January), and 'Falguna'(February).

On the day of marriage, the people from groom's village move in a procession to girl's house carrying with them five Mana rice, some redgram and clothes for the girl(*Insole sindrung*) and clothes for the girl's mother(*Yangtudunga sindring*) etc. They move with dancing, singing and beating of drums. The people of girl's village receive the materials brought by the boy's side. If they are satisfied with the presents the marriage takes place. The priest in the marriage arranged by the groom party officials. The boy stands behind the girl and the relatives of the

girl give ceremonial bath to the groom and bride smearing turmeric paste and oil. The boy and girl have to put some coin in the pot containing water for bathing. The coins are given to the people who baths them. The younger sister of the bride decorates the groom and the sister of the groom decorates the bride. Both the groom and bride wear white clothes smeared with turmeric. The bride uses a veil. Then they are told to sit near the ikon painted on the wall of the girl's house. Those who don't have pre-painted ikons, paints the ikon in their house before the marriage day. The groom and the bride are given only snacks before the marriage commences.

After the marriage ceremony ends the bride takes food in the bride groom's house. In the bride's house, the '*Buya*' blesses the young couple near the ikon declaring the boy and the girl as husband and wife. With this the marriage ceremony ends and the young couple goes from door to door to get blessings from elders in the village. With blessings the elders give the couple some money, usually one rupee or two rupees.

Then comes the farewell time for the bride from her parent's house. At the time of leaving the house the groom's sister and the bride's sister join the little finger of the groom and the bride with a thread. This is called '*Yamsi*'. Then the turban of the boy and the '*larasbarna*' (one end of the saree worn by the girl) are joined with each other. One person from the groom's side and another from the bride's side carries some quantity of straw and remain in front of the procession to the groom's house.

There is a restriction that at the time of returning to the groom's house, the groom and the bride should not walk through water or sand. Wherever there are water and sand on the way the people carry them on their shoulders. The groom and the bride never walk under a tamarind tree.

After reaching the boy's house, the girl is told to sit on a wooden platform or on a piece of wood in the verandah. A plough from the boy's house is touched to the legs of the bride and married women of the groom's house wash the legs of the bride with turmeric water. When the bride's legs are washed with turmeric water she sits over Purpuri grass(Doobgrsss-*Cynodon dactylon*).

The people compare the mixing of sand with water to the mixing of good and bad character. They feel, in a river sand and water are inseparable that implies to the understanding that in a society both good natured and bad natured people are found. In the marriage, if they both become united like sand and water it would create problems in family life. Therefore, the people do not allowed the bride and the bride groom to walk on sand and water by that they instruct the young couple to remain always apart from wicked minded people for the sake of a happy family life.

They have a belief that if the young couple walks under a tamarind tree, they may be attacked by the spirits residing in the tree. As the flowers of tamarind tree always falls down the embryo of the couple walking under the tree may fall down. Further, the bride sits on the purpuri grass at the entry of the house. There is a belief that by sitting on the grass the future life becomes as soft as the grass. The touching of the plough with the feet and leg of the bride is believed that, the future life may bring hard circumstances like the iron piece of the plough and the bride has to soften it. Widows and widowers are never allowed to participate in the procession going to the groom's house with the bride.

After entering into the groom's house, the bride and the groom eat in one plate. After three hours or three minutes or three seconds of living together the couple may go for a co-habitation. The prescription of the timing is associated with the legend, the *Kaka-Babren*-the brother and sister. The belief goes that when *Korangulu*(*Vishnu*) made an illusion to turn the brother and sister to husband and wife, the couple had the first co-habitation after three days of separation. The three is their important lucky number which makes a conviction that always- the co-habitation should take place after three seconds or three minutes or three hours or three days or tree months or three years. The "3" represents the three main deities who created the Saora indirectly; such deities are *Barangdeu*(*Brahma*), *Korangulu*(*Vishnu*) and *Sisitam-roga*(*Mahadev*).

GADING

The *Gading* is mostly demanded by the ancestral spirits and supernatural spirits from a widow who without a regular marriage through negotiation comes and stays with her husband. She is restricted to do certain things like climbing up a *Mada*, etc. Then the ancestral spirits and supernatural beings become dis-satisfied upon the woman and cause a disease, mostly fever and possibility of the woman's death. In this circumstance *Gading* becomes important. The materials required for *Gading* are 4 potful of paddy, 4 potful of rice, 4 potful of Saga palm toddy, about 20 arrows and 4-5 bows made for the purpose, leaf cups, clothes (traditional) for male and female spirits, one bracelet, one umbrella, gourd and two buffaloes for sacrifice.

The ritual is arranged in the house of the widow. On either sides of the pounding hole the above materials are equally divided and kept. One part is kept to the left side of the pounding hole for the female deity and the other part to the right for the male deity. Those things are placed on paddy.

On the day the chief *Kudanboi* of the village is invited to perform rituals. If there is no such *Kudanboi* in the village, from other village a *Kudanboi* may be invited. The *Kudanboi* invokes all the ancestral spirits, supernatural spirits and all

hill gods and goddesses to the spot. Then she under goes a trance(*Mir*). After that one after another all the ancestral spirits(*Idai*) come there and take liquor. Then the previous husband(dead) of the widow is possessed in the *Kudanboi*. To appease he is given with clothes, liquor and other things. The spirit of the widow's late husband scolds the present husband of the widow giving an account of many reasons. If the present husband of the widow is related to the dead husband of the woman, the spirit dislikes the act of the man to marry the widow. If the dead's wife is older than the present husband the spirit scolds him for bringing home a barren widow. The spirit also scolds his own living brother for, he did not accept his sister-in-law after his brother's death. The spirit may or may not scold his wife(widow). Then the people gather round the spirit(*Kudanboi* in trance) requesting it to be happy. They also maintain that they have got buffaloes to sacrifice for the spirit. Finally they request the spirit to be merciful and to accept the offerings. Then the spirit leaves the *Kudanboi*. After the spirit leaves all the people gathered there to mourn a lot and through the mourning they praise the earthly living of the spirit and all his good deeds.

Then the dead wife of the widower gets possessed in the *Kudanboi*. She feels unhappy with her husband's deed of marrying a widow. She talks more about her living children and she doubts whether the new wife will take care of her own children at all. The spirit is provided with clothes,liquor and the bracelet she left before death. The spirit in *Kudanboi* wants to see if all her ornaments are still there. Then she gives the bracelet to someone whom she liked. She usually likes to give her bracelet to her sister or married daughter. But the sister or the daughter may hesitate to accept the offer lest the spirit enters to her house. But somebody accepts finally. The spirit likes to wear all her ornaments. She wants that all her ornaments should be kept carefully. When she leaves a mass mourning is observed. The *Kudanboi* returns to her normal state after the spirit leaves her.

The rest of the processes are done outside the house. All the people come out and hold the tail of the sacrificial animal. Two groups of people pull the buffaloes to either sides. With the bows and arrows kept at the site of the ritual people hit the buffalo. It is a fun play before the buffalo is sacrificed. The buffalo is then taken to the sacrificial place and Kudanboi leads the way. There the buffaloes are sacrificed and taking the blood of the sacrificed animals the Kudanboi offers blood mixed rice to ancestral spirits.

The meat is cooked. A plate of meat and rice is taken into the house of the person. There the husband and wife eat together. Then all others take food and the ritual is over.

SORORATE AND LEVIRATE

The Sororate type of marriage is very much observed in Lanjia Saora

society. The society being polygamous or allows to marry the wife's younger sister even if the Ist wife is alive. The wife's younger sister is called *Erilboi* and the marriage thus gets the name '*Irilboi sirung*'. This is not a marriage. It simply means living together. The wife's younger sister keeps relation secretly with the brother-in-law and when the brother-in-law likes he may bring the woman to his house. If the first wife, is alive the new one shall have to perform a *Gading* or pay for compensation. But if her elder sister is dead there is no need of performing a *Gading*. The Sororate is very common in the Lanjia Saora society. But in the Shudha Saora society it is common. It generally happens when the first wife dies. Since among the Lanjia Saora polygyny is traditionally approved the Sororate type of marriage is not prohibited.

On the otherhand, in the Levirate marriage a widow marries to the younger brother of the dead husband. The Levirate is allowed both in the Lanjia and Shudha Saora societies. The first preference for a widow to choose the younger brother of the dead husband. But this is normally not observed. It has one interesting reason. When the elder brother gets married immediately the younger brother chooses one partner for him. When the younger brother has a wife he does not like to marry his sister-in-law. So such cases happen when there is unmarried younger brother. If the brother of the dead is still unmarried and the (dead's) wife selects another man, she is punished by the spirit of her husband.

Cases of marrying a step mother are not rare. Traditionally in the polygyny approved society of Lanjia , people marry as many as they can even at their old age. But this is mostly confined to rich people only. In some cases it is seen that a man has married to a girl of his grand daughter's age. So in such cases the youngest wife easily falls in love with the adult son of the older/eldest co-wife. Then the marriage takes place. But this is not done with any ritualistic process or through formal process. The Birinda members even do not refuse to such a marriage. It is customary to perform *Gading*-while marrying her step-son.

ILDASIRUNG

Polyandry in the Saora society is a socio-religious phenomenon. A woman who is a *Kudanboi*(female Shaman) must have married to an ancestral spirit living under the earth. When an ordinary woman turns into a *Kudanboi*, first she is directed in dream by some underworld male spirit, to paint an ikon in her house. The woman marries that underworld spirit in the dream. The *Kudanboi* then also maintains conjugal life with the spirits(*Idai*). Therefore, the *Kudanbois* are always having two husbands, one in her physical state and the other with a spiritual state. But either of the husbands are important to her. The *Kudanbois* are believed to have also children in the underworld. This marriage in dream to a spiritual ancestral is called *Idai-sirung*(Ancestral spirit-marriage). The *Kudanboi's* marriage is

completely her self perception. Nobody can know about this. Others come to know about it when the woman(*Kudanboi*) arranges for painting an ikon and comes to trance. This makes on implication that the *Kudanboi* maintains an unseen polyandrous life by having two husbands at a time. Further it is important that *Kudanboi* is the key person to communicate with the underworld and the living world.

When a woman becomes a Kudanboi painting of an ikon in her house is compulsory. The painting of the ikon symbolises *Kudanboi's* marriage with the underworld spirit.

In the Lanjia Saora society the polygamy is in the process of fast change. The Christian religion has banned the polygamous life. It is regarded as sinful in the Christian religion. Gradually the society is changing towards monogamy. Even so the Christian religion has not been able to abolish the polygamous life fully among the Christian converts. The punishment to people for polygamous life is cancellation of membership in the Church. But in the traditional group of Lanjias the system is still going on. In the Shudha Saora society polygyny is not very common though cases of attaining a second wife when the first wife is barren are reported.

DEATH RITUALS OF LANJIA SAORAS

The Lanjias religious process in the death ritual is too much elaborate. Usually there are three steps in the ritual practice. In Lanjias' perception a dead never takes immediate farewell from its living kins. This attachment of the dead with its living kins sustains for about 3 years and the attachment is cut off after the final death ritual of the dead. Hence they feel that the soul of the dead is with them, in their house, in the crops, and everywhere. Discussed below the detailed process of the death rituals of the Lanjia Saoras.

THE GOAR

Karja and *Goar* are the two important death rituals in Lanjia Saora community. These are a secondary and tertiary death ritual celebrations. When a person in a village dies, certain ritual works in the traditional way have to be performed. The primary and secondary death ritual process starts from the very minute of the death till the 8th to 10th days. Usually, there happens to be no specific day or a specific interval after death when the ritual work of the *Goar* has to be performed. Very commonly the work is finished within the 10th day after the death and sometimes a variation of three to four days is marked. However, in all the cases the final day of the celebration is scheduled by the performing family in consultation with the villagers. This ritual in the local communicable language is known as *Dasha*. But in this case it does not go according to the name *Dasha* because people

are not very positive in performing the ritual on this particular day.

Immediately after a person is dead, the news is transmitted to all in the village, and in the villages of the relatives of the dead. On the very spot of the death *Abguite* ritual is performed. This ritualistic process is involved till the dead body is carried to the cremation ground.

Then the dead body is taken to the pounding hole of the house. The dead's relatives/kins keep the body carefully along the length of the wooden slab, the head of the dead facing towards the door.

To the dead body raw turmeric paste and oil are applied. The female folk, mostly from the neighbouring houses massage the dead body with turmeric and oil of *Pongamia pinnata*(*Karanja*). Such women who perform the work may be married or unmarried, but never males are allowed. The women massage the entire body of the dead from the head to the leg but never from leg to head. Massaging the body from leg to head direction is regarded as a taboo and hence is prohibited.

The Saoras believe that the life force *[Ji'i(n)]* leaves the body through the leg particularly through the toe. So after the life force leaves the body from the head to toe direction so massaging is done in the same direction. Before massaging the dead body is bathed usually with hot water. The dead body is finally dressed with new or old clothes depending upon the financial status of the family.

Before the dead body is taken to the cremation ground some basic arrangements are made there by the village folk. Wood is collected and heaped. For burning the dead body people usually use the wood of mango tree(*Mangifera indica)* and/or of *Karanja* tree (*Pongamia globra/pinnata)*. Sometimes other types of dry wood may be used but never a *Janda*(?) tree which is associated with this religious taboo. If Janda tree is used for burning the dead body, the spirit can never come back to the people from the underworld at the events of ancestral spirits worship.

The dry wood is arranged in seven layers. The dead body is kept on the wood facing the north direction(*Kandra budisi*). Two *Siga*(details follow) stand on either sides of the dead body and out of them one fires the dead body facing the east.

The fire that is used to burn the dead body is brought from the house of the dead with a bundle of hay and is taken to the graveyard by the *Siga*. When the *Siga* fires, he does it at the waist region of the dead.

After the body is completely burnt into ashes, the *Siga* leaves the place followed by other people who gathered there. The next day the *Birinda* relatives of the dead(married woman) with some people of their village visit the burning

spot, sprinkle water over the fire and collect bones to be used in *Karja*. If a person dies outside his/her own house, its bone is also collected in the graveyard and is buried there. It is never brought into the house of the dead.

At the time of burning the body, some quantity of paddy is taken in a winnow, and burnt with the dead body. Also with paddy a small quantity of rice is thrown into the funeral pyre. These grains are given to the dead as he cultivated these(*Mandregna*) in his fields during his life time. With such grains, it is believed, the dead body will not suffer from shortage of food. It is also believed that after death his soul(Feuradan) enters into the crops and grains which he cultivated. The entry of the dead's soul into paddy grains, symbolises the importance of paddy cultivation by the tribe.

SIGAS / SIGANJI / SIGAMARJI

Siga or *Siganji* or *Sigamarji* is the designation of such people who are specially given with the responsibilities to burn the dead bodies. In every village some special people do it.

Traditionally, a particular family in the village is given with the responsibility of working as *Siga*. There is no village political system that determines or distributes the work of burning dead people to any particular family. In fact, the responsibility is given to young courageous men in the village. Then the position goes down to the next generation on the basis of inheritance and therefore is a hereditary process. The work is generally done by his son. If the son hesitates or expresses his unwillingness for the job it becomes an option of other youngmen in the village who would like to come forward with voluntary wills to carryout the job. In any case, the people who become *Siga* give their will voluntarily without any social pressure.

Therefore, in any village *Siga* is well known. In a village there may be more than one family or individuals who perform the job. More than one *Siga* is always found in a village because, one substitutes the other at need or at one's absence. The *Siga* family is known as '*Siganjia maina*' which includes the kins of the *Siga*. Female folks never does it as it is a men's job.

As said earlier, any people from any *Birinda* may work as *Siga* since their is no social restriction. But the main character is that the *Siga* should be a fearless man who should not fear at the dead body or the spirit and his psyche does not manifest with fears related to the affair. Once a family works for the purpose, it runs through its next generations- when the family denies to work any more, new persons are taken into consideration.

In the graveyard, the *Siga* is given with rice, paddy, oil, turmeric that are

collected from different families of the village. Usually after death of a person, other families in the village contribute some quantities of rice, paddy, oil etc, to the family of the dead, as a mark of mutual help.

The '*Abguite*' is finished after the dead body is turned to ashes. With the end of '*Abguite*' the family of the dead prepares for the *Dasha/Goar*.

The *Goar* is performed in two families in the family of her birth and in the family of her husband in case of a woman. The male folk of her parents family, usually the brother comes to the burning ground in a procession accompanied by the villagers, *Kudan* ,*Kudanboi* and the musical party. In the procession the people walk in a queue. But in the front remains the music party with the *Kudan*, *Kudanboi* and the dead's relatives.

It is observed that the participants in the procession use white dress. The women usually wear the traditional napkin cloth(*Gatungkap*) around the waist. A white napkin is wrapped over the breast part. White dress is courtesy bound, but not a must for all. On this occasion a white dress is worn to respect the dead's spirit.

THE INTERVAL

The dead's brother of her blood kins collect bones from the burning pyre. They keep it in their house premises or in their graveyard. Each *Birinda* has its one graveyard or cremation ground. Traditionally the family of the dead(female) performs the ritual. If the husband's family is rich it can also perform the same rituals.

The interval between the collection of bones and the day of the ritual keeps the dead's family and *Birinda* people engaged in collecting the materials required for the *Goar*. In the event of the death of a woman her parent's family takes major interest in performance of the ritual. The performance is not observed in her husband's family.

The dead's kin go out in search of a long flat stone,accompanied by the same villagers. After the stone slab is selected a procession goes to the spot alongwith the kins and the music party to collect it. The stone is then kept at a place called *Genuar*(stone in the planting site) stone planting site. At that place many such stones are found under a large tree in a slanting manner. This is supported on the tree trunk. The number of stones under the tree indicates the number of persons died in the village. The stone is installed in a traditional fashion on the day of the *Goar* performance. The stone planting is mainly done where a *Mahula* tree (*Madhuka longifolia*), *Tamarind* (*Tamarindus indica*) and *karanj*(*Pongamia pinnata*) are found together.

On the day of Goar, on either sides of the stone two *Kendu* stumps

(*Diospyrus melanoxylon*) are established. The stone is washed and polished with turmeric paste. The priests keep handful of crops on the stone. After the worship the priest takes the grains.

THE GOAR DAY

On the specified day guests and relatives from different villages attend the ritual ceremony. They appear at the dead's house or the hosts house (applicable for dead woman) where a common dance is performed. The close relatives of the dead of the children of the dead mourn and discuss about his(dead) activities(when he was alive).

The village folks(both male and female) with the traditional dress participate in dances. In the dance the drums, hornpipe, mouth blown whistles are used. In the group a woman, who must be a relative of the dead carries a box on her head containing the dress of the dead. She also dances with the box on her head. The dance continues till the things are ready at the *Genuar* site. In the dance people carry axe, musical instruments and a peacock feather The events that are mainly done on the day of *Goar*.

1. Pounding of rice

In the early morning the rice pounding starts in the deadman's house. Many village women participate in this work. The rice thus pounded is used for the feast.

2. Fetching Water

Village women fetch water for the feast as well as for use at the *Genuar* site to established the stone. But *Idaiboi*(disciple of *Kudanboi*) fetches water for the religious performance.

3. Cooking at the dead's house

Rice is cooked there and taken to the *Genuar* site.

4. Dance

The dance starts and continues till the ritual ends with the feast.

5. Buffalo sacrifice

The dance team leads towards the *Genuar* where buffalo are to be sacrificed.

6. Asei-tang

(Typical dance in *Goar*) A typical orchestra music.

7. The dance group returns

Village people forming groups dance with the dance group and lead to the place where feast is arranged.

MATERIALS USED FOR THE PROCESSES AT GENUAR

1. Two new earthen pots: The *Kudanboi* cooks rice for the dead's spirit.
2. Rice about 2kgs. in a large leaf bowl.
3. Paddy of about 2kgs.
4. One egg.
5. Traditional clothes, new or borrowed for the dead.

The *Kudanboi* offers a little bit of liquor of Mahua(*Madhuka longifolia)* in a small earthen pot or in a leaf cup, *Duba* grass(*Cynodon dactylon)* to the ancestral spirits. Then she goes in a trance. She orders the kins of the dead to dig a small hole near the stone. First the *Duba* grass is put in the small hole and then paddy. Then the kins of the dead moves the stone to be established on the hole. They wash the base of the stone with water and turmeric is smeared on the stone. Meat and blood of the sacrificed animal are taken with some rice in seven leaf cups. Again seven cups carrying cooked buffalo meat and rice are kept on the ground around the memorial stone. Worship is offered three times there, first, to the cups before sacrifice, second, with blood and third with cooked meat.

The rice, paddy, redgram(*Cajanus cajan)* that are left behind are given to the buffalo meant for sacrifice.

People first hammer at the head of the animal. When the animal falls down, people cut its shoes, the animal dies. Then it is skinned off, slished and taken for feast.

All the dress which the dead was using are burnt near the *Genuar*. Near the menhir of the dead, traditional dresses are offered for the dead.

Buffalo sacrifice is a traditional mode of offering blood to the ancestral spirits. For, the ancestral spirits feels contented with its flesh and blood.

Usually in a *Goar* ceremony buffaloes are sacrificed. Sometimes, more than twenty buffaloes are sacrificed at a time. The number of buffaloes sacrificed gives an identity of the social status of the dead. That, when his/her relatives are

invited from different villages far and near, they bring with them one or two buffaloes as a customary gift. The buffaloes that are brought as gift are purchased out of the contributions made by the villagers, as it is not possible for the relative's family. The village people contribute to afford alone. All the village people are invited for the feast. It is also customary that they get returns when a *Goar* ceremony is celebrated in their villages.

The sacrificed buffaloes are not fully consumed by the people attending the *Goar*. The contributors of buffaloes take about a half of the meat to their villages. This is the only precious material exchange in the death rituals.

Akudanjal the flesh from the hind limb girdle is cooked at the hearth where the *Kudanboi* cooks for the dead's spirit. The cooked meat is offered to the spirit at the stone established sometimes before and is consumed by the *Kudanboi* and her assistants. The assistants get the share but the *Kudanboi* gets the lion's share. The *Kudanboi* and her assistants eat right at the spot.

In the feast, the meat is cooked with water, salt and chilly. Meat is served to all people equally in leaf cups. Special shares of meat is arranged for the dead's family members.

After the spirit is offered with food, the *Siga*, Chief *Kudanboi*, *Idaiboi*(assistants) and other village folks dance with feathers on head, agricultural implements in hand amidst traditional music. People carry sword, triangular shaped axe, brooms made of peacock's feather while dancing. All these things are signs of aristocracy.

They sacrifice a pumpkin(*Cucurbita maxima)* at the memorial stone. The pumpkin is first cut into two pieces by the sword. Then the participants in the dance cut it into still smaller pieces and throw away them in and around the *Genuar*. One big piece, almost half of the pumpkin is offered to the spirit near the stone. The kins of the dead keep fasting till the feast is over. They cook and eat separately near the memory stone after the common feast.

The presentation of so many buffaloes indicates the high status of the dead person. People borrowed buffaloes from him when he was alive. So they return the animal once borrowed, in the Saora dialect it is *panangsing* gift.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE POUNDING HOLE AND ASSOCIATED RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The rice pounding hole found in every traditional Lanjia household has much religious importance. After death the body is laid over the pounding hole of the house. It is believed that the underworld(spirits) communicate with the living

world through the rice pounding hole. The hole is highly esteemed for the ancestral spirits and so is important. Further, all important rituals are organised near the pounding hole to ensure the participation of the underworld spirits in the ritualistic performance. It becomes easier for the spirits to attend the ritual by coming through the pounding hole from the underworld after they are invoked to attend the ritual.

FEURADAN TO SONUM : TRANSFORMATION OF SOUL TO SPIRIT

Feuradan is the soul and *sonum* is spirit. After the death of a person the Feuradan is converted to *sonum*. The *Sonum* of a dead has to be treated continuously for three years(from the *Goar* till *karja*). The kins of the dead person provide food through worships in different times for the appeasement of the *Sonum* or the ancestral spirit. Usually in almost all types of important rituals like *Goar*, *Lajjab* and *Karja* the ancestral spirits are invoked and worshipped. The ancestral spirits are worshipped for the well-being of the dead's family, the relatives and other villagers with whom the person (when alive) death was associated.

Immediately after death the dead body is kept over the rice pounding hole which is found just after the entrance of every Lanjia Saora house. There are contradictory version about why the dead body is kept over the pounding hole. To one informant, people keep the body at such place not to allow the spirit to come out of the underworld. It is believed so because there is a belief that after death the spirit goes into the underworld.

Hence, when people perform the ritual works for the dead person in the house where he died, they call the *Kudan* or *Kudanboi* with their assistants. They take some rice in a winnow. The head priest rubs the rice in the winnow. They call/invite/invoke all other ancestral spirits included in the group *Rauda* and *Ilida*. It is believed that after death the spirit goes to the underworld and becomes one among the *Raudas*. *Raudas* are mainly the ancestral spirits who were once engaged in performing the works of rituals, festivals and ceremonies. The *Raudas* are previous Shamans male or female. In the religious life it holds that the priest or priestess(the *kudan* and *kudanboi*) can marry to opposite sexes of spirits in the group of *Raudas*.

The Shaman(*Kudan* or *Kudanboi*) takes two leaves of Bael(*Aegle marmelos)*. In between the two leaves the Shaman takes two grains of rice and rubs vigorously on the winnow. During the process the shaman takes the names of the previous spirits who were the previous shamans and for the time being are in the group of *Raudas*. The shaman also takes the names of the ancestors of the dead. The shaman remains careful about the rice in the bel leaves. When he finds the two grains of rice either lost or adhered to the leaves, he becomes sure of the spirits

arrival. He becomes confirmed about which of the spirits have arrived at what moment. Accordingly he knows the name of the spirits who have arrived. The shaman talks to the spirit asking the where-abouts of the dead's spirit. He also asks the spirit to tell him who was that spirit that took the person's life.

After detecting the spirit who took the dead's feuradan, the shaman asks the dead's *sonum* what material the *sonum* can be offered. The shaman puts before him a list of materials like dresses, food, drinks, liquor or toddy, sacrifice...etc. The shaman verbally assures the spirit to make provisions so that the sonum can get its needful and will be contented with. The priest also intimates the spirit how the dead's family is heart broken with his/her departure, how they recall always his good manners and other good activities.

KARJA CEREMONY

Karja ceremony is the greatest ritual of Lanjia Saora community. It happens to be a ceremony which is long awaited by the entire community. It is a ceremony collectively observed, organised and celebrated. In the ceremony the spirits of dead who died during three years are commemorated. Hence in the ceremony, the entire village participates, the kins of the deads taking the initiative. This commemoration festival is organised every year in March and every dead person is commemorated for three consecutive years after death. Because all the spirits of the persons died in the last three years are commemorated in one ceremony.

WHY THE COMMEMORATION

The Lanjia Saoras hold that after somebody dies his soul becomes a spirit. They distinguish the soul and spirit in a manner that soul is living and spirit is non-living. Hence it makes a distinction between the living's world and the non-living's world. The persons who died had contributions to their families. During life span on the earth he/she had cultivated patches of paddy lands, cultivated in swiddens and terraces. The dead was once providing food to the families and was doing for the welfare of the family. The commemoration ceremony also is organised for providing the needs of the spirit for its good life in the other world.

After the *Karja* is organised for a particular mass of spirits, of those who died in the last three years such spirits are never commemorated again. Hence *Karja* is very important when the living kins of the dead can have the final talk with their ancestors. It is the time when feelings of the spirits are reciprocated with their living kins.

After *Abguite*-(the primary death ritual) the *Goar* is organised as the secondary death ritual. *Karja* is the tertiary death ritual and marks the end of a

death ritual cycle. In the *Goar*, living kins of the dead offer the spirit with grains and sacrifices on which the spirit subsists upto the *Karja* performance. In between *Dasha* and *Karja* comes a ceremony called *Lajjab* when the dead spirits are also invoked by the living kins of dead's. So in the *Goar* and *Lajjab*(refer chapter-Religious Practices..)the deads get their food from their legacy holders. In the *Karja* they are offered for the last time.

Karja for a dead woman her husband's *Birinda* as well as her parent's *Birinda* organise the ceremony. As a matter of fact to organise the ceremony, a sound financial condition of the organiser is very important. But to meet the expenditure for *Karja* of a dead woman her parental family is bound to spend when her husband's family may or may not take an interest. For a dead male, it is always to be celebrated by his family and *Birinda* in which the person's son plays the prominent role.

Usually *Karja* ceremony is observed in the month of March-April. In the tribe's yearly calender of events, the months from January to April mark the ritual observing period. During this time they do not have much engagements in the agricultural work. More or less it is a leisure period though people work for field preparation, swiddening, collection of minor forest produces, construction, repairing ofhouses and other domestic works. During this period various new fruit eating festivals are also organised. *Karja* being more often a community affair, it is held in this period when people are in a sound economic condition the crops from swiddens is harvested and money earned out of sale of forest produces. During the period any event that is celebrated looks very much colourful. The *Lajjab* is celebrated in November-December which though is somehow related with ancestral spirits, may also be regarded as an agricultural festival.

THE BEGINNING WITH PEACOCK/PEAHEN SEARCHING

Before the *Karja* ceremony begins in the village, the villagers go in search of a Peacock/Peahen in the jungle. In this hunting expedition the villagers participate in a mass. They search for the bird for days together till its availability. If it is still not found then the ceremony is not withheld or postponed. Sometimes if a day is fixed to observe the ceremony people usually do not wait for the availability of the bird-peacock in the stipulated time.

The peacock has a symbolic significance in this ritual. In fact, peacock is regarded as a royal bird by the Lanjias. In the *Karja* ceremony, many different spirits included in the groups of *Rauda* and *Ilida* are invoked. *Ilida* is the royal group of spirits. The peacock if available is not sacrificed for these spirits. The bird is skinned off. People may eat its flesh. When people skin off the bird, they take care that its feathers are not damaged. Then they fill straw inside the skin

tightly and make it to the form of a peacock again. This model peacock is taken with the dance group, somebody carrying it in the forefront. With the peacock the people dance in their typical manner to greet, welcome the royal spirits into the *Karja* ceremony. So the need of a peacock is only to greet or welcome the royal spirits with prestige for the occasion.

Peacock is also a sign of royalty. Since the tribe has notions about kings, worriers and braves, they like to greet their ancestors with the royal bird peacock and umbrella the symbol of royalty. It is also believed that such spirits become more merciful if they are invoked with a peacock.

Another belief about the peacock, not associated with the *Karja* ceremony holds that, if peacock is offered to '*Yuyuboi*' (literally grandmother) the deity of small -pox will cure the disease. They feel that the round spots on the feather of the bird resemble the granules of small pox. So with a peacock sacrifice small pox is cured. Because of these beliefs peacock is a highly important bird to the Saoras.

In the absence of peacock, birds like parrot or *Rami* (*Acridotheristristic*) may also be used. These are the talking birds which can communicate between the spirits and the people.

The *Karja* ritual is observed for three days and three nights continuously. An open space near any dead's house is preferred for the function. The open space provides ample opportunity for the people to dance freely. The ritual starts in the day time of the Ist day and continues till the third day evening.

One or more shamans of the village are invited for the performance. The shaman in-chief may be a *Kudan* or *Kudanboi* who is helped by the *Idaibois* as an assistant. The chief shaman is esteemed with the highest regards for this ritual.

Usually, *Kudan* or *Kudanboi* of the '*Senatung*' category performs the ceremony. The *Senatung* category of Shamans has the capacity to perform for a long time. Hence they sit to perform rituals like *Goar* and *Karja*. The *Senatung* type Shamans can better communicate with the ancestral spirits. They can come to a trance when spirits possess in them. They have the power to invoke and talk to any spirit. They get possessed by both malevolent and benevolent spirits. The Shamans being possessed with spirits demand their needs from the people. The *Senatung* shamans become the intermediate links between the spirits and the people.

The *Senatung* shamans are dignified people. Where they sit to worship or perform a ritual, a brass lamp is kept with them. The brass lamp stands as a symbol of dignity to the shamans. If the brass lamp is not kindled at the place where the shaman performs, it goes against the prestige of the shaman and he feels himself/

herself insulted. The brass lamp is of different designs. The lamp is like a pitcher with a bowl like mouth. The bowl is lined with small brass statues of peacock, man, monkey and elephant, on its top line or circumference. The lamp carries oil in the bowl and cloth candles are put in it.

There are certain symbolic meanings of the animals engraved on the lamp. The man in the fence of the lamp stands for the shaman. The peacock is a royal sign and is especially placed on the lamp to satisfy the royal spirits. Monkey is specially believed as the ancestral spirits, particularly the spirits of the previous shamans. The Shamans *Kudans* and *Kudanbois* regard the monkeys as the important spirits of previous shamans for whom they could become shamans. So monkeys determined the *Kudans* or *Kudanbois*. Elephant is also a royal symbol which refers to the spirits undergoing the group *Ilida*. As it is believed, the spirits in the *Ilida* group are Kings, Knights, worriers...etc; they use the elephant as their vehicle. All these animals happen to be closely associated with the human beings. The monkey is also important as it can only climb up the earth from the underworld through the difficult narrow passage.

The shamans keep fasting from the Ist day till the ritual is ended. During the period they survive on toddy, liquor, boiled seeds of *Cajanus cajan* or any sort of supplementary food except of course, rice, dal, meat..etc. They take food or liquor etc. Which are prepared or collected specially for them.

The chief shaman wears a long pendent ear ring of gold, silver necklace around the neck(*Phaguara*), new long tailed loin cloth, a ring made of gold on the nose. The *Kudan* must also shave fresh. No definite dress pattern for others(assistant) is prescribed but white dress is preferred.

The brass lamp thus happens to be one important material needed for the *Karja* ceremony. The candles of the lamp burn with oil of *Karanja*(*Pongamia pinnata)* fruits and rice flour. Though the lamp provides better light, still people use to dust rice flour at the burning flame. This rice flour is made available from the rice grinded for the purpose separately by the kins of the dead persons.

The *Karja* ceremony starts with the kindling of the lamp on the first day evening. Then continuously for three days, till the end of the ceremony the lamp glows and is never extinguished. If the lamp is extinguished, no spirit will come to the site of performance. Oil extracted from fruits of *Pongamia pinnata* is continuously added into the bowl to keep the lamp burning. The lamp extinguishes after the function is over.

DINGARA: It is the first step of the entire process in *Karja*. *Dingara* means pulling the spirits. So on the Ist day of *Karja*, village people visit to invite the spirits of dead people from other villages. The dead people in other villages who are the

relatives of people attend *Karja* in the host village. As it is said earlier that *Karja* is organised for a mass of deads of the last three years. The coming of people from other villages indicates that such spirits are women spirits from other villages. For, a woman spirit, invited to be propitiated is believed to be with her parental kins who collected its bones from burning ground.

People of the village where *Karja* is organised goes in groups with traditional music for the *Dingara*. The musical instruments that are used are *Tudung*(Drum), *Neneng*(Ghanta), *Jabjab*(Tambourine), *Khadising*.. etc.

In the procession for *Dingara* for a female spirit to be invited from a different village, many people participate. In the team goes an assistant *Kudan* of the *Karja* with brother of the dead person and some common folk besides the instrumentalists. The troop sets out from the host village on the first day some hours before the beginning of worship. On reaching the other village the *Kudan* chants hymns of praise to the dead's spirit, collects the bone and requests the spirits to attend the *Karja* in the village. The troop moves in the *Kintallo* where some processes are involved. When the *Kudan* finishes the work of '*Genudi*'(invitation), the people return to the hosting village.

After the people return from *Dingara*, the rituals start from the chief *Kudan's* house of the village. The chief shaman dresses himself in the traditional style suitable for the ceremony. The ear rings, nose rings, neck ring.. etc. are washed and cleaned properly with turmeric(*Curcuma longa)* and paste of Tamarind(*Tamarindus indica)* fruit. With the new dress, turmeric paste is smeared. The *Kudan*-in-chief is found to have cut his hair in a particular design. Almost about half of the vertex of the head leading from the forehead end is cleanly shaved. The rest part carries long hair.

The procession now leads from the *Kudan's* house to the place where the worship is to be organised. The *Kudan* happens to be very important. He is escorted to the worship site by the village folk. All the assistant shamans also follow the chief *Kudan*. One *Kudanboi*(out of the assistants) carries a basket of rice and the prestigious brass lamp on her head.

On reaching the worship spot the priest presides over the seat meant for him with his assistants sitting around. One *Kudanboi* appears to be the main assistant of the chief who performs activities as directed by the chief.

Before the chief shaman appears at the ritual site, a number of baskets filled with rice must be kept there. The number of bamboo baskets carrying rice tells the number of spirits for whom the ritual is being organised. With the rice baskets, toddy is also kept in small pitchers. The baskets what are presented at the spot are brought from different households of the dead's kins for whom the ritual is

performed.

On the site, the chief priest takes some rice from each basket and gives them to the assistant *Kudanboi* who carried the lamp from the chief's house. Then the chief and his assistants chant some hymns together. During chanting the chief *Kudan* makes a common mixture of toddy (taking toddy from different pots). After some minutes of worship the *Kudan* gets possessed by the spirits. He then takes out the pitcher in which he made the mixture of toddy and rushes into the house where the ritual is being observed. Till to that time all the processes have to be organised in the premises of the house. After entering into the house the chief priest sprinkles the toddy from the pot in different corners of the house of the dead.

After sprinkling toddy in the house the chief again returns to the first place and again chants some hymns. Within very short time he gets possessed with the spirits and comes to a trance. When the *Kudan* comes to a trance, the village folk start dancing around him. The kins of the deads who are present there weep and cry loudly in memorium of their dead kins.

The pitcher/earthen pot in which toddy was mixed is taken to the ritual site. The priest keeps pinches of turmeric paste on its mouth. The *Kudan* takes the number of pinches counting the number of dead for whom the ritual is organised. Turmeric paste is meant for purity. In the ritual the spirits who were invoked have to be cooled by turmeric paste. For, the ancestral spirits suffered from too much of a hot environment in the underworld. So on their arrival at the spot they should be applied with turmeric paste which has a cooling effect. Turmeric paste is also given to care the injuries of the spirits caused when their mortal bodies were burnt. The chanting of invocation of the spirits goes on.

On behalf of all the families of the dead one hen is given for the ritual. The hen is bathed in the beginning. Turmeric paste is applied over her body with oil. Then the *Kudan* stands ready to play with the hen.

Facing the chief shaman a person must be sitting wearing a new cloth and carrying a new cloth in his hands. The person must be the kin of any deads for whom the ritual is organised. The person keeps the new cloth over his two knees in such a manner that the cloth remains like a bag.

After finishing the work with the hen, the shaman chief stands up and invokes the names of the dead for whom the ritual is organised. He invokes the first one, tells him about the hen which is meant for him and invites the spirit to his seat. On knowing that the spirit arrives, the chief priest throws off the hen to the cloth at the knees of the other person carrying it. This throwing off of the hen means, it is sacrificed. Again the chief priest gets the hen from the man, gives it a bath, applies turmeric and oil, invokes the name of another spirit and on becoming

sure of the spirits arrival he throws off the hen to the same man. This continues for a long time with many times playing with the hen until all the spirits are invoked. Everytime when the hen is thrown implies that the hen is sacrificed for that spirit whose name the *Kudan* utters.

The hen is never sacrificed after that. The hen is left free after the process. Since then the hen become a part of the spirits, nobody kills or sells it until one year is passed.

The ongoing process is complemented with music of blow pipes, oral whistles, drums and other musical instruments.

The person who was receiving the hen time and again from the chief priest has to take a bath as he was in touch with the hen meant for the underworlders i.e. the spirits.

PROCESSES INSIDE THE HOUSE

The second phase of the spirit call is performed inside the house. During this phase the spirits are invoked to attend the ritual worship when the priests can talk to them. The spirits can have talks with their living kins as well as can put before their personal problems. The bilateral communication between the living and the dead takes place through the Shamans.

The lamp is brought into the house. Before the entry into the house take a bath. If they do not take bath atleast turmeric mixed water has to be sprinkled over them. The *Kudanboi* wears a turban first and then carries the lamp on her head.

The *Kudan* and his assistants sit around the rice pounding hole. Then rice is collected from all houses of the dead. Rice thus collected has to be pounded to powder. After the rice is made available to the Shamans, they put it in the pounding hole and then the chief *Kudan* and his assistants join hands with each other making a circle around the hole. Then they continue chanting hymns.

The village women come to the site. They start pounding rice to make it powder. Three to four womens married or unmarried pound the rice with wooden pestles. The powdered rice is used for food to be offered to the ancestral spirits and also for the lamp. Continuously rice flour has to be added at the burning point of the candle. Rice is added to the lamp because people feel that the spirit's soul exist(*Ihlite*) in the rice flour as the spirit had cultivated those when it was living.

Powdered rice is cooked in the house, near the site where Shamans are engaged in invoking the spirits. The cooked rice flour is taken in a disc and served in that disc, the spirits feel contented and satisfied. No other pot or disc can be used for the purpose, as they fear, the spirits may turn to be malevolent. The cooked food

is also sometimes served to the people in dance. But this is not very comm on for two reasons, firstly, it is difficult to pound rice to flour for a mass of peo le and secondly, the families of the dead cannot provide sufficient rice to all incl uding the dancers. The *Kudan* and *Kudamboi* with their assistants continue to invoke the ancestral spirits and also rice pounding continues.

Sitting around the pounding hole the Shamans first invoke t e *Raudas* who are the benevolent ancestral spirits. The Shamans ask the *Raudas* t whereab uts of the other spirits living with them in the underworld in the last thre years. *Raudas* give the Shaman the details of such other spirits. Then the Shaman utters the names of the people who died during the last three years. He requests them to appear at the ritual spot and have the offerings. The priest also thanks them for the transformation of their goodwill to others through the crops that are pounded.

Towards the last part of the night, a bamboo ladder(*Khara*) is put in the hole(*Analan*) in which rice is pounded. The Shamans put the basal end of the bamboo in the pounding hole with th other end piercing through the thatched house upward.

The bamboo used for the purpose has to be collected from the jungle a day before the ritual or sometime before the *Puja*. Any person,(may be a kin of a dead) can collect the bamboo. The branches of the bamboo are cut, leaving a small segment of the branch from the node, so that the small segment can be used as a step when the bamboo has to be used as a ladder. The bamboo is sold to the chi f Shaman at a cost fixed there after bargaining. Thus the Shaman purchases th bamboo in a verbal payment of the fixed or with a verbal exchange of materials In actual case the Shaman does not pay for it, but since it is to be used for the ritual purpose the bamboo has religious significance.

In the Lanjia religious thought the pounding hole is believed to be th passage to the underworld(i.e. the world of spirit). The spirits can communicate with their living kins by coming out to the earth through the hole. But in all the cases the bilateral communication between the living and dead is mediated by the priests. The hole is also highly esteemed as all sorts of food is pounded for the spirits as well as living beings.

When the ladder is planted on the pounding hole, one basketful of rice and one basket of gram(*Cajanus cajan*) are kept at the base of the bamboo to keep it fixed to the hole. New clothes are kept on the site. Th first night's work is finished with planting of the bamboo on the hole.

The second day morning is also invested for the spirit call by the Shamans. In their song they describe that the soul of the ancestral spirits is in the bamboo, in the bamboo baskets and in the new dresses meant for them. The shamans relate

in their song that all the materials which the family members of the dead possess now were once the property of the dead. So in every material there is the soul of the dead person.

In the second day all the processes organised in the first day are repeated. The invocation and spirit invitation continue as all the spirits could not be invoked in one day. There are a great number of spirits. Each of the spirits comes there, takes offerings from the living kins through the Shaman. The spirit is believed to gossip with the living kins of its family and relatives. All the processes of the first day except the beginning of the ritual is repeated in the second day.

In the very morning of the third day, the total number of buffaloes contributed by the kins and relatives of the dead are sacrificed at one end of the village and their blood is collected separately and with such blood the spirits are worshipped again; the spirits are happy to receive the blood of sacrificial animals.

By the evening of the third day all the ritual works are finished. The people with traditional orchestra, lead the Shamans to their respective houses.

DEATH RITUAL OF CHRISTIAN SAORA

The day a person dies is called '*Karanmiyen*' and the ritual is also by the same term. The dead body is laid over the pounding hole(*anal*) of the house and the two toes of the dead are tied together to protect the entry of any other spirits to the dead body. The two legs are kept to the direction of the back door. The house where the dead body is kept is filled in the smoke of dust rising from agarbatti. Then all the *Birinda* members and relatives of the dead gather around the dead body and mourn. The children of the dead are laid to jump over the dead body. This is done with a feeling that the dead must have love for its children and it may return to the children afterwards. The ornaments of that the dead had worn are removed. The body is then given a bath with application of turmeric paste and oil all over her body. Further, oil is massaged all over the body and given a bath with cold water. The water with which the dead body is given a bath is collected from all households in the village. Every household gives one pitcher of water for the purpose. Then the dead body is clothed with such clothes which the person used to wear. All those works are done by women when on the otherside men are found engaged in making the coffin.

When the coffin box is ready, the dead body is put in it. All the clothes the dead worn are put in the coffin along with things used in his life time. Then the coffin is carried to the graveyard where it has to be buried. While the pit to put the coffin is dug the Decon(Church personel) reads out the pages from Bible, wishing about the peace of the spirit in the otherworld. Then the coffin is put in the pit. All the people present there put handfuls of earth on the coffin. Everybody wishes for the

peace of the dead and also prays for its safe travel to the otherworld. Then the coffin is buried.

After one month or so of the death, '*Sanaim garbir*' i.e.(a memory prayer) is organised. On that day a memory house is made for the dead. After gathering all the materials to build the memory house, the family members of the dead invite the Decon to the site. All the Birinda people also come there and all the invitees, friends and relatives of the dead come with rice, firewood, etc. for a feast. Then all the people help in making the memory house. The family members of the dead keep oil, cosmetics, soaps in the memory house. After that all the people recite the '*Sanaim garbir*' for the dead. After returning from the site of the memory house, in the house of the dead once again the *Sanaim Garbir* is organised. After this all these people attend the feast.

After one year of death a *Kumab garbir*' is organised(which literally refers to 'ash prayer'). This is organised on Good Friday if the dead belonged to Baptist Christian group and if the dead belonged to Catholic Christian group, the event is organised on 2nd November- the birth day of Mother Mary. Before the occasion the memory house is painted white and on the day of the event the family members of the dead go there, burn agarbatti and spray perfumed oil and bring some quantity of earth from the memory house and go to the church. In the church the Chalak(literally manager, regarded as father) sprinkles water on the earth brought from the memory house of the dead and smears the earth to make a cross on the forehead of the person who brought the earth. Again a collective prayer is organised there. Every year on the same day the deads are recalled and similar processes are organised.

DEATH RITUAL OF SHUDHA SAORAS : KARANYED

After the death of a person the dead body is displaced a little. From its original place and immediately after the death, the deads toes are tied together. Then all the friends and relatives of the dead are intimated. A barber from Oriya speaking community is called on. The barber visits all the households in the village and ask every householder to come to the dead body with a piece of firewood. The dead body is then brought outside given a bath with turmeric paste, oil and water. A new cloth is wraped round the body. If the dead have small children they are said to jump over the body and all other children on the spot are asked to do so accordingly.

The dead body after given a bath is taken to an inverted cot. The head of the dead is kept to the east and so the leg to the west. Putting the dead body on the inverted cot they carry it to the cremation ground. The *Siga* (firing man) accompanies the team. A person from the washerman caste remains in the front of the dead body's procession and he carries a pitcherful of water. Almost all family

members follow the dead body to cremation ground. The deads kins carry some rice and cooked rice in separate leaf pots. On reaching the cremation ground,the dead body is kept in a way its head facing the east. Some rice is put on its eyes and mouth. On the otherside the people heap wood and make a stage for the dead body. If sufficient wood is not found they collect branches of the trees. They give preference to wood of mango tree (*Mangifera indica)* wood of *Jambu* tree (*Syzigium cuminii)* and *Mahula*(*Madhuka longifolia)* to cremate the dead body. Then the dead body is taken to the heap of wood. The washerman who carried water goes round the dead body for three times. On completion of one round he makes a pore in the pitcher and thus after three rounds he makes three pores in the pitcher. On completion of the third round he throws the pitcher there and leaves the place immediately. He goes straight back to his home without looking back. Then the eldest son of the dead body from the head. Then the dead's family members and all other people returned back leaving behind the *Siga* to watch its perfect cremation.

Till the tenth days the family members of the dead give food to the dead's spirit. They take rice, liquor etc, in leaf cups in the evening and keep it some distance away from their home for the dead's spirit. This is done daily for ten days.

After three days '*Adekup*' is organised. This is the occasion of collecting ash and bones of the dead. On that day the eldest son of the dead, *Kula* members and the Siga go to the cremation ground with liquor. The bones, ash are collected in a glass bottle. On their way back home they bury the bottle containing ash and bones anywhere on the way.

On the tenth day of the death *Dasha* or *Goar* is organised. The day is fixed always. On that day the *Kudanboi* is invited. Liquor, rice, cock or goat or buffalo etc, are collected. With a barber the son of the dead goes to collect the buried bottle containing ash and bones. The *Kudanboi* then invokes all ancestral spirits. The *Kudanboi* requests the other spirits to allow the dead's spirit to live with them. The *Kudanboi* then wraps the ash and bone of the dead with Layal leaves(*Bauhinia vahlii)* and in the pocket she also keeps a cuppor ring, little bit of liquor and fix the packet in the roof of the house or place it on one wall. Then the sacrifice is done. With the meat of the sacrificed animal the feast is organised. To the feast the *Kula* members contribute about 10 Mana of rice, vegetable etc.

After five years of death of person *Karja* is organised for the dead persons. Usually Karja is organised in between 3 to 7 years of a person's death. Every *Mudasing*(Chief of each lineage) performs one *Karja* ceremony each. The process of the *Karja* inside a house is done by the *Mudasings* separately and usually in their houses. Then all such chiefs of different lineage gather on the village premises.

Every household in the village must have prepared *Mahula* liquor for the *Karja*, which is performed in different steps for 7 days. The performance begins on Monday in a moonlight night. They like to perform the ritual in a bright fortnight as they feel that in such a period the performance can be done cooly (Moon is cool). The first Monday performance is called *Dakurum*(Holy-begin). On that day people from each household takes rice, water, coins, cloth, pitcher, etc to the respective Mudasing's house and keep those in one corner of the *Mudasing's* house. The rice and water thus kept is called '*Angjangda*'. In that place a pitcherful of *Mahuli* is also kept.

On Tuesday people of the village goes to get leaves of *Sal*(*Shorea robusta*),*Kaniramda*(Teak: *Tectona grandis*), *Layal*(*Bauhinia vahlii*) and *Kadaur*(bamboo) to make the leaf pots in which food is to be served. The *Kudanboi* never leaves the place of ritual in the *Mudasing's* house. She chants and worships everyday.

On Wednesday '*Pangra*' is organised. In the *Pangra* all the dead relatives are invoked and invited for the *Karja*. This is organised mostly for the women spirits who after marriage lives in their husband's villages and died there. On this day the *Kudanboi*, the blood relatives of the women spirits with the orchestra party go to such women spirit's in-laws village. The blood relatives of such spirits carry a pitcher each on their head in which are kept turmeric paste. On reaching the in-law's village they keep turmeric in the cremation ground of the same village and then visit to the in-law's house (the woman spirit's husband's house) from where they bring water and rice. If the village is far off the *Kudanboi* and her followers just visit upto the outskirt of the village and keep turmeric there in the name of such women spirits and return on collecting rice and water from the same place. Singing and dancing keep on continuing. Thursday and Friday are not of greater importance. The days are only spent in merry-making. Singing and dancing continue always.

On Saturday a bamboo is inserted in the pounding hole the other end touching the floor of the house. Then the *Kinjinangboi* (the top in hierarchy of Shamans), *Kudanboi*, *Buya*, all get possessed with spirits and so they climb up and down the bamboo. This symbolises the playing among all the spirits. In the *Karja* ceremony the *Kudanboi* sings the songs that describe the total cosmology- the songs of *Kittung-Radab*(refer Myths,legend..).

On Sunday all the people go for '*Gendakur*'. *Mudasing* people of each lineage go to fetch water to cook food for the ancestral spirits. They are accompanied by *Tedung*(music from a musical instrument). Each *Mudasing* carries a potful of rice to wash at the water ghat. Other people who accompany them carry peacock feathered brooms, knife, cloth(used doing ritual) etc. and reach

the waterghats. Dancing and singing go on simultaneously. There the *Kinjinangboi* chants something and offers liquor to all the deities and spirits in the surrounding, the main being water-spirit, earth-spirit and ancestral spirits. This chanting and recitations with liquor distribution to spirits is termed as '*Lagalan-Latulan*'.

The *Mudasings* fetch water from the water sources. They keep the ritual cloth(*Idaikap*) on the head. The people dance carrying umbrella and reaches the ritual site. There on a cot they keep water, rice etc. The *Kinjinangboi* puts turmeric smeared rice on the cot and organises *Lagalam-Latulam*. Then taking the name of all the ancestral spirits, the total group of Shamans cook food for them. The food is cooked near the ikon in a house and also is served there. With rice, molasses, honey, vegetables mixed together the food is prepared. A buffalo is sacrificed at the '*Jananglo*' (harvest ground). The Shaman group takes the cut heads of the animals and the meat is equally shared among the contributors. In the customary manner ten households contribute buffaloes, one each. But socially isolated people(*Pallad*), if contribute buffaloes then their contribution is accepted after they perform *Mainapur*. In this *Mainapur* such people have to arrange painting of ikon if they don't have an ikon in their house and have to give an animal for sacrifice as is demanded by *Kudanboi* and the people. By doing this such '*Pallads*' are taken back in the society.

The meat of the sacrificed animals in the *Mainapur* is mixed with the meat of other buffaloes sacrificed and cooked together. Then the Shaman group organises *Lagalang-Latulang*. Every body is given with the food materials that were offered to the spirits. Then the people sing and dance throughout the night.

As the cock crows another process called '*Paldubong*' is organised. At this time buffaloes are sacrificed at the *Jananglo*, the *Kudanboi* and other Shamans take away the cut heads and hide them. Those heads are brought out in this '*Paldubong*'. The heads are cut into bilateral halves, cooked and the Shaman group eat the meat indicating the end of the ritual.

There are certain taboos often taken care of during performance of *Karja*. That at the time of performing *Lagalang-Latulang*, the *Kinjinangboi* should invoke all the names of the dead ancestors while cooking food for them, otherwise the rice do not become soft. If the *Kudanboi* does not hide the heads of the sacrificed buffaloes(at time of sacrifice near the *Jananglo*) immediately after sacrifice, the ancestral spirits(*Idaisum*) cause harm to her.

TABOOS ASSOCIATED WITH LIFE CYCLE PROCESSES IN THE SHUDHA SAORAS BELIEF PATTERN

1. Pregnant women are restricted to jump a rope, if she jumps, the child

will cry loudly after birth which may cause its death.

2. Pregnant women are restricted to take egg which may cause abortion.

3. Pregnant women are not allowed to eat meat of porcupine (*Kanjing*). If she eats the meat of porcupine her stomach will get the pinching pain like piercing of quills.

4. Pregnant women are restricted to eat meat of pangolin (*Bajrakapta*). If they eat so the skin of the child would crack like the skin of the animal.

5. Eating jackfruit is prohibited to women during pregnancy. If they eat, bodily manifestation of the child will be like the fruit.

6. Pregnant women are restricted to eat sweet potato. The belief goes that as the sweet potato is sweet during its production season and becomes bitter in other seasons, likewise the child will only look beautiful during his youth and never before or after.

7. Pregnant women do not destroy mouse hole as the labour pain will be severe at the time of delivery.

8. Pregnant women do not wrap the face of a pot in which seeds of crops are kept. If they do so it is believed that they will suffer a lot at the time of delivery.

9. At the time of first pregnancy they should not wear bangles with a feeling that there will be problems at the time of delivery.

10. When the Pregnant women fetch water in pitchers, they take care that the pitcher is full. If it is not the child's eyes shall be furrowed.

11. If the pregnant women carry water on keeping one pitcher over the another, their child's head will become blunt.

12. Pregnant women should always finish a work that they take up, otherwise child will be born deform.

13. Pregnant women are restricted to work with confusions. If they do so the women have to undergo a prolonged delivery pain.

4

DENOMINATION OF FORESTS AND ITS PARTS OF SAORA

The Saoras trace their relationship with forests from the original terms So + ara (Hidden + wood). The term is expressed to mean the myth of origin of the Saoras. The implication of the term has wider usage. The first Saora was found out from a tree trunk (Myth of Sudha Saora) and after that he lived in the forest. It may be said here that the Saora came out from wood and lived in woods. Living in woods refers to their habitat in the forest world. Thus the first living space known to them is forest. The Saora (Lanjia) people lived first as nomadic people. Their pattern of life is described in the chapter 'Society and Culture - 1'. The myth and reality of the tribe's existence on the earth describe the association of forests with their mode of living. But the forests in the tribal version of myth and reality is perceived, first of all, as a living space or as a habitat.

The tribe's association with the forest in later period was for food and modes of subsistence. They depended upon the forest for fruits, roots, animals on which the people subsisted. By their choice of food items that was available in the forests they came to know about the various components of the forests. In their quest for food and livelihood they met with several living and non-living components. That is possibly their first idea about the components of the forests. The nomadic people came across different types of landscapes where they made settlements giving a specific name to the settlement. In the naming pattern they took into account certain interesting features of the landscape and in accordance that they gave name to a settlement or a landscape. In fact, the forested landscape was denominated first. The denomination of villages is a part of the denomination of hills and forests. In the patterns of denomination of the hills and forests people took into account many interesting physical characteristics of the landscape. Such a characteristic is specific to a place. Hence the denomination started with highlighting a particular tree or animal or landscape, streams, etc.

Forest provides the biological, social, emotional needs of the people. Besides, forests stand as an economic (resource) base that meets both the subsistence and cash needs of people. The tribes avail their material needs from forests. Forests are known by the terms like *Gada, Tulab, Sala, Juba, Barooh*. etc. Out of all these terms '*Gada*' and '*Tulab*' are most frequently used by the Saoras. There is very little distinction between *Gada* and *Tulab*. The term Gada is less frequently used in comparison to Tulab. In the explanation of Gada and Tulab the people take into account vegetation. Sala and Juba are also the terms that refer to forests, particularly the vegetations, Barooh. It is an important landscape as well as vegetation. Besides, there are other terms like Kitungsing, that gives a meaning to the forests as the abode of Kitung, the god from whom the Saora people descended. However, these terms are described below in details as in relations to the understanding of the Saoras.

According to the Saora people, forest is a space filled with vegetation. The vegetation is thick in some parts and sparse in some parts. But the idea of a forest is earned from the vegetation and animals. The Saora people believe that where there is a tree, there is an animal. From this idea they hold that the forests give shelter to great number of animals. Plants and animals together stand as the two important components of the forests. The Saora people believe that with plants and animals, hills are also taken as part of the forests. Hills are very much regarded as the temple of gods. And so they believe that the plants growing on the hills, the animals living amidst dense vegetation are the properties of such hill gods. The hill gods are associated with many legends. The legends about the hills also give an account of its denomination. Various types of stones resembling weapons, household articles are regarded as the materials that the gods were using. The different shapes of stones are also regarded as the household items which the gods were once using and those things have now become stones. Denomination of hills and forests is also made by the names of trees with special attribute to trees and animals. The hill and forest gods are given importance for, such gods can cause harms to people. They cause harms in forms of diseases, disorderliness in the well-being of people and failure of crops. They are benevolent till they are treated properly and become malevolent when people violate the taboos related to such gods. The gods become malevolent if they are not appeased with worships. It is deemed appropriate to discuss the Saora understanding of the forests in their indigenous terms.

GADA / TULAB

These are many commonly used term for forests. In terms of vegetation, Gada caries all types of vegetation starting from grass to the tall timber trees. In Gada, where vegetation is compact and converge a large patch of land, it becomes *Mada Gada* (Big-forest). Here the taller species are well marked in the vegetation. The smaller species of trees and plants fill in the gap left by the taller species. If the

forest has small number of taller species with much of smaller species, then it is called *Sanagada* (small-forest). The distinction of a big and a small forest is made in consideration with the size of the vegetation (tall or small). Further coverage of area by the vegetation also adds to the understanding of a big forest and a small forest. In a Gada when the taller trees grow to almost an equal height, they make a *Kuitab* (umbrella). *Kuitab* is understood as the canopy of a forest. As the Saora explanation goes, in a forested patch the peripheral vegetation is comparatively smaller than the taller species. The population of tall species are mostly confined to the middle of the forested patch. Further, the population of taller species becomes thinner as one goes from the centre of the forest to the periphery. So the apex or the terminal parts of the vegetation makes an umbrella like hood. Therefore, the *Kuitab* is understood as the canopy or hood of the forest. Saoras are aware that the *Kuitab* is always like an arch, that joins one end of the forest to the other. The vegetation of the middle zone makes the peak of the area. *Kuitab* is also applicable to a bush or an arboreal tree like Banyan. They feel as if there is a hood of Banyan tree that hides the branches of the tree.

Tulab gives an understanding of forest like that of Gada. But the term - Tulab is used less frequently. Tulab is very much used in the Saoras' oral tradition (the myths, legends, songs, etc). Vegetation in a Tulab must be very dense - as the Saora state. The density of vegetation indicates that there are great number of animals inside the forest. The compact vegetation and the animals make Tulab known as a very wild place. Therefore, people fear general interference in Tulab.

Gada and Tulab are also differentiated by the infiltration of Sun light into the vegetation. The same forest with dense vegetation is regarded as Gada in the day time and Tulab in the night. For, in the day time the people do not have a fear complex to enter into the forest, but at night they are afraid of entering into the forest. A forest where the concentration of plants and trees is too dense, the sunlight cannot easily pass through the vegetation. The Saora says that the sunlight is restricted by '*Kuitab*' i.e. the umbrella like canopy and so the light cannot fall on the ground. The forest where the sunlight does not reach the forest floor is also called Tulab. Which is therefore a much dense forest.

Gada is the term used for the forest which is linked to the term 'Dia' meaning light. In Gada, the sunlight can flush in to the vegetation and fall on the forest floor. If much of sunlight passes through the canopy of vegetation, it indicates vegetation. The term Tulab is linked to Noong (shade / darkness) for, the forest remains dark even in the day time. This happens when sun light fails to pass through the canopy of vegetation. Further, Tulab-Aloong-Lungar are found to be three inter related terms. Lungar literally means the caves which always remain dark. Caves are found on the hills. The darkness in the cave in day time is compared to the shade of trees in the forest. Such a forest where darkness prevails even in the

day time known as Tulab. The first man lived in the caves in forests. So he was not known to other people.

The term Tulab is said to be in use much later than the term Gada. This attribute is based upon the use of the term in their oral traditions. It also bases upon their understanding of shade and darkness. Their idea on the shade or darkness and light is discussed in the chapter 'Cultral Value in Relation to Environment'. They believe that darkness came first and light later on. In this way, Tulab is the term used in the beginning and the term - Gada came in use later as the former is linked to darkness and the latter to light.

Thus Gada and Tulab give importance on vegetation. Saora people hold that a forest devoid of swidden plots and free from public interference may be regarded as a Gada or Tulab. A thick vegetation or a monocultural plantation may be regarded as a Gada but not a Tulab. Tulab is sometimes used to mention the man-made forests, but it is not the appropriate term to be used. Therefore a village forest is never called a Tulab.

For the fear of carnivorous, beasts, snakes, ghosts, in the forest the Saora people do not enter into forests alone. This experience they had in the long past. The fear complex of Saora was very much associated with the dense vegetation and darkness in the forests which developed in them an idea about the presence of ghosts and spirits and animals. Therefore the dense vegetation is an *indicator* of presence of varieties of animals, ghosts, snakes etc, in the forest that arouse a fear complex in them.

Tulab constitutes a natural vegetation. The world of natural vegetation in the area dominated by Sal (*shorea robusta*) as community. The Saora people describe few more species that grow with Sal trees. There are large number of species growing with Sal forests. But the Saora is familiar with a limited number of species in their day-to-day life. A common Saora man hardly points out some other 10-15 species with Sal trees. The species which the Saoras know to be present in a Tulab with the Sal trees are Amen (*Piasal : Pterocarpus mansupium*), Bandid (*Terminainl tormentax*), Bandar (*Scleichera oleosa*), Arasal (*caryota urens*), Siongi (*Gmelina arborea*), Aba (*Madhuka longifolia*), Uda (*Mangifera indica*), Gabar (*Banyan - Ficus benghalensis*), Anjar (*Peepel- Ficus religiosa*), Rutun (?). Murmur (*Dalberghia sissoo*), Kukuyi (*Bombax ceiba*), kirid (*Holarrhena antidysenterica*), Barualoi (*Semicarpus anacardium*), Tusa (*Terminal chebula*), Tuber (*Terminalian belerica*), Enger, (*Emblica officinalis*), Bradab (*Bauhinia purpurea*), Karanj (*Pongamia pinnata*), Titin (Tamarindus indica) etc.

While the Saora people speak of vegetation in Tulab, they mostly take into account the tall tree species with which they are very much familiar. They rarely

take into account the smaller trees or shrubs. For, they are much familiar with the herbs and shrubs. Those who are somewhat familiar with undergrowth herbs and shrubs consider that they are parts of Tulab. But by the term Tulab they understand the big trees mostly and the other type of vegetation is ignored. Loil (*Bauhinia vahlii)* is much known among creepers that make an important component among the species of vegetation.

The ethno-ecological perception of the Saora people derived from their understanding of composition of vegetation reveals that the taller species are mostly confined to the hilly lands and hill slopes. But in ancient times taller species were found abundantly on the plain lands. They indicate that the taller species on plains are no more found at present because plain lands have been converted into agricultural lands. About the growth of tall species they hold that such trees first receive the rain water, so they grow well. The small trees and bushes grow in the space left among the taller species. The rain water that falls from the tall species are made available to the undergrowth species. On a hilly land the rain water flows down. Thus the terminal of a hill and the base absorb very little of rain water. After a heavy shower of rain on the hill top, the water immediately runs down. On the way the vegetations absorb water. Rain water flows at a greater speed to the streams at the foot hills. So the soil at the foot hill fails to absorb maximum of rain water. Hence, the herbs and shrubs are found at the foot hill as well as at the hill top. The space in between the hill top and the foot hill have tall trees, under trees, much of loil creepers...etc. In their perception about ethno - ecology it is made clear as to how a Kuitab i.e. umbrella like canopy is made. Then explain that the hill stands as the shaft of umbrella and the hood of umbrella represents under growth at the foot hill, hill top and taller species at the mid-hills.

The animals who live in Tulab like Khna (tiger), Tunrakt (leopard), Salua (Bear), Alib (Deer), Kinsar (Sambar) Pander (Rabbit), Jansur (?), Peafowl (Mara) etc. are very frequently described by Saora people. Besides the animals, birds like Kukur (Dove), Tumul (?), Rupadi (parrot), Kaka (Crow), Rijeng (?) etc, are said to be living in a Tulab. Among the reptiles, Saora knows only snakes, cargalandmonitor living inside the Tulab. They speak about Percupines, Pangolins living in the specific Tulabs. Apart from the animals and birds, different types of honey reserves are found in Tulab. Saora people mention about 'Adang' - one large honey comb hanging from a tall tree branch and 'Umrad' - a large honey reserve with many honey combs that are found in the Tulab.

BAROOH

Barooh literally means hill. The Saora people use the term to mention a hill forest. A hill forest is also called Gada. But in Gada there are no swidden plots whereas in the Barooh, swidden plots are found. In terms of vegetation on a hill

land, the hill is divided into four major parts. The first is the foothill where we find agricultural lands. Once upon a time a lush green forest was found there. The portion situated immediately above the foothill has space for shifting cultivation. And the place above the swiddening zone is the vegetation zone where the indigenous vegetation of the forest is found. Last and the uppermost portion is the hilltop where under trees and undergrowths are usually found. Details about the parts of the hills are discussed in the chapter Society and Cultural - 1 (Hills as elementary units of settlement).

In most cases Saora people explain that a dense vegetation is always marked with hills. The vegetation on the hills may be called as Gada and Tulab but the vegetation with the hill landscape is known as Barooh. In a Barooh type of forest the vegetation is compact at the middle part of the hill which is cleared for shifting cultivation by the tribe. As regards the type of vegetation, the taller trees are usually found on all parts excluding the hill top. The Saora people generally speak about the big trees like Lua (Ficus glomerata), Kurgad (Syzygium cuminii), Anjer (Ficus religiosa), Uring (Bamboo), Uda (Mangifera indica), Titin (Tamarindus indica) etc.

In relation to their material needs, they know about various forests enriched with different type of materials. Further, the forests contribute to the peoples' livelihood and so they have developed manifold attachment to the forest world. Their need based economy made them very much dependent on the forests from the time immemorial. Their emotional attachment to the forests is expressed in their myths, legends, lores and other forms of their oral traditions. The tribe's association with the forests is very old. It is influence their Socio-economic and Cultural life. For various material needs the tribal people visit different patches of forests. So they have denominated the hills, forests, landscapes, etc, to make the physical environment known.

The idea of denomination of forests was cherished after the Saoras were born. The birth of Saora people is mentioned in their myth. The myth relates that after coming out from the Kureitung, people lived amidst forests. Such people were regarded as Gannar mar i.e. nomadic men who lived on hunting and gathering. The gannar mar is referred as the first person who denominated the parts of forests. This is viewed in the denomination of settlements of Saora, in the chapter 'Society and Cultural - 1 of Saora'. It is said that the forest was there before the Saora come into being. They lived in forests and later on gave names to patches of forests and hills. But in comparison to tree species, the bushes and shrubs grow better at the foothills. The foothills continuing to plain lands comprise of Sal, Mahula, Mango, Tamarind trees with other associated species of Sal community. The sindi (*Phoenix sylvestris)* and Karma (*Borassus flabllifer)* are the species growing at the foot hills and plain lands.

The basal part of a hill is cleared for making settlements and crop lands. From the foot to the middle of the hill thire extend swidden plots. The terminal part of the hill is also sometimes cultivated if there is a plateau. There the rainfed crops are cultivated. The hill top and the foot hill are also significant for growth of thatching grass. Along with thatching grass, Jana (*broom grass - Thysanolaena maxima)* also grows in these parts.

The Barooh type of forests are associated with 'Snakudalbur' and 'Saladabur'. 'Saladabur' meaning bushy forests on the hills. Some creepers are also found with the bushy vegetation. 'Snakudalbur' on the other hand, is means a bushy forest intervened with large trees. The bushes grow in between the tree species.

Since long Barooh (Plural - Baroon) type of forests are being exploited. The trees and plants of Baroon are cleared and converted into swidden plots. The extensive practice of shifting cultivation on the hills have made the vegetations confined to the kamda zone of the hills. Kamda zone is the part in between the swiddening zone and the hill top. This part is regarded as no-work zone. Agricultural practices are not done in such parts, for the part remains at a great height.

The main criterion to regard a hill forest as Barooh is the presence of swidden plots. A virgin hill forest where no swiddening is done is basically called a Gada or Tulab. Barooh forests are very much associated with the Saora religious beliefs. They believe that gods and spirits live in hill forests. Different gods and spirits reside in different hills of their liking. However, the tribes spiritual links with the hills is described in the section on religious geography.

SALA

The term Sala is used to mention a small forest. The forest is considered to be small with regard to the regeneration of trees. The vegetation comprises of a very few large timber species, a few small trees and mostly shrubs. The shrubs make the forest dense. The large timber species may be confined to the centre or to the scattered area. But the peripheral zone of this forest never has tall tree species. The Sudha Saora people describe the Sala forest as a patch of regenerated vegetation on a swidden plot. Which was subjected to long fallowing. As a result of recuperation in the fallow land the Sala forests grow. The forest of this type remains mostly bushy as the timber species do not get ample opportunity to grow. The interference of the Saora into this forest is very much marked. Sala forest is a good reservoir of fuel wood. People cut the small vegetation mass that dry up quickly and use as fuel wood. Sala forest may grow on the hills, foot hills and plains.

The name Saladabur consists of three different terms : Sala-da-bur that literally means small forest - water - hill which connotes a small forest usually at

the foot hill where perennial water streams are found. Sala literally means bush and Saladabur refers to the bushes growing near water chanals on the hills, foot hills or plains. The water sources may be perennial or seasonal. So the bushes growing on the swidden plots are regarded as Sala, the weeds growing in rainy season are called Salada.

The creepers normally do not grow with the bushy vegetation. The creeper that is often seen in bushy forest is Loil (Bauhinia vahlii). Animals are rarely seen in the Sala forests. In dense Sala forests snakes are common. Cargaland monitors are reported to be present with the snakes. Other animals present in such a forest are rabbits, porcupines, and many types of birds etc.

KITUNGSING

This is a part of the forest which is regarded as the abodes of deities. : Kitung - sing means Kitung's house. Kitung is regarded as the supreme god who is the main character in the Saora myth. Forest in general is regarded as the house of Kitung. The Saora settlement being a part of the forest comes under the territory of Kitung. KItung prefers to live in the forest as it is a lonely place where he is not disturbed by the people.

The Saoras believe that Kitung lives in the very dense part of a forest. A dense forest here means a compact vegetation through which sunlight can hardly pass. The part of the forest where Kitung likes to live must be a dark and cool place. The animals found in the forests are regarded as Kitung's pets.

The sacred grove where the Saora offer their worship to Kitung is also regarded as the god. When people are lost in forest they worship Kitung. Before entering into a forest, they first utter the name of Kitungsum and Lobosum. The Kitungsing is a tall Sal grove and in some denuded forests a stone is regarded as the Kitungsing. The Saoras fear to do any sorts of activities which are disliked by the kitung, inside Kitungsingh. For, they feel that by doing so they will be subjected to the anger of the god who may cause drastic problems. Kitungsing is a reserved part of the forest.

All the forests are regarded as Kitung's house. Yet specific forests are specifically marked as Kitungsing. In such parts, the tribes perform their religious rity and offer worship to Kitung at regular intervals. Therefore the whole forest, a part of it or a preserved patch of vegetation are regarded as the Kitungsing. Whenever Kitung feels that something is wrong with the people, he appears in Buya's dream. Kitung demands mainly a sacrifice. A person falling sick suddenly in the forest has to take resort to Kitung through the Buya. In such cases emergency worships are organized.

Besides the attributes made by Saoras that forest is the abode of Kitung, there is still another deity associated with the forests. The deity is called Gada sum (forest - god) who is regarded as the sole authority of forests. The people who have regular work in the forest fear Gadasum most. They believe that any problem that occurs in the forests is an action of Gadasum. He is a benevolent deity, but often becomes malevolent if the people cause harm to 'Gadasum Asalo' i.e. the abode of Gadasum (preserved patch of forest). If a person disregards Gadasum, he definitely becomes the target of the deity's anger. Further, Gadasum is offered with regular worships in the forest. If regular worships are not given to the deity, the welfare of the community is harmed by the god. People apprehend that if the Gadasum is dissatisfied for any cause, he might send carnivorous beasts to kill cattle, human beings etc, in the Saora settlements. So the people have a high sense of fear complex in association to the Gadasum.

In the past every village settlement had one 'Gadasum asalo'(preserved patch of forest clusturs). That patch of the forest or the vegetation regarded as Gadasum asalo is preserved with great religious feeling. The Saora people feel that it is the deity's house and so any interference in the deity's house and surroundings would arouse violence in him. This may cause any untoward incident.

The Gadasum lives on trees. Trees are associated with rain. The Saora believe that rain fall occurs because of trees. A ritual called Ganurpur (Rain-worship) is organized for good rainfall. Since the rainfall is associated with trees and so also with forests (Gada), the Gadasum is invoked in the Ganurpur. Vegetation at the 'asalo' is not in any case violated. If trees and bushes are cut from the 'asalo' it is believed that rainfall do not occur. Hence the preserved vegetation at asalo causes a good rainfall.

During a Ganurpur many restrictions are imposed on the people. The taboos and restrictions associated with this worship aredescribed in the Preservation and conservation activities of the tribe. Their sense of regard to an 'asalo' is so deep that they never violate the taboos. The following are the taboos associated with the 'Gadasum asalo' and observed by the people during the Godasumpur or Ganurpur.

a) Nobody should spit in the area outlined as 'asalo'

b) Disposal of human excreta, defecation etc, are strictly prohibited in the 'asalo' area. People take care so that pigs do not enter into the 'asalo' at the time of a worship.

c) At the 'asalo' a permanent hearth is dug for the deity who is believed to cook there. Ordinarly not a single stone of the hearth is displaced of the hearth hole is filled in with soil. Not a single thing at the 'asalo' is displaced

ever.

d) Nobody should collect stone from the asalo area for their personal requirement like house construction. All the stones are regarded to be the possession of the deity. When people go in search of a desired stone for stone planting is the celebration for Goar, they never bring a stone from the 'asalo'. Stones are not even taken out from the place for an embarkment.

e) Collection of fire wood, poles, timbers from the asalo is strictly prohibited. Sometimes people also fear to collect minor forest produces from the trees at the 'asalo'. They fear that if they interfere with the god's properties, the god would become angry and punish the people by giving them an ailment. In case of an an ailment the sacrifice of a big animal is a compulsion.

f) For fear of heavy expenditure from their meagre income in case of violating the taboos the Saoras maintain caution and fear complex.

In the asalo along with the Sal trees Neem (Azadirachta indica), Banyan (*Ficus benghalensis)*, Peepal (*Ficus religiosa)*, Kadu (*Anthocephalos cadamba)*, Amen (Pterocarpus marsupium) and other large trees are found. Neem tree is highly regarded as it is believed to be the abode of Lord Jagannath. Not only is the cutting of trees and bushes are prohibited, but also in some cases plucking of leaves and flowers are prohibited in the 'asalo'.

Hunting in the asalo area is strictly forbidden. But if during hunting an animal if it rushes into 'asalo' people do not follow it further. They feel that the god saved the animal from being killed. Group hunting is not done in 'asalo' for fear of destruction of trees and plants etc. In a group hunting if a cargaland monitor is found, it is killed. When a reptile is killed its tongue is cut and sacrificed to Goadasum and Lobosum. Lobosum accepts the blood first. The Saora people believe that the Gadasum is very much fond of cargaland monitor sacrifice and so if the animal is got and sacrificed, a good hunting is assured. Other sacrifices may be given to the god before hunting. But this is casual and not a bounding. Whenever a sacrifice is given it is either demanded by the god or people offer so much to seek the good-will of the god for a good hunting without any problem.

The asalo is frequented once a year to organise Genurpur. This gives an idea of the Saoras sense of preservation of the forest.

The Genurpur is only organized on the Amavasya (No-moon night) in the last part of the winter or at the beginning of the summer season. People believe that if the vegetation is properly preserved in the 'asalo' rainfall would be regular. Hense for good weather and good rainfall the god is worshipped in time.

Pregnant women and menstruating women are never allowed to go to 'asalo'as there is chance of abortion. Menstruating women are forbidden entry as their presence is regarded as impure.

The Sudha Saoras mostly believe in the presence of Gadasum in a sacred grove. In their theology Chandisum (Compared to Chandi in Sanskrit) is a female deity who is linked with the Gadasum.

Chandisum drives away the malevolent spirits from the village. Details about Chandisum is described in chapter - 'Religious Practices......'.More than one village, sometimes four or five villages come under the territory of one Chandisum. Village settlements are usually made at the foothills. The evil spirits always search a scope to attack the people in forests. But Gadasum mitigates the evil actions of such spirits and save the people. Therefore, Chandisum and Gadasum are complementary in their actions for betterment of people. The Sudha Saoras mainly preserve one Gadasum asalo, so that the Gadasum may help the Chandisum in safeguarding the people from the evil eyes of ghosts and spirits.

In the Sudha Saora area, the villages like Dombo Saora, Putasahi, Bhanumatipur, Bhagirathipur, Apnaguda come under the territory of one Chandisum. The villagers have preserved a patch of forest on the 'Kumbhi' hill which they regard as 'Gadasum asalo'. Once in a year worship is offered to the Gadasum. In fact, the worship is offered to Gadasum for genur (rain). But along with rain people seek the mercy of the god for their collective welfare. On the occasion of this Gadasumpur and Genurpur sacrifice of, buffalo, pig, goat, cock, etc, is offered to the god. But the god prefers the sacrifice of a cow. People do not like to offer cow sacrifice. At present the Sudha Saoras regard themselves as pure like the Hindus. So they do not like to be called as beef-caters. They offer such animal, whose flesh they can consume (viz goat , sheep etc).

The Saoras belief on taboos and restrictions related with certain gods maintains aspect of preservation of cultural traditions. The taboos associated with the forests, keeps certain landscapes and forests free from human -interference. Those forbidden landscapes become a source of prevailing fear the villagers. The destruction of forest which is the abode of the gods like Kitungsum, Lobosum, Manisum etc. is checked.

The Saora people have a belief that if a particular patch of forested landscape is converted in to a swidden plot the god does not become unhappy provided that regular worships are offered to him. To them their settlement is a part of the god's abode as well as the hills, forests, Swidden plots etc. In all their practices in the forest or hills like swiddening cutting of trees and wood, they feel the presence of god and so the people take permission of the god before taking up

any work. They also believe that if a hill god under whose territory swidden plots fall, is not offered with worships regularly he may cause a drastic decrease in productivity and convert a fertile land into a stoney (Ragidi) land. This belief develops a fellowship with the god.

In the present circumstances the belief in the hill and forest gods appears to be in the process of eroding. Many factors account for the dwindling of the Saora's belief pattern. Deforestation appears to be the main reason behind the belief.

OTHER TERMS ASSOCIATED WITH FORESTS

DUJIBUR

The Saoras have derived some new terms that suit to the conditions of forests at the present circumstances. The Saoras, the forest dwelling community are now deprived of their demand over the forests. Some parts of the forests are taken up by the Forest Department of the Govt. The accessibility of the Saoras into such forests is prohibited. The protected or preserved forest by the Forest Department is called 'Dujibur' (by the Saora people). But in the compound term 'Dujibur' refers to hill. It indicates that mostly the hill forests are declared as protected or prohibited forests. Duji means forbidden. So they consider such forest as Dujibur into which their accessibility is forbidden by law. The Saoras understand that Dujibur is forbidden hill forest where they cannot practise Shifting Cultivation but can derive their minor requirements.

The hill forests regarded as Dujibur are very limited. As most of the hill forests have already been converted into Swidden plots by the Saora, particularly by the Lanjia Saora. Very few patches of forests are regarded as Dujibur. Such forests are quite far from their settlements. So they do not convert such forests into swidden plots. Such forests are not destroyed because there is no mass scale exploitation. They believe that a vegetation is destroyed due to Shifting Cultivation. Their other modes of dependence on forests do not hamper the vegetation to such an extent as the Shifting Cultivation does.

The Saoras also feel that they could have converted the Dujiburs into Swidden plots if such forests would be at a lesser distance from their settlement. Hence Dujibur is understood to be the remnant natural vegetation that is least interfered.

PUPUKSAL

Pupuksal refers to fertile Swiddening plots and foothill lands. (Pupuk means fertile and sal means bush and a bushy forest). The ethno-ecological idea of

the Saoras is well described in this term. They believe that a good bushy growth of vegetation is an indicator of a fertile soil (mostly black soil). This is the Saora idea of the earth where a bushy forest stands. A black soil is always fertile because it is enriched with the decomposed leaves and plants. Pupuksal describes a fertile bushy forest. At the time of slashing a forest to convert it in o Swidden plot, people prefer a bushy forest for its fertility.

Pupuksal is not confined to the hill forests only. The Pupuksal at the plains are cleared to be converted into homestead lands where short-term seasonal cropping may be done. When the regeneration of natural vegetation in such a part becomes poor, the soil is considered to have become infertile. But Pupuksal in the plains is permanently slashed and converted into paddy lands. On the hills, pupuksal is impermanently slashed and the base of the bushes and stumps of under trees are left for further regeneration. In the past the Swidden plots were given chances for regeneration during the fallow period. But when the land ratio has decreased to a great extent, it puts a bad impact on natural regeneration.

The people believe that permanent slashing of a pupuksal and its further conversion into a paddy land (Saroba) do not affect the soil fertility. But on a hilly land a permanent slashing of Pupuksal hampers further regeneration. When this happens people become sure that the fertility of the land is totally lost. In a swidden plot the fertility slowly decreases with the decrease in natural regeneration.

RAGIDISAL

In the Ragidisal the growth of vegetation is very poor, as such regeneration is rare. On such rocky soil bushes and a few small trees are found.

In their practice of shifting cultivation, the people sow seeds where soft soil is found. First the rocks are removed from the swidden plot. But with subsequent cultivation rocks re -appear due to erosion. The conversion of a pupuksal to a ragidisal speaks of enormous soil erosion from the hill tops. The paddy land on the plains never turns into ragidisal as the soil here is soft. Thus ragidisal is mostly found on the hills.

The people describe that is the ragidisal the sindi (Phoenix acacias) thatching grass (Thyroid arundinacea) and broom grass (Thysanolaena maxima) grow well. But those species do not provide adequate leaf litters for the fertility of the soil. Creepers like Bauhinia vahlii and Accacia pinnate also have a better growth there. The Saoras describe that initially no land was found to be strictly a ragidisal except those patches where the land surface was made with hard stone. A land after continuous cultivation for years together without intermediate resting period for regeneration of vegetation, is naturally converted into a ragidisal.

It is seen that the patches of Swidden plots which are already abandoned for no regeneration of vegetation and less production of crops become ragidisal. Further, the cashew planted areas are sometimes regarded as ragidisal. When the people are convinced that a land has already lost its fertility for agricultural crops, they undertake plantation of cashew nut at such places. The poor people who donot have enough of swidden plots continue shifting cultivation in the ragidisal but they cultivate only one or two crops like sorghum, little millet etc,. The people are aware that a regidisal would take a number of years to regain its fertility or to be further converted into a pupuksal.

Besides the soil erosion, the absorption of rainwater in a ragidisal is negligible. Due to the less quantity of soil water flows down and the soil under rocks absorb a little. So a good production of crops from a ragidisal is never expected.

The people give example of sal trees which do not show a good growth on ragidisal. The sal trees show a stunted growth, enormous branches and the trunks contain a number of nodes. They believe that since the soil does not contain enough water better growth of sal is enserved. In contrast to pupuksal, the sal tree shows a better growth with a uniform cylindrical trunk and height. This gives an idea of their ethno-ecology which plays an important role in maintaining the growth of sal trees and so of a natural vagetation. But in regidisal trees like banyan, peepal and their varieties have the optimal growth. Besides, Amen (Pterocarpus Marsupium), kurei also (holarrhena antidyseuterica) has a good growth in a ragidisal.

MYTH AND ORIGIN OF HILLS AND FORESTS

There is no myth or legend specifically mentioning the origin of forests. In the cosmological myth described by the Lanjia Saora people, it is evident that plants and trees were there before the human beings appeared on the earth. According to the myth after their appeareance on the earth the Lanjia Saora people lived in the forests. So forest was certainly there. The forest consisted of plants, trees, animals on which the primitive people subsisted. About the origin of forests, they simply express that everything was created by Kittung i.e. the supreme god. Forests are parts of the Kitung's creation. This is the only attribute made by the Lanjia Saora people to the forest. Further, they indicate that the Kitung created the essential things for living on earth and then created the human beings. They hold the view that forests was originated spontaneously by the Kitung's desire. Since then the forests became the immediate source of living of these Saoras.

The Christian section of Lanjia Saora people hold that first of all plants and trees took birth by the Kitung's desire. Birds took birth from leaves that flew up with the blowing wind. The trees that took birth were mostly fruit bearing trees.

To consume the ripe fruits falling from such trees, the Kitung gave birth to animals. Later on the plants, trees, birds, animals confined to a particular area was regarded as forests. Their myth, therefore, gives a description of the components that are found in the forests. The first forest known to the Christian Saora (Christen section of Lanjia Saora) is Adam - the first park which the Kitung created. Then man was created to take care of the park (forest). Man was then given the responsibility of watching the activities of the animals in the park and take action against the unfriendly practice of the animals relating to the destruction of the park or forest. In this way the idea of a forest came to the Christian Saora. Their myth shows affinity with the Lanjia Saoras myth that the Kitung created the forests before giving birth to human beings. The forest catered to the needs of human beings.

The Sudha Saora people give description of the origin of forests through the inter-related myths of their origin. At first the three supreme gods found two human beings living in a hollow trunk of a tree. They were eating in cups made with leaves of Bauhinia vahlii. Hence this they believe that forest was there before human beings came to the earth. When the population grew from Kitung they started living in the forests. They depended forests for food, shelter and clothing. The myth that narrates about the reincarnation of Kitung to Madusa mentions about the Saora peoples' living in the forest. In one part of the Sudha Saora cosmological myth it is described that the animals took birth from the human instincts and so the animals are a part of the human beings. No myth or legend found during the course of study gave a direct mention regarding to the origin of forests. The Sudha Saora believe that the forest world including the plants, trees, animals and birds was created by Kitung for the better living of his offsprings.

In one part of the myth, the Lanjia Saoras give importance to a mouse which lived in the kitchen garden. It was allowed to eat everything available in the kitchen gardens. When the population of the mouse grew they dug the earth and made holes. The earth which they dug up turned to ridges. The ridges grew into hills. So the hills came into being. When the mice made hills, the porcupine helped in making holes by its quills. From the holes plants and trees grew up. In this way the hills and hill forests were created. The Christian and Sudha Saoras believe that the entire landscape with hills, streams, forests was created by Kitung.

HILLS AS GODS AND ABODES OF GODS AND SPIRITS

Hills have manifold importance in the Saoras socio-cultural life. Settlement as a part of hills mentions of the Saoras understanding of their living space. The hills are important as it provides living space for man, plants, and trees, animal, birds. etc. It is important from the point of view of living space. Apart from that the vegetation and agricultural practices on the hill give ecological importance to the hills. The different parts of the hill have got different types of ecological

importance as is described in the chapters 'Society and Culturel - I' and 'Indigenous Knowledge of Shifting Cultivation'. In the religious life of Saora people hills are given greater importance as the abodes of certain gods and goddesses, witches and devils. Thus the hills are not only abodes of man, plants and trees, animal etc. but also the living space of the spiritual beings. The Saoras have great religious attachment to the hills.

Manisum is the god of hills. Every hill has got a name of its own. All the hills are the properties of Manisum. Manisums are also named differently. The hills are named by the names of Manisums, sometimes in terms of vegetation and sometimes by the name of animals living there in. Manisum is the authority of the entire hill. But in different parts of the hills, there live many other spirits, ghosts and devils etc,. Ancestral spirits also live in the hills particularly in the swidden plots.

The Saoras belief in the super-natural spirits, (both benevolet and malevolent) - is reflected in their religious practices. Their religious attachment to the hill gods reflects their feeling towards the hill and hill gods. Apart from that there are various legendary tales associated with different hills and forests. Those important hills stand as the most important part of their sacred geography.

DIFFERENT TYPES OF HILL GODS

Hills of different size, shape, vegetation surround the Saora settlements. The Lanjia Saora people live amidst the hills and mountains. It is for this reason these people are better known as hill Saoras. All the hills are regarded as gods but certain hills are given more importance. The following are the hills that are given importance by the Lanjia Saoras living around Puttasingi area.

BAD ANGAN

It is a very high hill with a steep slope and pointed terminal. The hill is believed to be the abode of Ilda, benevolent god. Ildas living on hills are male gods. The Ilda takes care of the peoples' well-being. By sitting at a great height the Ilda observes all the human activities in the settlements. When people suffer from diseases caused by other malevolent spirits, the shaman invokes the Ilda to exorcize the evil spirit from the person's body. Up to the lower middle part of the hill, swidden plots are found and after that the vegetation is not disturbed. The Ilda is worshipped for a better crop in the swiddens, for welfare of human-beings, cattle etc. The Ilda appears as an old man in a dream. But he can only be seen by a shaman.

JARRERAI

The hill is also regarded as the abode of an Ilda. There are a number of huge stones on this hill. On one huge stone there is the impression of an anklet. On

another stone there is the impression of human footsteps. For the anklet mark and footsteps, the hill is called Jarrerai. It is believed that in ancient times once the Kitung and his wife visited the area. The anklet impression on the stone is believed to be of the Kitung's wife and the footsteps are of the Kitung.

SA-ODDA

It is a madrate size hill of moderate size near Puttasingi. There is a small water pool near the hill top. Natural vegetation on the hill is very thin. Swidden plots are only a few.

People regarded the hill as the abode of Labosum - the earth-deity. Once some people were hunting in the hill. They killed an animal. But the injured animal fell down in the water pool and died. After some days its body got decomposed which gave a bad rotten smell *(sa-odda)*. Since then the hill is named so. The people feel that water at such a great height of the hill is miraculous. So they believe that gods living there and use water of the pool for their needs. People believe that alongwith Labosum, the Ajorasum (stream deity) is living there.

KUDASING

Literally it means hearth-house. The hill is regarded as the abode of Labosum. At many places on the hill stones are placed in a triangular fashion resembling the three heads of a hearth (kuda). That is why it is called Kudasing. It is believed that the Labosum makes fire in the hearth in the winter to get warmth.

SUNDANGAR

The denomination of the hill is from Sundang (poles). The stones in this hill look like poles. The hill has very steep slope. The Sundangar hill is the abode of Lobosum. It is regarded as a house of the god who uses the big pole like stones to construct his house. Further, people go there to collect such long stones which are installed as menhirs of dead persons.

Whenever people have any work in this hill, they never make fire or smoke in any case. The hill deity is invoked during the performance of Raganabdur i.e. new eating festival of red gram. The hill god is very much fond of red gram. At the time of harvesting of redgram if any body lights a country cigarette or make fire to cook there, the god becomes very angry. The god feels annoyed with smokes and fire. So people take care to avoid these. If somebody knowingly or unknowingly kindles fire or smokes, the deity sends his pet 'Boar' (honeybees of big size) to attack the person. The honey bees immediately attack the person severely. The person is severely punished by the Lobosum. Here many honey-combs are found in stone crevices and at some places found suspended from huge stones.

Honey-combs of a particular type called Baghua mahu in local Oriya is an indicator of the Lobosum's abode. People believe that Lobosum lives in forests or hills wl ere there are many honey combs of this type.

KINNASING

The denomination is from *kinna* meaning tiger and sing meaning house. So the hill is regarded as tiger's house. This hill is also regarded as the abode of Lobosum. People hold that in the past when the forest was very dense, tigers were living hidden amidst the huge stones. The tigers are regarded as the vehicle of Lobosum.

PESIAR

The denomination of the hill is from 'Pesiar' (an inverted 'U' shaped stone at the hill top). It is a very big stone. The Lanjia Saora people say that the stone itself can represent a hill. People believe that in ancient times the stone used to blow whistle in the morning. In the hill an *idai* is resides.

KUMMENENG

It is an irregular shaped hill. It looks, as if a part of it is lost or broken. The appearance of the hill is more or less like a kumme (goat). Ilda lives there.

SANGSANGAR

The hill has different types of stones. When rain drops fall on such stone, it develops a yellow (sangsang) color. The is therefore named as Sangsangar. This is also regarded as abodes of Ilda.

TABARTAL

Nothing is known about the denomination of the hill. It is told that in ancient times there was a big sal grove with many other trees species sorrounded by stones. People believe that it was Kitung's garden which was encircled by stone fencing. The present belief goes that, it is the house of a powerful Ilda

TABONGBUR

This is a hill where Kitung, Rauda and Idai (ancestral spirits) live together. The denomination of the hill is from Tabong. Tabong is young bamboo shoots that are eaten. The people hold that the stones of this hill look like juvenile bamboo shoots from a distance. The hill god with the other gods and spirits are invoked in all rituals and festivals. It is highly believed that any disregard to the Kitung will cause his wrath. He is belived to cause blood dysentery and severe stomach trouble.

TANKUMAR

On this hill the Ilda and Idai live together. It is a large hill. In ancient days there was a huge stone on the hill top. The stone fell down. The stone was set to the hill in such a manner that from a distance it looked like a standing old woman.

MAJANGRENG

The stones on this hill are very much Majang (sharp and pointed). The entire hill has little vegetation and floor is totally rocky. The denomination is from Majang and arena which refers to pointed stones. Idais lives in the hill.

RAJATARBANG

It is a hill much known as the abode of Rajanjisum i.e. king gods. Rajanjisum are non-tribal Oriya kshatriya kings. In ancient times there were many flowering plants on this hill. Such plants were planted by the rajanjisum according to people. The denomination of the hill is therefore made as Rajatarbang (i.e. king-flowers which refer to a flower garden of kinggod). At present the hill is regarded as the abode of Lobosum i.e. earth god.

AMBETIBAN

This is a hill famous for the availability of Ambeti trees (Bauhinia purpurea) in plenty. The leaves of the trees are edible and people eat them as spinach. People also like this spinach most. But at present the vegetation is almost lost. The hill is now known as the abode of Lobosum.

BUNDINGBUR

It is a combination of two hills. From a distance it gives the impression of one hill sleeping over the other. In fact, the larger hill has a hood like top that covers some parts of the other hill. Some people attribute a husband-wife relationship between the two hills where the larger hill is regarded as the husband and the smaller one as wife. The Lobusum lives there. There is a preserved vegetation which is regarded as 'Lobosum asalo'. In major festivals and in death rituals the hill god is invoked. This hill god is also worshipped for the safe delivery of women.

BADER DA

This hill is significant as water streams flow down from its top. There is a perennial water stream flowing downwards. On the hill slope, the flow of water is scanty. But people believe that under the soil there is a heavy flow of water. Water is known as 'Da' and the underground flow of water is called 'Bader-da'. The source of water has been never seen by anybody. The Lobosum and Ajorasum live in this hill.

JARAUR

A very small hill with a light patch of vegetation. It is in the middle of many paddy lands. No special ritual or worship is associated with this hill. But people believe that it is the home of Lobosum who enjoy the scenic beauty of the croplands. People feel it a taboo to cut the vegetation that are on this hill.

SARING BASENG (From-plain)

It is a large hill with a plateau at the top. Here the spirits of kinnamaranji dwell. A male singer is called Kinnamar. After death he lives there. The people believe that those kinnamars who were living in the plains live here after death. People believe that the kinnamaranji sing songs there at night.

In the part people preferred to prepare Mahua liquor on the plateau of the hill. There was a perennial water stream which has dried up now.

The people killed by tiger are called kin-na mar. The spirits of such people also dwell there on the hill plateau. People believe that the spirits of people killed by tiger cannot go to the under world (kinnaraidesa). So such spirits dwell in such hills where they get adequate plain lands. At night people fear to go to the plateau as they believe that the kin-na maranji must have been turned to tigers.

PATUDDA

It is a small hill where Ilda and Idais live. There is a perennial water stream flowing down from the hill. There are many patu trees (?) growing by the side of the water stream for which the hill is named such.

The following are the important hills are found around the village Sagada. The hills are denominated with regards to landscapes, vegetation as well as certain gods living there.

REY REY

This is a hill where the Kunabois reside. Kunabois are women who died during pregnancy. Those women spirits are always violent and malevolent. Pregnant women never go there lest the kunabois may cause an abortion. When a pregnant woman suffers from labour pain and a delayed delivery, the shaman is invited to worship the hill where Kunabois live. It is believed that if the Kunabois are appeased they help the woman to have an easy delivery. The details of the process of worship to Kunaboi is mentioned in the chapter 'Society and Culture - II'.

KITUNGSING

Kitung-sing (Kitung-house) is a place where the vegetation is preserved as a sacred grove. Public interference in the Kitungsing is minimal. Kitungsing is also the name of a hill found near village Sagada. There is a legend associated with this hill.

There lived a god named Kitung. He domesticated a number of tigers who were serving as his vehicles. The tigers were also the angels of Kitung. There was a lush green forest on this hill. People were afraid of cutting trees from the hill. They did not go there to collect fuel wood out of the fear of being killed by tigers. Those who dared to cut the trees were killed by the tigers. But the people of Sagada believe that the god is very much benevolent and merciful to them. The god permitted the people of Sagada to cut trees and collect fire wood from the hill. The people of Sagada enjoy this privilege because the hill is very close to the village and the village people are regularly offering food and sacrifice to the god to appease him. So when Sagada people cut trees from the hill the tigers do not attack them. They believe that the kitung told the tigers that 'Because this hill is very close to Sagada, the people of Sagada are like our brothers. So donot harm them". In the past only the people of Sagada enjoyed accessibility into this hill-forest.

The Judisum (Double-spirit) is installed and worshipped at the foot of this hill. The deity is represented in the form of a wooden post which is divided into two parts longitudinally. On one part a male figure is engraved and on the other a female figure is engraved. Both the figures represent the Judisum. The Judisum is compared to Gemini (the twins) the zodice sign. The worship of Judisum is mentioned in the Chapter 'Religious Practices....'

ADEDINA

Once upon a time there occurred a bloody war on this hill. A man named Kantara munda was living on this hill. (Kantara munda literally means branches and sub branches of trees). The man had a double set of body parts with one genital organ. He had two heads, four eyes, four hands and so on. But he had two legs only. He was regarded as a Boi boi roddumar (very very strong man). Having two extra hands he had the ability of fighting with many people. He faught with people and killed many unnecessarily. People decided to take vengeance against him. All the people united and attacked Kontaramunda collectively. They sliced his back into two parts and after that the man fell dead. Since then the hill is regarded as a demon's hill. People invoke the demon through witchcraft practices.

GUGUDA

This hill is very close to the village Gudada. The hill is associated with Ajora

sum. There is a perennial water stream flowing from the hill. The water flows with a tremendous speed with a peculiar sound like goo..goo. From many places on the hill, water oozes out like sweat coming out of human body. People believe that the hill god is always perspiring. The water stream is thus regarded as a reservoir of the sweat drops. The Lobosum is believed to be living there.

ANALTAL

There is a huge stone with a large depression in the middle. The stone resembles the anal (mortar) of the Saora house. So people believe that the Anal sum is living there.

RABRABUR

It is a big hill. In fact two hills are standing so close to each other that from a distance these appear as a single hill. The point at which the two hills have joined each other, there is a shallow depression (called Rabrabur). It is the place where the ancestral spirits gather together.

BOARSING

It is a hill regarded as the honeybee-house. Because in the past the hill was a reservoir of honey and honeybees. The honeybees are believed to be the pets of Lobosum. So people do not disturb honey-combs and the honeybees lest they are attacked by Lobosum. Hence the hill has got religious importance. The hill god is called Raudamani.

IDIDAR / DIDIYUR

It is a mountain with a very pointed terminal. The hill god is often invoked in all the rituals and festivals of Lanjia Saora people. The pointed terminal is regarded as a spear. Raudas and other ancestral spirits live there

SINDIOLE

It is a hill where a great number of mango trees are found. The mangoes taste like the date palms. Therefore the hill is named as sindi-ole (date palm-mango). The hill has religious importance. The ancestral spirits are believed to live here.

ABABDAUL

One peculiar charecterstic is that water flows from a mango tree. This gives a denomination of the hill. The Raudasum usually lives there. In fact, water is not flowing from the mango tree but the water streams pass through the root of the tree.

BANGSARDA

The hill has a part shaped like a boat. That area is a water reservoir where stream water is collected. The Lobosum and Ajorasum live there.

BASENGKUR

The hill is denominated from Baseng (meaning plain and kur for kurgad tree (Synygium cuminii)). The hill has a wide slope, like a plain land where the syzygium cuminii trees are in plenty.

RAJABTAL

The hills stand near the village Tumul. The surface is totally rocky on which the stream water flows. The hill is associated with Kanisum who is associated with epilepsy disease and the spirite disembodied people in water. People lost their body control in water and sank down and the effect was caused by the Kanisum.

JAPUNGKUR

A stream is flowing down from this hill and the water of the stream tastes like fruit juice. The water, in fact, gives a flavor of mango as according to the people.

PADARA

It is the largest hill in the locality. It has many caves where the animals are living. In the past as the Lanjia Saora people say that they were living inside such caves. The vegetation in the hill was so thick that the hill forest was very wild. Padara is always regarded as houses where the godly beings, animals beings and the human beings lived in the past.

MADATAL

The hill has a number of huge stones. One huge stone inclined over another appears like a loft. It is believed that on that loft the godly beings keep their articles.

KURALLA

The denomination is from Kurai which is a cultivated crop (*Pennisetum typhoids*). There is a stream flowing from the hill top. The flow of water in the stream is compared to the head of Pennisetum typhoids.

KARUTAMAR

Once upon a time men got his beard from a stone. So the people attribute that the hill is occupied by male godly beings and spirits. But the hill is regarded

as the abode of Lobosum - the earth deity.

RAGAIAL

The denomination is from Ragai (?) (a thorny plant). There is a very old mango tree on that hill. People feel that the mango tree is the oldest tree in their locality. A thorny plant is found coiled over the mango tree. The hill god is invoked during that time when mango is eaten for the first time in the mango eating festival.

ANDEMADARA

The denomination is derived from Andai, the mouse deer. It is said that the hill has the highest population of mouse deer. It is therefore a hustling ground. People put traps to capture the mouse deer which they eat. People also hold that there are many other animals like porcupine, paneling, cargaland monitor etc.live in stone crevices.

To the Sudha Saoras seven hills are found to be very important on religious grounds. They live on plains mostly and only a few hills are there in their surroundings. They regard the hills as gods. They have very little relation with the hills as they are plain land cultivators. Their relations with the forests are determined according to their house-hold requirements from these. Sometimes they also go for collection of minor forest produces but this is not related to their subsistence. Whatever items they fetch from the forests are usually for household and market needs. The seven hills that are important for the Sudha Saoras are

1. Madingda
2. Bamdajeng
3. Kadutang
4. Madibab
5. Rasedi
6. Luara
7. Trangsengmar

The above mentioned hills are regarded as seven brothers. They had only one sister named Siriboi. Legends associated with the seven hills relate that they are seven brothers. Originally legends were associated with those seven hills that are found in Gudari area. But the legends about these seven hills in later times came to the knowledge of the Sudha Saora people. They started viewing the hills with high sense ofhonour and respect. This regard given in all the Sudha Saora religious performances. Religious practices are often organized in those hills. But since the hills are found in Gudari region, people from other areas feel inconvenient to go to Gudari for worship. This made the people to name seven hills in their locality with the above names. In many areas seven hills close to each other are selected and each hill is given a name. In any case, the seven hills represent seven brothers. People in their locality organize worships for the hills.

In the Dambo Saora area, seven hills are given with the names of seven brothers and religious performances are organized regularly at such hills. The people of Dambo Saora believe that the seven brothers took birth on seven days of a week. So the birth of all the brothers took place on specific day of the week. As the belief goes,

Madingada took birth on Sunday (adia-ara)
Bambdajeng took birth on Monday (Som ara)
Kadutung took birth on Tuesday (Mangalara)
Madibab took birth on Wednesday (Buduara)
Rasedi took birth on Thursday (Lakimb ara)
Luara took birth on Friday (Sukla ara)
Trangsengmar took birth on Saturday (Sani ara)

But all the afore mentioned hills are not known by the same names as in Gudari area. A comparison of names of the hills in Dombo Saora and Gudari regions can be made here.

Names of hills in Gudari	Names of same hills in Dombo Saora
1. Madida / Guguda	1. Madingda
2. Bambdajeng	2. Bambdajeng.
3. Lade	3. Kadutung.
4. Kumbi	4. Madibab
5. Rasidi	5. Rasidi.
6. Luara	6. Luara.
7. Tungul	7. Trangsengmar.

The sister of the seven brothers named Siriboi was married to a hill Drosording. Siriboi has also another name Goldaboi which is derived from Gold (i.e. pupa ofbutterfly). At the foot ofDrosording hill the present Drosording village is located. After the marriage of Siriboi, the seven brothers gave her water as dowry. The water streams flows from the Kumbi hill to the Drosording hill. The brothers gave her many articles carried in two baskets. The marriage took place at night. After that people carryed the baskets containing gift articles. They could not reach Drosordang before morning. They were half way through when day broke. Immediately two baskets were converted into two big stones. The two baskets that turned into two huge stones remained their like two hillocks. The hillocks are named as Ukumba and Ambit. There is another hill named Multa which is associated with the name of Siriboi. Multa literally means pitcher. It is said that

Siriboi was carrying food for the brothers in a pitcher. Food from that pitcher was never got exhausted. After the marriage of Siriboi the pitcher turned into a hillock named Multa.

Among the seven brothers (Gudari people's belief) Kumbi is the eldest one. All the seven brothers are known as seven hills. They all live in one place. They live with the eldest brother who lives in the Kumbi hill. There is a big cave in this hill. The cave extends from Kumbi hill to the village Budhamandi. The denomination of the hill as Kumbi has probably originated from Kumbi trees. The hill shows a greater population of kumbi trees.

The next brother Bambdajeng (Bambda-Bahmin, Jeng-foot) is regarded as the Brahmin among other hills. It is named as Bambdajeng as it is he who accepts the offerings given to the seven brothers in worships and rituals. He then distributes the food among other brothers.

Kadutang is blind. He is incompetent to do any job. He depends upon his other brothers for food and other things. But he is a prophet who had forecast the future happenings. Therefore he had his importance like the other brothers. Some people are of the opinion that Kadutang is the name of a tree. The hill is given such a name because a great population of Kadutang trees are found there. In the Gudari region the Kadutang is known by the name Lade. Who is an addicted man.

Madida or Madingda literally means clean water. There is a large stone on the Madingda hill. The stone is named as Madingreng. This is shaped like a Mana (a measuring vessel). The stone is at the top of the hill which can be seen from village Laba. There was a lamp on the stone in ancient days. The lamp was always burning. The madingreng stone is found to the east of Kumbi hill. Madida hill is regarded as a male the madingreng as a female. Some people are of the opinion that Madingreng is the wife of Kumbi but the husband and wife were separated from each other and stayed in different places. The Madida hill is regarded as the judiciary chief.

The Rasidi hill named after the fifth brother - Rasidi is regarded as the custodian of all gold and important metal and non-metal ornaments of all the seven brothers. The hill is therefore regarded as the jewellery and so is rich enough. There is another legend about the name. That once a huge stone detached from the hill top fell down and turned to pieces. The falling of the stone is called Rasidi.

The next brother is named Luara represented the Luara hill. Luara literally means blacksmith. People hold that this brother was in-charge of agricultural implements and weapons that are made from iron. The descendants of Luara - the sixth brother lived at the foot hill for many years. So the hill is known as Luara hill.

The seventh brother is known as Tungul in Gudari area. In Tungul hill there are two mango trees standing close to each other. It seems as if both the trees have bilaterally mingled to become one. People believe that they are a pair of lovers or husband and wife. The trees dried many years ago. But they are still standing. The Sudha Saora people of Dombo Saora area have named a hill as Trangsengmar to memorize Tungul. Transengmar means an opera team. The members of the team always sing, dance and organize drama for the entertainment of the godly beings. Trangseng means dancing and mar refers to a man. Tungul has also a similar meaning. Tung refers to opera and 'Gul' refers to a stick. The members of the opera team used the sticks mostly as hand weapons during a fight in the drama.

The people believe that all the seven brothers (seven hills described above) have a very perfect interpersonal understanding and a perfect brotherly love. It is believed that even now when the seven brothers come out together for any purpose, a ringing sound is heard. When people go on an hunting expedition, they fail to get an animal as the animals flee away because of ringing sound. So the seven brothers are regarded as protectors of the animals.

Kutpadi (common land) is an area in Gudari which is surrounded from all sides by the seven hills described above. Kutpadi is a plain land and regarded as an 'asalo' (a sacred grove). Kutpadi is a compound word of 'Kut' and 'Padi' which literally means 'common' and 'land'. So Kutpadi is the common land of all the seven hills. It is also believed that all the seven brothers cultivate at Kutpadi. So people do not cultivate lands at Kutpadi. It is further said of Kutpadi that it is an area surrounded by hills and mountains from all sides. So it is a plain land at the centre of several hills. When the people of Dombosora area named seven hills of their locality in the names of the seven brothers, they first searched for a central place which could be regarded as a Kutpadi. They found a large open space in the middle of many hills, then they named the hills after the seven brothers. It is believed that without a Kutpadi seven brothers cannot live at one place.

The vegetation at the Kutapadi is never cut. Even people of Gudari area do not collect minor forest produces available in the Kutapadi area. There are some specific celebrations organized at the Kutapadi once or twice every year when offerings are given to the seven brothers. The seven hills find a prominent place in the tribe's religious lores and sacred pantheon.

The seven brothers are regarded as the seven forms of the main god Kitung. The hills are worshipped for property and well-being of the people. People who have specific desires of their own request the seven brothers for the fulfillment of their desires. When their desires are fulfilled, they go to the Kutpadi to offer worship to the seven brothers. They thank the brothers for their mercy in fulfiling the people's desires. A goat is usually sacrificed there. After the religious

performance people sing and dance in honour of the brothers. The Sudha Saoras show high reverence to these seven brothers.

TINALING

It is a hill ofDombosora area at the foot of which the village Mala is situated. The hill is very important in the belief of the Sudha Saoras. In the past the hill was famous for human sacrifice (Meriah).

There was an axe, an iron chain, many wooden posts on the hill in the past. Those things indicate that the human sacrifice was being done there. The axe is regarded as the main weapon of Kitung. So the axe at that place represented the preserce of Kitung there. When human sacrifice was given, the victim was tied to the wooden posts still found there. Then he was sacrificed by the axe. The Saoras therefore fear the hill very much.

Some years back, the axe is believed to have flown out of the hill. When the axe flew away people thought that the Kitung had left the place. The axe stayed on a banyan tree standing near the Kanyashram of Dambosora market area. People of Mala village went in search of the axe and finally found it at Dombosora. Since then the axe is still there.

The residing of the axe at the banyan tree at Dambosora gave importance to the very old banyan tree. People believe that the Kitung liked to live on the Banyan tree for, it was too old and very big with (acessory roots) covering a large area. The axe is tied to one of the acessory roots of the tree. The tribal people give utmost regard and respect to the banyan tree containing the axe of the Kitung. The non-tribal people also give respects to the tree and the axe. Whenever a bus or any other vehicle passes through the road people pay reverence to the tree (standing on the road side). Often the passengers and bus workers halt there for a minute and offer coconuts and some coins to the god. Thus they seek the good will of the god in order to accidence on the way and make the journey safe.

The axe is given religious significance at the time of Meriah festival. Though human sacrifice has been abolished buffalo sacrifice is now organized. On that occasion the axe is taken in to the village and worshipped. The details of Meriah festival has been described in the chapter 'Religious Practices ...'.

The village Mala was initially located at the foot hill. The village at present is situated away from the hill. A legend is associated with the change of the settlement. In the past when people stopped human sacrifices the Kitung, sent tiger to kill the people. Tigers killed 5 to 10 persons in the settlement immediately at the foot hill. The people decided to shift the settlement to a little far off place in order to save their lives from the attack of tigers. Many people abandoned the

village and went to other villages.

A big iron chain is still found on the hill. It is said that in the past the iron chain dazzled so much that the whole forest was lighted at night. People still have a fear complex of being attacked by tigers.

The Tinaling hill god is therefore invoked in almost all the rituals and festivals. The hill god is also worshipped for the well-being of people. The hill god also demands sacrifices at times. The people are afraid ofbeing attacked by the hill god if the sacrifice is delayed.

AMEDOL

It is a hill adjacent to the Tinaling hill. The denomination of the hill is from Amen (Piasal trees -*Plerocarpus marsupial*). People believe that in ancient times this hill was the servant of the Amedol hill king. The Amedol was carrying offerings to the Tinaling hill god. The wooden posts for human sacrifice was collected from this hill forest. The hill has a good number of animal population and hence is a better hunting ground.

5

CULTURAL VALUES IN RELATION TO ENVIRONMENT OF SAORA

Culture is the parameter distinguishing one community from the other. The cultural parameter is more clearly perceptible in the tribal communities which are less susceptible to the external forces. Born and brought up in nature, the tribals are attuned to it. Nature in their perception is the entire gamut of the universe- the Sun, Moon, Stars, Sky, Forest, Hill, Stream, River and other natural phenomena which in their notion are the Nature. The surroundings around them form their natural environment. They live in the forest and hence it is their dwelling. The tribals are attuned to it. Far off on account of their living in the concentric patches of hills and forests the tribals show unique cultural identity in relation to the environment. Their living in such an environment is expressed in their social processes, in their prevalent occupation, in religious performances etc. The tribals' understanding of the environment is spontaneously expressed in their thoughts, ideas, beliefs, philosophy, in the myths etc. Therefore, the environment is interwined with the tribal mode of life-style in several ways. Their relation with surrounding is multi dimensional and environment finds itself as a part of the tribal life, their cultural value and knowledge. Their life style and the cultural value are expressed in a way in which the natural environment is depicted.

That the environment puts certain limitations to the cultural life of a population in a society- is widely acclaimed by social scientists and ethno-biologists. These limitations are described in simple self evident tribal terms. The tribal people always have a number of taboos and restrictions in their way of life in relation to environment. The perceptions derived from their long association with the natural environments, has brought to them the understanding of miraculous phenomenon that is in operation in their surroundings. Their specific fear complex to the different parts of nature describes their interaction with such parts.

Of course, their fear complex associated with certain parts of the nature around them is depicted in legends and myths. The taboos and restrictions are more or less related to the legendary tales about different parts of the nature. There lies the understanding of how the tribals perceive the nature around them. It is a felt need therefore, that the understanding of the environment in the tribal version would provide necessary pre-requisites for the explanation and understanding of a culture. Since long it has been confirmed that environment and culture are related to each other in a cyclic manner and here specific cultural values in relation to specific environments.

In this connection we are concerned with the Saora tribe. Of the several sections of Saora we are here concerned with the Shudha Saora and Lanjia Saora. Different aspects of their social and cultural life have been mentioned in the earlier chapters. Here the Saoras perception of the environment is being discussed.

The Saoras perceive the environment in the physical forms of things, spreading around them. The physical environment meant to them is a sum-total of land-scapes, plants and trees, animals and birds. The Saoras regard themselves as a part of the environment as well as they feel themselves as social animals showing a life style with the other living beings.

THE BEING AND CULTURE

For the Saora the environment is having both intrinsic and extrinsic configurations. The intrinsic environment is experienced and perceived by the being itself. The Being, refers to the external environment. They make a distinction between natural environment and a man-made environment. The understanding of 'Being' here refers to the broader whole that contains the living components like earth, sky, sun, moon, stars, water and land, hills, mountains, stones, fire etc. which they see around them. Those things are also in some cases associated with the specific legendary tales, attributed as the gods or the representative of gods and therefore, have become a greater part of the tribes' religious life. In their cosmological view-point non-living components of the environment were originated spontaneously. The creator or the originator of all the worldly things, cosmological elements and celestial bodies is a supreme god whom they know by the name of *Kittung*. Since *Kittung* is regarded as the architect of the entire cosmos, he may be considered as the sole Being. In the Saora cosmological myth, the *Kittung* is described as the sole ancestor who has given birth to the Saoras who are directly exposed to the *Kittung's* environment. Though there are little differences in their oral tradition describing the myth of how the Shudha, Lanjia and Christian Saoras evolved everything becomes common at a point when they attribute that they are the children of *Kittung*. The myth of Shudha Saora is elaborated with descriptions of *Kittung* over different periods of time. Initially *Kittung* was

originated by three Supreme gods named *Barangdeu*, *Korangulu* and *Sisitamroga* and afterwards the *Kittung* became the sole authority of the social and cultural life of the Saoras. Environment is changing at intervals. This is understood from the manifestations of *Kittung* in various forms like *Kaka*, *Madusa*, *Jagannath*, *Mattarvnam* etc. In different times the different names of *Kittung* is subjected to different environments. When *Kittung* was known as *Kaka* the environment around him was a complete vacuum in the sense that no physical form or structure was existing around the *Kureitung*. Then the forests came up. Animals came in. And the Saora came through. Then came the episode of *Madusa* and *Kaka* was killed in the forest. He became known as a dead-body god(*Madusum*). The environment around Madusa is clearly sketched in the myth. The forest was dense, animals were there in large number when the Sabar in his hunting expedition killed *Kaka*. Later on *Madusa* wanted to live in a forest; the nature of forest being specified by him was solitary, cool, dark, dense where he liked to live. From this the Saora understood the preferable pre-requisites of a living space. Then came the *Jagannath* cult. When *Madusa* liked to live in a modernized house-temple at Puri, they believe that the *Jagannath* has returned to them again with the name of *Mattarvnam* or *Akshara Brahma*. This is the identification of *Kittung* in different environments.

A Shudha Saora man who was quite emotional at the time of giving descriptions of the various names of *Kittungs* at different time period could make his point how the culture is changing with the metamorphosis of *Kittung*. The man describes that *Kittung* is not only the lord of Saoras rather it is also the lord of the whole human society. *Mattarvnam* is the representation of *Kittung* who appears in the era when the Saora is subjected to an environment of crisis. The crisis is experienced in resource, energy, religion, philosophy, values, ideas etc. So *Mattarvnam* has reappeared to re-set all the indigenous beliefs pertaining to religion and culture and to keep the integrity and identity of the Saora culture. The crisis is much felt because of the crisis in physical environment which directly refers to the forests. The people believe that erosion in status of forests has created a crisis in the faith of indigenous religion. When we consider *Kittung* as the Being we base upon the growth of religious consciousness of the Saora. This finds mention in the chapter "Myths and Legends.....".

BEING AND ENERGY

The Saora started to worship different forms of gods living in their physical surrounding. The description in this regard holds that the *Kittung*- the first man perceived the presence of gods in his physical environment which directly or indirectly influences the life-style and good life of the Saoras. This gives a description of the factors of the environment to which the Saora is afraid of. The *Kittung* dissected his immediate surrounding into many parts and believed that

each part is occupied by a god. So any interference in any part of the physical surrounding must be guided by the permission from the authority (god) of that part. This aptly describes how the Saora perceives the presence of godly beings in different parts of his surrounding. Saora in this belief feels that any mistake in the manner of dealing with the part of the environment would invite the anger and wrath of the god-regarded to be the authority of that part. Based on this idea the Saora people have enumerated 24 deities who may here be described as the environmental energies.

Environmental energy based on the Saora explanation is an image-reality, that they believe in the unseen power of the deities. This belief is so much manifested in their ideas and philosophy that all the energy in the world is considered as parts of the 24 deities or as the Supreme power of the Being-*Kittung* or nature. *Kittung* as a Being gives mention of the environment around Saora and on the other hand, nature as the Being mentions the entire world of which the environment is a part. At this instance energy is perceived from the power of its action and the consequent effect. Examples are often cited by the Saora about the different types of energy. To them energy is understood as the miraculous happenings which are attributed to be the power of the Being. Here they give example of birth of a being-man, plant, animal which is a direct flow of energy of the super-natural beings. The power and strength of the supernatural beings are unseen, rather experienced and realised through the practice of Shamanism. Hence understanding energy is unseen. Any miraculous happening, unnatural and premature death, failure of a crop are taken as a loss of energy. This loss of energy is said to be caused due to the dissatisfaction of supernatural beings.

Hence, environment which here we may consider as the Being is the store house of all the energy. The total energy is parted by the supernatural beings, {o that every supernatural being is regarded to be powerful with specific forms of energy. An ailment or any metabolic disturbance in the human body is believed to be caused by malevolent deities or by the so-called benevolent deities who are not appeased regularly with offerings. Disease or ailment or abnormalities in the physiological mechanism of the body makes a person bed-ridden, immobile, may also turn disable. Immobility or disability is taken as a loss of energy in the body. The practice of Shamanism makes a sense that the mobile energy of human body is removed and taken out by the supernatural beings. Here it is believed that the super-natural beings have supplied all the energy into the human body and so they are able to remove parts of energy when they like or when they dislike a person for any reason as is pointed out by a Shaman during a trance. This idea is held strongly because the Saoras believe that they are born out of parts of energy of the supernatural beings.

They refer to their myth where they find *Kittung-Radab* as their first ancestor. A part of *Kittung's* energy and a part of *Radab's* energy mixed up to give birth to the Saora people. *Kittung* is male and *Radab* is female. The union of-their energy could be possible because of their sexual cohabitation. Here the Saora gives a biological meaning of energy amalgamation and energy fusion. Reproduc-tion of a child is taken as an example of union and consequent transformation of energy from elementary form to a life form. So sexual union of male and female makes a fusion of energy. Sex is therefore, regarded as the most important form of energy. The *Kittung* and *Radab* are regarded as the first set of energy which are fragmented and accumulated in the being of the Saoras. Sex is also given a higher importance in their religious practices. This is studied from the conversion of a common folk into a Shaman. A common folk is given a dream by a dead tutelary. The tutelary expresses love for the earthly being. A male marries tutelary of opposite sex supposed to be living in the underground. A female like wise marries a male tutelary in the underground. Marrying a tutelary is the most pre-requisite for a person to become a shaman. Shaman is regarded as the powerful and energetic man in the Saora society. Shaman is powerful with the accumulation of the spiritual power. Shaman is energetic with the possession of energy from his/her under-ground sexual partner. He displays his power and energy through bilateral communication with the supernatural spirits and ancestral underground spirit. In the eyes of common people, the act of the Shaman keeping bilateral relationship with the supernatural spirit and his act of performing a ritual or a worship for personal and community welfare interest, is regarded as miraculous affair. So people regard the Shaman as next to the spirits and gods in consideration of power and energy that they possess.

The Saora culture began right after their coming into being. The Saoras believe that the *Kittung* is always benevolent and amiable; he has given them different parts of the body which performs different functions. It has given the body parts in animals which are different from man- the overall function of such parts is to work. Man and animal become different here in the respect that man has a different style of living in comparison to the animals. The comparison of man to animals gives an account of their impression about human and non-human nature. Animals are thought to have been originated from the urges and instincts of human beings. The Saora moral value reflects his understanding about the *Kittung* whose manifestation is realised in the environment and all the life forms. Coming from the animal side, tiger is said to have been originated from a frowning state of human mind. The Saora believe that this frowning state of human being is comparable to the nature of a tiger who attacks immediately. Such a state of mind is taken as a non-human nature. The example of a man and tiger gives to the understanding of human nature at home and in the forest. Man is social when he is at home. Man is like an animal when he is isolated from the society and is left alone in forest. So

the Saora culture started with the understanding of the intrinsic environment of the being. Here in all analysis of the intrinsic environment the Saora meets with the gods: who are represented by the human nature in the being- who is always considered kind and affectionate, hard-working and unselfish, honest and good. He also meet animals in itself when he commits a deed that can be compared with the violence of an animal. The Saora believe that everything that is seen in the surrounding is present in the human body. Therefore the intrinsic environment of the human beings is reflected in their manner of dealing with the extrinsic environment. Man is good when he believes enough about the god, experience the presence of god in good work and till to that time his wellbeingness is not hampered. When man loses faith in god he becomes different and shows a non-human nature for which he is punished by the gods. This punishment is given in several ways- through a disease, long sickness, failure in crops, premature-death of children etc, and the punishment even sometimes goes upto death. This reflects the Saora's own experience of a justice given by a human natured being to an animal natured being.

The Saora people experience a practical expression of truth by feeling the presence of gods in the surrounding environment. The way of their traditional life is the only truth that has made up the whole culture. The Saora is quite ignorant about the scientific understanding of the nature around him but he is quite perceptive about the operationalisation of the various components of nature to which they regard as a larger phenomenon. This feeling is quite indigenous which in a way describes the basis of their culture in a natural environment. Therefore, all his thoughts, philosophy words and actions reflect the natural phenomenon. Form an understanding of their social and cultural life particularly the religious life it can be said that the Saora people have a systematic spiritual view about their environment. The Saoras feel themselves as a part of the larger surrounding. They feel incapable of giving a wholesome understanding about the environment around them.

SAORA LIVING SPACE

The Saora settlement is the structural unit of the surrounding around them. Their ideas on settlement are expressed in their living space. They live with plants, animals, hills, forests around them which are structurally visible. Everything is attributed to be having a life. Plants and trees though not all, are regarded as abodes of gods. Animals are sacrificed to appease the gods. About the sacrifice of animals the Saora people believe that to preserve their well-being with the god they sacrifice animals. It is believed that animal sacrifice means the sacrifice of a soul for the satisfaction of another soul which is god. The soul of gods also lives with the crops which the Saoras cultivate. The hills are also believed as abodes of gods. The gods have also a social life. They have also requirements like human beings.

Some of their requirements they draw from the Saoras. So gods also share with the Saora living space, living resource as well as wellbeing. But the gods are structurally invisible. Besides, the supernatural beings like sun god, moon god, water god, wind god, fire god and many other live in the physical environment; there are also ancestral spirits who live in the underground. It is said that the ancestral spirits in the underground also live in the same manner as the Saora people live. They are said to be cultivating the crops under the ground, they have also plants, hills, animals etc around them. The departed soul of a Saora being chooses his living space amidst a natural environment. The supernatural beings and other similar beings mostly live in sky. So the Saora divides the entire living space into three planes.

The three living planes are Sky(*Sargadesha*), Earth(*Lobodesha*) and under earth (*Kinnarai-desha*). Three sets of beings live on the three spaces- the supernatural beings mostly in the Sky, the Saora beings, plants and animals on the earth and the ancestral spirits in the underground. With the distinction in living space, there appears a distinction in their status, life forms, power and energy. In consideration of these traits, in a hierarchial order the supernatural beings remain at the top of the hierarchy, the ancestral beings remain at the second position and the Saora beings with other life forms in the third position of the stratum. In this consideration there appears mainly three different forms of beings who are confined in the Being, since the Sky, the Earth and the under-earth are parts of the surrounding physical environment.

In the anthropomorphic descriptions of three different beings, five different sets of beings appear to be living in the entire cosmos. They are given different names like Saora, *Kulba*, *Idai*, *Ilda* and *Sonums*(supernatural beings). These may be classified into three different sets again. They are the ancestral spirits, experience-spirits and the living Saora people. Among these the true living beings-Saora exclusively live on the earth. The underworld ancestral spirits live in the underground but can also temporarily live on the earth but never in the Sky. The supernatural beings who live in the Sky, live sometimes on earth but never in the underground. The Saoras believe that the underworld spirits which we here know as ancestral spirits and the supernatural beings whom we refer as experienced spirits are the care takers of the Saoras. Therefore, they casually visit the Saora living space. Their visit to the Saora living space has both positive and negative consequences. They appear in their living space to cause a disease(negative consequence) or to cure a disease(positive consequence).: So the visit of the ancestral and experience spirits to the Saora living space determines their wellbeing and goodlife. The spirits whenever appear amongst the Saoras is with a specific purpose. On their visit they reward them for their good deeds or give punishment to them for violating social, cultural and religious principles. The wellbeing of

Saora people and the disorderliness of their wellbeing are valued with their obligation towards the framework of the total set of principles. The Saoras like to invite the ancestral and experience spirits in their socio-cultural process and extend due honour to the spirits through worships. By this their welfare, they feel, is most assured and preserved. On violating the working principles of cultural and religious dogma they become subjected to the spirits' anger and malevolence. Therefore, they regard the other spirits as associated entitles to their living places that has relation with notion of goodlife and wellbeing. This is the Saoras' understanding of their living space in harmony with the environment.

Earlier we have indicated that the Saoras demarcate five living spaces with regard to the existence of five sets of anthropomorphic beings. Here we will refer to the sky as the first living space where the supernatural beings usually live. The second living space is the space in between the earth and the sky where the *Kulba* beings live. Collectively the *Kulba* beings are called *Kulbanji*. *Kulbanji* are understood as ghosts, devils evil spirits who live in the immediate upper space exterior to the Saora living plane. The *Kulbanji* are believed to be having much of materialistic desires. They have a great desire for living with the Saora people. They live collectively or individually in different types of land-scapes and in structural elements of landscapes like rocks, hillocks, trees, streams etc. Immediately after death, the *feuradan*(soul) of a person leaves the body and lives somewhere in the immediate surrounding. He lives like a nomadic spirit till the second mortuary rite(*Goar*) is performed. After *Goar* is organised the soul gets entry into the underworld but he still lives like a spirit with-out a home of its own. He shares living space with under-worlders. He does not have the privilege of the inmate under worlder with a permanent dwelling place of its own. Of course, he is regarded as one among the others in the underworld. His living standard after *Goar* and before *Karja* is compared to the same as living of a slave or a servant who lives with the master and acts for the master. The soul at this stage also has a lot of materialistic desires particularly, he thinks much about the crops it cropped before death. Always in its mind there remains a greed for the crops which it cropped during its earthly living. It desires to fetch the harvest that would cater to its need for food. The soul at this stage remains dynamic. After the third mortuary rite(*Karja*) is performed, its life in the underworld becomes static. It gets a permanent dwelling place in the underground and lives with the other ancestral spirits. The stage of the spirits after *Goar* and before Karja is regarded as the *Kulba* state. The *Kulba*(*Kulbanji*) therefore has unfulfilled materialistic desire, impermanent dwelling place and a soul who moves here and there. Having a lot of materialistic desires, the spirit always tries to be with the Saora people and therefore migrates from the underworld to the earth. Impermanently it lives on rocks, trees, bushes, forests, hills and caves etc., and causes harms to the people. It causes harm to people when it is driven by an intention of envy and selfish motive.

His nature of envy and selfishness is because of the unfulfillment of its materialistic desires. Whenever the spirit comes across a happy person it becomes envious and causes some problems to the person. The spirit feels it a 'happiness' when it is able in fetching that which it could not do when living. So it is natural for it as the Saora people say, to become envious of others. Those spirits appear time and again before the Saora people and demand specific things and if the people do not act in accordance with its needful, spirits demand it caused a harm. Those spirits mostly cause harm to the people in between the period of *Goar* and *Karja* to satisfy their materialistic desires. But after performance of *Karja* they become stabilized and turn to become somewhat benevolent. If a spirit after *Karja* returns to the Saora people and gets possessed in them, causes a harm, the Shaman first of all identifies the spirit. If the spirit has already got a *Karja* then his returning and harming people are not liked at all. Then people, particularly the spirits' living kins ask the spirit "Haven't we offered you a *Karja* ? Then for what need you are here again ?" The spirit talks to its living kins about its needs and desires which are still unfulfilled. The spirit may demand certain things mainly a sacrifice and threatens people to cause disease if the sacrifice is not given. The people through the Shaman beg a justice from *Ilda*. They appeal before the *Ilda* that the spirit is unnecessarily causing problems to them. They feel that the demands of the spirit are unusual and unjust. If the *Ilda* thinks that the spirit is right about its complaints he asks the people to somehow arrange for its appeasement. If the *Ilda* thinks that the Saoras are right, he takes steps against the spirit. If the spirit is living with *Ra'tud sum*- a dangerous and fully malevolent spirit, the *Ilda* becomes powerless. In such a condition the people find no other way out rather than fulfilling the demands of the spirit to preserve their welfare. Otherwise, the spirit with the help of *Ra' tud sum* causes severe problem. If the victim do not arrange a worship and sacrifice, the *Ra'tud sum* takes away its life. Here the sacrifice of a soul saves the life of the victim of *Ra'tud sum*. Sometimes the spirit gets possessed in a person and only demands the life of the person. This is taken as a personal rivalry between the victim and the spirit or the spirit living alone wishes to get a companion.

For the second set of *Kulbanji* (those spirits) none of the mortuary rites is organised. They live permanently in the living space of the Saoras. They may live anywhere they like. Mostly they live in the space between the earth and the sky. Those permanent *Kulbanji* mostly keep relation with *Ra'tud sum*. Therefore, they are believed to be extremely malevolent who always cause problems to the people. If their demands are found unjustified or not logical the *Ilda* suggests the wizard(*Tanaimar*) to perform a witch-craft. In the witch practice the *Ilda* helps the wizard in exorcizing the evil spirit from the attacked person. The exorcized spirit is made totally powerless, so that it cannot further attack any person living in the same locality.

The third plane is the living space of the Saora people. This living space is shared by hills, forests, animals etc, which are the immediate in-mates of the Saoras. The supernatural spirits and ancestral spirits, also the *Kulbanji* casually come there. Basically this is a plane which is regarded as the working place of the Saoras. The Saoras share their life-style with the non-tribal people who are living side by side on this plane. But in their living space the other forms of spirit can also live. It is therefore supposed to be the common's space.

The underground immediately under the Saora living plane is the dwelling place of the ancestral spirits. The ancestral spirits are called *Idais*, who are the permanent inhabitants of the underworld. The Saora know the living space of *Idais* by the term *Kinnarai desha*. The *Idais* are those ancestral spirits who are stable as far as their permanent living in the *Kinnarai desha* is concerned. The spirits maintain a social life there. They have all the traditions which the Saoras have. They have kinship system of marriage, practice of cultivation etc, in the *Kinnarai desha*. The stability of those spirits in the *Kinnarai desha* is ensured with the performance of *Goar* and *Karja* by their living kins for them. Those spirits have relatively a minimum materialistic desire as compared to the *Kulbanji*. For the fulfillment of their materialistic desire sometimes they migrate to the Saora living space, get possessed in some persons and fetch their demand from the people. They are not much malevolent like the *Kulbanji*. They may cause minor ailments in the living group of people to get their demands fulfilled. Whenever those ancestral spirits visit their living kins, they pass through the rice pounding hole of Saora house. This rice-pounding hole is regarded as the gate-way that communicates the *Lobo desha*(earth) to the *Kinnarai desha*. This passage facilitates the communication between the living people and ancestral spirits. So the rice pounding hole is given a great importance as it facilitates bilateral communication between the two living spaces: one visible and the other non-visible. In fact, the underworld spirits have the ability to approach the Saora living space and return through the same way to their own living space.

The fifth living space is not strictly confined to any plane. Here the living space is the whole area besides the sky. There the *Ilda* and *Raudas* live. *Ildas* are omnipresent. They can live in any plane except the living plane of super-natural beings. The *Ildas* neither come under ancestral spirits nor under the super-natural spirits. The *Ildas* are supposed to be the children of *Raudas* and the Shamans. *Raudas* are the great grand ancestral spirits. They are regarded highly amongst the ancestral spirits. The Saoras describe the *Rauda* as a very short-tempered spirit who comes to a very bad temper when he finds something wrong with him. The Saora sometimes regard *Raudas* as forms of *Kittung*. The *Raudas* are males. Their children who are born out of their sex relation with female shaman, are always benevolent. Therefore the judiciary discipline is kept under the control of *Ilda*. The

Ilda thus controls the crime and keeps a balance of virtues and vices. Having taken birth from the sexual union of a living and a dead,the *Ildas* are free to communicate between the livingworld and the non-living world. The *Ilda* can live like *Kulbanji*, *Soranji* and *Idais*.

From the above discussion it is clear that besides the *Ilda's* living space there are four distinctly marked living spaces. From these four different living spaces the Saora conceives its ideas of the physical environment. Thus in the Saora understanding of physical environment their religious beliefs are better sketched. At this point it seems that environment is not only a sum total of living and non-living components on the earth, rather it is too broad beyond the measurement of the physical landscape and surroundings.

Thus the Saora people are also able to interact with the different living spaces as described earlier. This is possible through the act of Shamanism. Only a shaman is able to the different living spaces and the different anthropomorphic terms while the Shaman is at trance.

The Shudha Saora people hold a similar idea about their habitat space or living space. The *Sargai desha* known to the Lanjia Saora is known as *Sonum* pura to Shudha Saoras. In the *Sonum pura* the Shudha Saora place the three supreme gods -*Barangdeu*, *Korangulu* and *Sisitamroga* as well as the other super-natural beings- *Uungsum*, *Angaisum* etc.

The physical environment around the Saoras is understood through their typical religious affairs. In the beginning, their understanding of the physical environment is marked through their religious affairs associated with the different gods and goddesses. At this instance, with reference to the Shudha Saora cosmogonical myth, it can be said that they knew the physical environment when their consciousness developed towards the gods and goddesses. They started worshipping the different parts of house, village and the parts in hills and forests that surrounded their settlement. With different parts of their physical landscape, a specific god or goddess is associated. The home deity, hill deity, forest deity everybody have a territory of their own. The Saora people therefore deal friendly or in the manner they should act with such parts of physical environment. The interference and activity of the people in such parts are guided by the religious principles. Their dealing with such parts in the name of gods and goddesses gives value to their actions. Their activity is properly guided by themselves lost the gods and goddesses cause harm to people.

Forests and hills are the parts with which the Saora people have a religion-bound relationship. The hills are the parts with which they have a religion bound

relationship. The hills are worshiped with the name *Manisum* and the forests in the name of *Gadasum*. The Saora people are very afraid of those gods and so they have definite religious performances to satisfy them. Their accessibility and further actions in the forests are restricted to certain hills and forests. It is not(that in such hills and forests there are no gods and goddesses. But in fact they make a gradation of power of the gods of hills and forests. Before they start any work in a hill and forest, they take permission of the gods who are known as authority of the hills and forests. After receiving permission from the gods, they do their works in the forest. They seek permission of the gods at the time of clearing a forested patch for swiddening, to convert the patch into a settlement or for any other purposes. Without the permission of the god they do not dare to interfere into the hills and forests. But there has been marked a continuous erosion in this belief during the recent years. Now people rarely pay attention to those beliefs. With the bifurcation of the Saora communities into different religious groups, people who do not like to go with their indigenous way of life prove that there is no god or goddess in the parts of hill and forests. They changed the perception of the indigenous people about hills and forests. The traditional people saw that the converted type destroyed the forests, interfered the preserved parts of forests still they were not harmed by any god and goddess. People started believing that there is no god or goddess linked with the hills and forests. So they started their interference into the hills and forests whom they feared most earlier. The erosion in their indigenous religious beliefs,caused deforestation. The Lanjia Saora people still have a great fear complex towards the gods and goddesses. Now they believe that the hills and forests are not actually the gods or goddesses. Even thus they are scared of the malevolent spirits who live in different hills and forests. Their accessibility to certain hills and forests therefore is now very much limited. They did not want to enter into the abodes of the malevolent spirits who might cause any fatal disease on seeing people in their abode.

The fear complex of the Saora people associated with different parts of the physical environment acted as the positive factor for the preservation and conservation of the plants, trees, animals etc, in the forests. The '*Gadasum asolo*' described in the previous chapter gives a meaning to their ideas of preservation and conservation. Their religious notions to a great extent is their aspects of preservation and conservation.

CULTURE AND ENVIRONMENT

The Saoras do not have a term that can be compared to the western term environment. It indicates that they do not have a scientific understanding of the environment. They do not have concepts about the components of the environment. But environment as a whole is a broader 'whole' amply reflected in their

cultural patterns. This idea is very much linked with their culture and cultural traits. What we mean as an environment is known to them in terms of their living space. Therefore, the understanding of their living space is the whole phenomenon of understanding their notion of environment. They divide the entire living space in various planes as mentioned above. All the counterpart elements that share the living space with the Saoras is here understood as the elements. The whole understanding of the interaction of the components with the living space contributes to their understanding of environment. The pattern of their interaction with their immediate environment is an experience which the present day Saoras have inherited from their predecessors. This experience in course of time is enriched with various perceptions. Their experiences and perceptions about their living space, structural and functional components around them reflect their indigenous knowledge. Over the times the people made themselves bound to certain working principles required for their existence in the world. The environment is, therefore, valued by them in a number of ways. When it can not be exactly categorized in ways they value their environment, a glance over their entire cultural background may, give some ideas. So a focus on their entire cultural set up, particularly on analysis of their cultural traits is discussed here.

The emergence of the Saora people took place from a hollow wood(Shudha Saora) and from a gourd(Lanjia Saora) and both the things are called *Kureitung*. which happens to be the first living space of them ancestor. *Kureitung* is a hollow space with complete darkness inside. When man lived inside it, he had no idea about the other parts of the cosmos. To the *Kureitung* man, the entire universe was confined inside. Their physical environment meant only to the interior space of *Kureitung*. It was the dark phase of the human knowledge. Man did not have an idea of the space exterior to the *Kureitung*. It is the beginning. When the Saora man in the *Kureitung* opened the door to come outside and observe the visible reality around him, the enlightened phase of their living began. But in between the period of the man's living inside the *Kureitung* there took place a complete destruction of the cosmos described in their mythical versions. When the Saora man emerged out of the *Kureitung*, the re-created his physical environment. This period from their living inside the *Kureitung* and later emerging out of it is marked as their journey from darkness to light. Inside the *Kureitung* man had a limited world view and so it thought, it was rather an imagination that there is a world exterior to the *Kureitung*. After emerging out of the *Kureitung* man saw that some of his thoughts and imaginations have taken shape already. He added many things to the world. All that man added to the world around him was need based.

Saora divided the whole universe in different planes, each plane is inhabited by specific anthropomorphic, physical and biological forms. This division of space was done only after the emergence of the Saora. So in their notions about

environment all the living spaces are taken into account. The underworld living space and the overworld living space come into their conceptions through their religious beliefs. This belief was not with them then when they were in *Kureitung*. The earth is regarded very powerful, so a godly attribute is given to the earth. Similarly also about the Sun, Moon, Sky, fire- etc., who have hidden powers deeply manifested in the Saora mind. The Saora at this point believes that his journey from darkness(*kureitung*) to light (present world) is simply a metaphorical conversion of an image reality to a structural reality. The people started associating themselves with such structural components and experienced the functional aspects extraordinary in such components. All the components together with the Saora are thus regarded as the physical environment as a whole. However, the value of the environment could be realised by them from their livelihood patterns, customary rites and rituals, religious performances...etc.

The first quest of the people who emerged from the *Kureitung* was limited to the food and shelter which we here refer as the livelihood. Their dependance on forests for food and shelter, interaction with plants, and animals brought in them new concepts and perceptions about the resource base around them. The various ways through which they earned their livelihood have now become legendary tales. It is a fact that the Saora domesticated certain plants for their use. The plants and trees that are mainly categorized in two sets : crop plants and other plants and trees that have different utilitarian values. The hills and forests are cleared and converted into living space. The hills provided adequate land for cultivation of crops in the practice of swiddening. Their quest for other subsistence crops and food items made them a cultivator group. Here it can be said that the environment influenced their life style and livelihood patterns. So the environment is the main factor that converted the hunter-gatherer Saora into the cultivator Saora. Again, the practice of cultivation varies in either : Lanjia and Shudha Saora communities. On the basis of geographical distribution of living space, the Lanjia Saora lived on hills and the Shudha Saoras on plains. So the Lanjias depended upon the practice of swiddening to fetch his crops for subsistence. On the otherhand, the Shudha Saoras cultivated the plain lands and became settled cultivators. The Lanjia Saoras slowly turned towards settled cultivation. With the available food items their food habit is made. In their prevalent food habit, they like dishes with meat. Their love for meat, they say, is in-born. It is based on the understanding that in the long past they depended mostly upon animals for their food. But when the forest patches decreased, animals thinned out they turned towards eating meat of domesticated animals like cattle, buffaloes, goats, fowls etc. Plants and trees, domesticated animals with the Saora people in their settlement constitute the environment of their habitat space.

Saora people depended upon their labour and the environmental resources

and lived on them. But they found that many things in the world which they understood as natural phenomena. Their dependance on themselves, on their activities and abilities are controlled by unseen powers which they realized themselves. This power is expressed by them in a rather simple way. When they experienced changes in weathers, sudden rain, sudden heat, failure of crops and unfavourable climate, they became sure that some unseen power is controlling these natural functions. This led them to belive in the supernatural beings. Their believe on the supernatural beings is specifically associated with their fear to the untimely, unwanted mishaps. So they believed in spiritualism with which they secured their well-being. Their spiritual belief is unique. Whatever is studied, indicates that the Saoras believe the presence of gods and spirits in every part of the living space. The Shudha Saora people comprehend their whole idea of a living space in the name of 24 deities who live in different parts of their living space. The Saoras look for their preservation of well-being through their association with the environmental powers(gods and goddesses). For, they feel that the environmental powers protect them. So in their indigenous religious practices they give high sense of regards to the landscape and its parts, other components which are regarded as the abodes of the gods, goddesses and spirits. As is mentioned in the previous chapter, they do not interfere in the living space of gods - *Gadasum* asolo and *Kittungsing*. Through their religious belief they respect their surrounding.

The Lanjia Saoras give an interesting explanation about their primitive dress pattern. They have designed their dress pattern that suit to their prevalent occupation. Occupationally they were strictly shifting cultivators in the ancient past and now it is supplemented with plain land cultivation. The *Uliakap* of the male folk and *Gatungkap* of the female folk suit to their work in the swidden plots.

In the folk art of the Saora they sketch different visible components in their surroundings. Everything that is sketched in their art or ikon is backed with a legend. But the ikons represent the Saora understanding of the environment. Their relation with the components is painted in the ikon. Their explanation about the inter-relationship of the components sketched in the ikon gives an idea about their interaction, inter-relation with the different living and non-living things found in their environment. The legendary tales after the different elements in the ikon art give an idea of their indigenous understanding about such things. At present, the sketches of animals are slowly losing their place in the ikon. In the past, tiger, monkey, porcupine, pangolin, snake, chameleon, cargaland monitor, elephant, etc were sketched in most of the paintings. But now some of the animals are being sketched. One Saora of *Dambasora* area gave an idea about the extinction of the animals in the ikon paintings. According to him the animals are now rarely found. The animals are also de-forested with deforestation of plants and trees. This gives an idea that, the extinction of animals in ikons is directly related to the extinction

of animals in the forests. So the Saoras are turning towards a new world and slowly moving towards modernisation. This is viewed from the painting of high technological items like aeroplane, camera, radio, etc. in the ikon art. This is a new adaptation to a different environment.

The overall physical environment is interwined with the tribal life processes. All the cultural identities of the Saoras are more or less related to their physical environment directly or indirectly. They value their environment through all their social and cultural processes. A through look into such processes of Saora reveals that the environment is greatly valued in their socio-religious perception.

6

SOCIAL MEANING OF RESOURCE AND RATIONALITY OF MANAGEMENT OF LANJIA SAORA AND SHUDHA SAORA

INTRODUCTION

Resource is a western term that refers to any part of a man's physical environment, living or non living or any human skill or knowledge that can be used in the production of the goods. Environment refers to surrounding, circumstances or influxes in general as is held by dictionary meaning. But environment as a broader whole,can be seen in unit from and also can not be imagined in its larger form. Environment is the surrounding, the surrounding of a system and systems are always *wormy*. In the term system we refer to any thing living or non living which stands as the subject when a description of a specific environment is referred to. The environment therefore has two unctional units which interact in many ways and the specific type of interaction adds specific meaning to the environment. The mode of interaction between the two functional units of environment living component and non living component at a specific situation over a specific time as significant. The physical environment thus structures the structural and functional components of a surroundings. Every structural component is attributed with a functional aspect of its own. This understanding of a structural unit and functional aspect of it makes it use-ful thing. All useful things may be understood as a resource. Resource is therefore, is confined to the physical environment, which has a structure and function.

On the otherhand, resource also refers to any human skill or knowledge that can be used in production of goods. Here the skill or knowledge becomes important as it makes the best use of a thing which has a function. It is operated in a way known to the operator for a specific purpose. Therefore, the skill or knowledge determines the effective use of a thing. The effective use of a thing here makes the point that

how effectively it is processed is a production process to give the desired result. Thus in the production of goods, the considerable knowledge about converting an input to out-put is the best resource, one can say, knowledge about the use or mobilization of resources is acquired through long association with the things that have some use.

Things are both of material and non-material types. The material type of resources is easily understood from its form, appearance and a term given to it. In the production process, the input material with a specific name of its own is processed for a good or another thing and is known as out put with a different term attributed to understand it. The terminological difference between the input and out put gives an idea about the changes that occur in the production process. Furthermore input is subjected to a change in the production process or is processed to a product. Great many changes are observed in the input material when it is converted to an output material. This change of form of inputs to desired outputs gives an idea of the processes involved in it. Correspondingly the conversion of one thing into another refers to the type of the skill and knowledge involved and implemented in the processing of the input material. This knowledge however makes a distinction among the several uses of one thing, of one form that is converted to many forms in the production process. This knowledge or skill is of two types : indigenous and eagenous that are complementary in the production process.

It therefore means that the thing, as it is, is the material resource and the skill or knowledge implemented in making the thing into another thing or making the input to an output is the non material resource. It can also be said that the entire process of production is mobilesed by skill or knowledge and the skill is acquired by various means, the important one out of them being the expertise. It has been always held that the knowledge or skill of using things in various ways have grown with the civilization, on its march from infancy till to day.

Going back to long the past when the civilization was at its infancy the human beings were not exposed to the out side world from the forest habitat. The first human civilization started from the forests and river banks. The civilization then was made up with groups of people who were called to primitive people. Primitive in the understanding of chronological order of growth of civilization meant the habitats where such people or groups of human beings were residing. The primitive people had no notion of a resource. They only knew the use of the forests and materials around or in his surrounding for his need of food and shelter first and clothing later. The growth of civilization from that age till the present has created a number of milestones and landmarks in the chronology of evolution as recorded in the history and in the history of biology. Such landmarks are denoted as stone ago, Bronze age, etc, and ultimately it reached a point at the age of high technology

and modernization.

The resource use has started from the exploitation of nature by the primitive man and is still continuing today. But the use has become different, modulated with different sets of skill and expertise. The primitive man used stones as weapons. To kill wild animals and to save themselves from these animals they developed the skill of sharpening the stones for better efficacy in the use of the weapon for different purposes. The use of stones was replaced by the use of metals in the later days. The consequential growth of knowledge and skill made man to go for alternative choice of materials for particular purposes. The food habit of primitive man changed and adhered to the adoption of vegetation and grains in his food. It is the beginning of the practice of agriculture. The entire evolution from the primitive mans civilization to the modern one is the development of the technology from primitive to modern. The resource is the same but the multiplicity of its use has developed to a great extent. All these mark the intellectual development of human beings simultaneously with the development in knowledge. Human skill and knowledge has shown a continues change towards upgradation. But all these developments in the skill and knowledge has its base in the mode of interaction of man with Nature or the interaction of man with its physical environment and natural resources. The natural resource included all the matters, materials, i.e. the components of the environment. All the components are known by different names. The names sometimes give the nature of the resource and its use, which can collectively be called the things : materials, having utilitarian value, which have different sets of understanding in different periods of time by different societies.

In traditional (undeveloped) societies, the resource use is very much limited. Limited resource means that their wants are limited whereas the wants of the modernized society are unlimited. There is however, a variation the use of the resources in these two types of societies. In developed society resource is use in high cost technology and in the undeveloped society it is used in simple technology. This shows a variation of knowledge, the gap between the indigenous knowledge and the exogenous knowledge, the indigenous version and the alien version of descriptions of resource.

Though civilization has marched a long way from the primitive to the industrialized technocratic societies both the systems are existing. The primitive traditional societies are the back water of the stream of the civilization. These backward primitive and traditional societies have failed to involve themselves in the industrialized technology and therefore live with their indigenous tradition, culture and prevalent occupations. Those tribal and the traditional people are pointed out by the developed people as uncivilised and superstious in their mode of living and methods of earning livelihood. Here in this approach we are concerned with two such tribal groups. Lanjia Saora and the Sudha Saora, the two branches of the main

Saora tribe.

There is little distinction in the culture of the two tribes. Their geographical distribution distinguishes one from the other. One group lives in the hills while the other lives on the plains. The living on hill and around forests of the Lanjia Saora people differentiate them the plain land inhabitants - the Sudha Saoras, who are also quite traditional and are more developed. The natural resources available in their surrounding is the main source of earning their livelihood and economy.

Their pattern of resources use is based on their traditional technology and knowledge about the production process. Their wants being very much limited, make them to stick mainly to their traditional patterns. Their traditional economy is in the process of inflation. The communities in the past were dependent on the forests and plant world which supplied their first subsistence economy. Their subsistence economy, made them to innovate ways for more better use of the resources and to find other alternatives of maintaining livelihood in the natural world. This is not however, uncommon in the traditional societies like that of Saora. So their first understanding of resource started right from the time they lived in concentric patches of hills and forests or plains around hills and forests. They show limited exploitation of natural objects, living or non living for their very immediate needs is very limited and being undeveloped their traditional technology is not much well equipped to use all the components of nature.

SOURCES OF RESOURCE : THE MYTH

The evolutionary myths and legends of either tribes do not however give a direct mention of their resources on which they subsisted after their origin. Both the myths maintain that the human beings came out of human beings, not out of blue. It does not matter from where they came, but it matters how they started living on the earth and depended on the natural resources. Both the myths of Lanjia and the Sudha Saoras mention that, after the population of the said tribes increased abnormally they got distributed in the forest habitat. The forest habitant that became their first resource was the one which provided them with food, clothing and shelter. The term 'Saora' thus is associated with the ethnic description that the first human being of these communities was hidden in tree and plant parts. This indicates of the first abode and the surrounding that saved the ancestral beings from external environmental factors. Therefore, there living style got very much associated with plants and trees in the forests. Consequently when the community started living in the forests, they depended upon the plants and trees for their immediate survival.

The myth of Lanjia Saora community makes a point that before the present day Lanjia Saora came into being, there was another creation. The first resource base that was visible was the 'earth'. On the earth was a green vegetation was made

by the joint effort of the eagle and the bear as mentioned in the myth. The earth provided the base for living to Lanjia Sora people who developed from the Kurcitung dynasty. The earth on which the people started living was one part circumscribed by water from other sides. The vegetation grew up there and turned into forest, making the resource base for maintaining their livelihood. Water was there. Thus three resource bases that have description in their myth are the water, the earth and the vegetation. The demand increased for food and the idea of agriculture came into being for which the important need was earth and water. Thus the first resource known to the ancient Lanjia Saora was structural and was made to be functional. The other environmental factors which we know as natural resources are the sun, moon, sky, wind, light...etc, were not known to them as the functional aspects. When food problem was solved , people looked for clothing. In the myth the eagle brought cotton seeds from the fruits of which dresses were prepared. As we refer to shelter, food and clothing as the prime needs of mankind to survive, the Lanjia Saora myth describes the availability of these things and the source from which those needs could be extracted. Thus the myth is the first source of knowledge that made the people aware of the resources.

The Sudha Saora myth of origin also mention that they were initially lived in forests and became known to others as forest dwelling communities. After they originated, they started living in the forests. In contradiction to the Lanjia Saora myth of origin, the Shudha Saora do not have notion of origin of earth, water and forest in their myth. It is understood from their myth that the earth, water and vegetation were there which were detected by Kaka-Babren in the Kureitung. The Shudha Saoras give prime importance to the origin of agriculture. In their myth of origin, they admit that initially they depended on forests as they did not know agriculture then. Though the past is quite unseen to the present day people, they narrate their past with this thought. In continuation to this to exactly locate the point where agriculture has been emphasized in the myth, it refers to the legendary tales of other communities. The communities originated differently when they took up different job disobeying Korangulu's direction to them. Thus the persons who obeyed Korangulu's order stuck to cultivation, his successive generations came to be known as agricultural people. Thus in the myth of Sudha Saoras the resource for food and the resource base providing food are better sketched. According to them food is the first resource that has kept the continuity and ethinicity of their living pattern and the food base i.e., the lands where they cultivated for food is the resource base, known to them.

The cosmological myth of the Christian Lanjia Saora has also pointed the origin of earth, plants, animals and human beings in a chronological order. But the myth of the Christian Saoras came later on with mixture of their indigenous notion and the alien idea about the creation.

NATURE AS THE RESOURCE BASE

Nature stands as the greatest resources base for the total beings living in the earth. The myth, the culture and all the traditional background of those tribes are shaped in relation to the nature. Further, the interaction of the people with the nature is based upon their understanding of the natural phenomenon. Though the total natural phenomena is not understood by these people, their interaction with the nature is shaped with understanding of certain phenomena. The first phenomenon of understanding of the nature is as a resources base, When the awareness had not developed to dissect the nature to know of its different parts and components the natural phenomena like earth, sky, sun, moon, water, air all a mystery to them.

The Saoras know the nature from earth. The earth is the main creative base that has created the standing components, living or non-living (included in which are plants, trees, animals, rocks and other visible things which are attributed to be having earthly origin). The earth as a creative base could be known to the saora from the germination of a seed to become a plant, as is exemplified by a Sudha Saora - Ram Gomango. This lead the man to understand that the earth first understood as nature has a secret potential concealed in it (that is ability to give birth or is able to create something). The earth besides this attribute of having secret potential was known as a resource base when one seed plant resulted in the production of many seeds. It made the earth to be known as a converter that converts one thing into another or one thing to many of the same kind. This understanding gave the people the first idea of agriculture, Ram Gamongo pointed out.

The Sudha Saora hold that earlier they were 'Gadavasi' (forest inhabitants). This term defines their mode of living in the forest to earn their livelihood from the forests, hills and the surroundings. They harnessed the living resources of nature.

CULTURAL MEANING OF RESOURCE

Understanding of the cultural meaning of a resource by the Saoras is similar to that of the Kuttia Kondhs. In the traditions of the Saoras as well as many other tribal or primitive societies, great respect is given to the nature and its parts. Nature worship started with the birth and growth of civilization. Nature worship is the starting point of all religious dogma. There is no term in the Saora language equivalent to the western term Nature or to the term 'Prakriti' (nature). But the understanding of different functional parts of the nature is very distince in those traditional societies. The Lanjia Saora mean the nature when they use the term 'Barooh', which is an appropriate term for hills and hilly forests. They attribute that 'Barooh' has all earthy components of the nature the earth (Salda), sky (Driang) wind (Kaangi), fire (Toagi), sun (Oiyung), moon (Angai), water stream

(Jada) which are regarded as resources.

It is believed and perceived by the Lanjia Saoras that, resource has some use directly or indirectly for their living. Accordingly the sun is helpful in drying the wet lands, giving warmth during day time, drying up the crops helping in crop production and giving light etc. Therefore the Sun is important for their living on the earth. Lanjia Saoras also have a perception that the warmth of the Sun helps them to predict weather and hence is directly and indirectly linked to the forecasting of weather. The moon is also equally known as the Sun. The moon is regarded as sources of light and coolness. And a full Moon night, or the moon lit fortnight (Agrichchagai) stands as a reminder to the Lanjia Saora that the time is appropriate to organize their cultural, aesthetco, performances. The earth gave the base to live, gave the base for agriculture, for plants, trees, hills, mountains etc. Similar attributes are given to other forms of resources that are parts of the nature.

Apart from these, the Lanjia Saoras know those known materials and material components of nature as forms of spirits or deities. They regard those as both benevolent and malevolent deties. Therefore those are revered with deep feeling of sacredness as is evident in their religious dogmas. The myth of Lanjias first mentions of the earth deity with attribute of masculinity. The myth describes that the fear complex which they had developed towards the energy potentialities and productivity capacity of the earth led them to fear and worship the earth as a deity. As per the myth, bear was the first animal which before its death saluated the earth and died. It had a great respect for the earth that provided food and shelter.

Further, the monkeys who are regarded as the ancesters (Society and culture - 11) of the Lanjia Saora pay obesience to the earth deity at the time of death. The spirit of the dead goes to the underworld (Kimarai dese) which is at a greater distance. This belief has drawn the Lanjia Saoras to develop a fear complex towards the earth deity. The earth deity is attributed as the teacher of the ikon art. The belief goes that, the concealed power of the earth and soil was observed by throwing a hard piece of earth to an animal; it kill the animal. This hard piece of earth may be a stone or something like that. Further, the earth deity directed the shamans in dream that she is in their house. Shamans wondered in what form the deity could be represented. They felt that the crops they harvest from the agriculture could be the representation of the earth deity. Thus they made a paste out of rice powder and made it look like a ball. Then they thread the ball with force to the wall. The paste stuck to the wall represented the earth deity. The earth is known as 'Lobe' and the soil as 'Salda'. The earth deity is known as Labosum ; here Sum is from Sonum meaning the spirit of the deity. Lobosum is regarded as male who has a female counterpart called 'Lababoi'. Agricultural festivals organised for the worship of Labosum, is called Lobopu. This is done to get the blessings of the

deity for a better production of crops. In all rituals of the Lanjia Saoras first, importance is given to Lobosum. The first drop of blood of the sacrificed animal goes to the Lobosum. The acceptance of the sacrificial blood by Lobosum is felt when the blood drops of the sacrificed animal is sucked in by the earth. While going on a mass hunting into the forest in the remote past, the Lanjias used to worship the earth deity with a feeling that it is the authority of the plants and animals. The best sacrifice that could be given to the earth deity was blood of corgelandmonitor, locally known as Guisapa. If a cargeland monitor is found on the way to hunting, it is first killed with great effort. After killing the reptile its tongue is cut so that blood flows out and falls on the earth. That is the best offering to the deity. Therefore the finding of a cargeland monitor on the way is a very a auspicious sign.

The earth deity is held in high esteem by the Lanjias. The multiplicity in the functioning of the deity relates to its power, its ability to generate, anchor and cater to the needs of the people.

These Lanjia Saoras belive that natural phenomenon has some supernatural power and hence defined. The wind (Raangi) is believed to be a deity known as Rangisum. The sun is known as Oiyung sum, the moon as Angaisum water stream is known as Ajadasum (stream + Sonum), and all those are regarded as deities on the mercy of whom the Lanjia Saoras depend for their living on the earth. Trees are also regarded as the representation of Sonum. The banyan tree (Boro) stands as a Sonum, called Aborosum. Baloong is a type of Sonum meaning to the falling of seeds from trees and crop plants before they are harvested. All the sonums or spirits are however regarded very powerful for their imaginary proeess which is linked with the Lanjia Saoras living pattern. The tribals are aware of resource as things material or non-material that contribute to their livelihood directly or indirectly. Their convince that the spirits are powerful forces who have a will and action that can be manifested in different forms : material or non-material effecting or affecting the livelihood, and well-being of those people, so those forces are stronger, inexhaustible and imperishable resources. The general understanding of the unseen concealed powers of their resources (spirits and deities) is discussed in the chapter "Society and Culturl - 11" about this tribe.

The Christian Saoras believe on one god philosophy and accordingly have shaped their religious thought. This class of people regard the Lord Jesues as the sole creator of all worldly things, as the teacher of all best form of knowledge for a better life. Therefore they do not attribute any such cultural meaning to the term resource.

On the other hand, the Sudha Saora people have many religious beliefs pertaining to the Sun, Moon, Air, Water, Trees, Forests, Hills, Mountains more or less in the similar way as the Lanjia Saoras, yet they have some distinctions. The

earth deity is given regards and respects in great many ways like the Lanjias. But this tribe shows more of its religious inclination towards the religious beliefs of the highly developed Hindu religious pattern. The sect that has emerged out from this Sudha Saora community known as the Maders have changed their notions and beliefs towards the nature and natural phenomena of the Hindu traditions. They are following the Hindu religious text to know about the natural objects. In a sense they are following the Vedic tradition of Hindu culture and accordingly have developed their notion about sun, moon, air, fire and water. They have started to perceive and realise the unseen powers of such natural objects. They are in the process of Hinduisation.

This sect has thus become aware of the nature, shared the normal values that the Hindu religious text have spoken about the celestial bodies, animate and inanimate components of the environment around. The nature is known to them as 'Prakriti' in which every component plays a greater role. This has reformed the religious principles in which are added the understanding of all natural elements as the sole resource base. Their belief in astrology and planetary movement has made a strong convection in them that everything that is known as a natural resource is turned mobile by an unseen spiritual power. The discovery of such power is beyond the capacity of human being. Further, such an understanding has made them feel that the productivity from the things known as resource base is operated by natural phenomena associated with those unseen powers.

The Mader section of the Sudha Saora and the Christian Saora see the natural resources directly. The Lanjias have a strong sense of fear complex towards those natural resources and accordingly limit them with their behavior towards such things. They are nature worshippers in the background, for they know the natural resources by the names of Soanums. The Christian Saoras have tried their best to forget their past life and they show a negation to the religious beliefs of Lanjias and therefore have no fear towards such natural resources rather they belive in one god that is Jesus.

Though the Sudha Saoras though have not shown complete distraction from their indigenous beliefs they perceive the natural resources in the same way as the Lanjia Saoras. But the emerging of the Maders as a sect of this tribe has started the process of change in their indigenous beliefs and perceptions. The organizations of the Maders with a new cultural set up have motivated and mobilised many people towards the new principles of religion in which the natural resources are held in great esteem as the Hindus. However, the process of conversion is bringing simultaneous changes in perceptions.

From the above descriptions, it is however clear that the Saora community has varied perception and feelings about the natural objects which we refer herer

as the natural resources. These ideas however underlie in their traditional thoughts and philosophies which have emerged out from their indigenous cultures and religious attributes.

SOCIAL MEANING OF RESOURSE

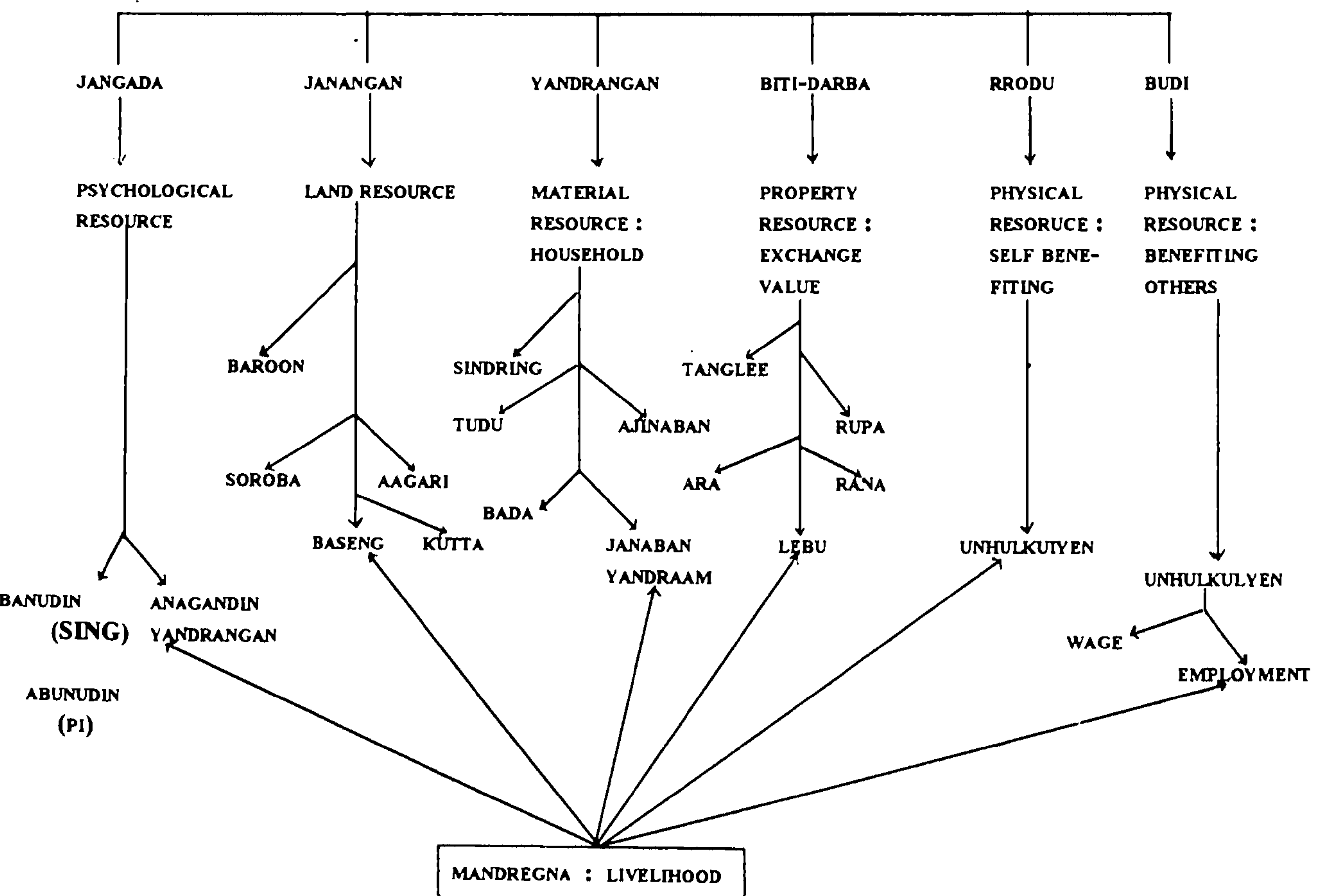
Every object on the earth is a gift of the Nature. But the use of all objects are not known. In this context the Lanjia Saoras and the Sudha Saoras knowledge of utilitarian value of all natural resources is very limited. Those people who know their resource by a particular name understand its significance. Thus a resource is known for its use value. The frequency of use of a thing imple the durability and longevity of the resources. Several terms are associated with those things that are known as resources. Therefore resource is first of all a thing. Secondly it may be animate or inanimate. Some have shape, size and some donot. Some can be touched, some can be imagined, some are felt and some are perceived. Hence the things are understood differently. The association of those things (known and unknown), in their social life make them to regarded those as social resources. There is no specific term in the Sora language for social resources, the term is put here for making a specific understanding of the use of things in their social life. In the religious process a few things are used representing great many things. For example, rice in a worship represents rice itself, represents soul of the ancestors, represents the presence of Lobosum and so on. But in the social meaning of resource it is emphasized that the thing that is used for a particular purpose is the material itself and the work associated with it. In this connection the manufacturing process with which it is made, the skill, and knowledge used in making the thing, the availability of materials etc., are taken into consideration.

But all the materials used to make specific items for specific purposes are made available from the forests and the environment. The forest and environment are known as the natural resources, and hence the social resources are a part of the natural resources. It is significant to note that the needs of the tribe are limited and such needs are required to maintain a livelihood. Since resource is minimum the social resources can easily be enumerated and discussed.

To describe the social resources of these tribes, certain terms need explanation here. For these terms are embodied in their ideas of the resource. The various forms of resources are graphically presented in the Saoras language. The language that the Saora speaks is more or less the same for all the sections of the tribe. Regional differences however, are there but the terms are synonymous. The explanation of such terms will not make a contradistinction.

CLASSIFICATION OF SOCIAL RESOURCES

TABLE - 8

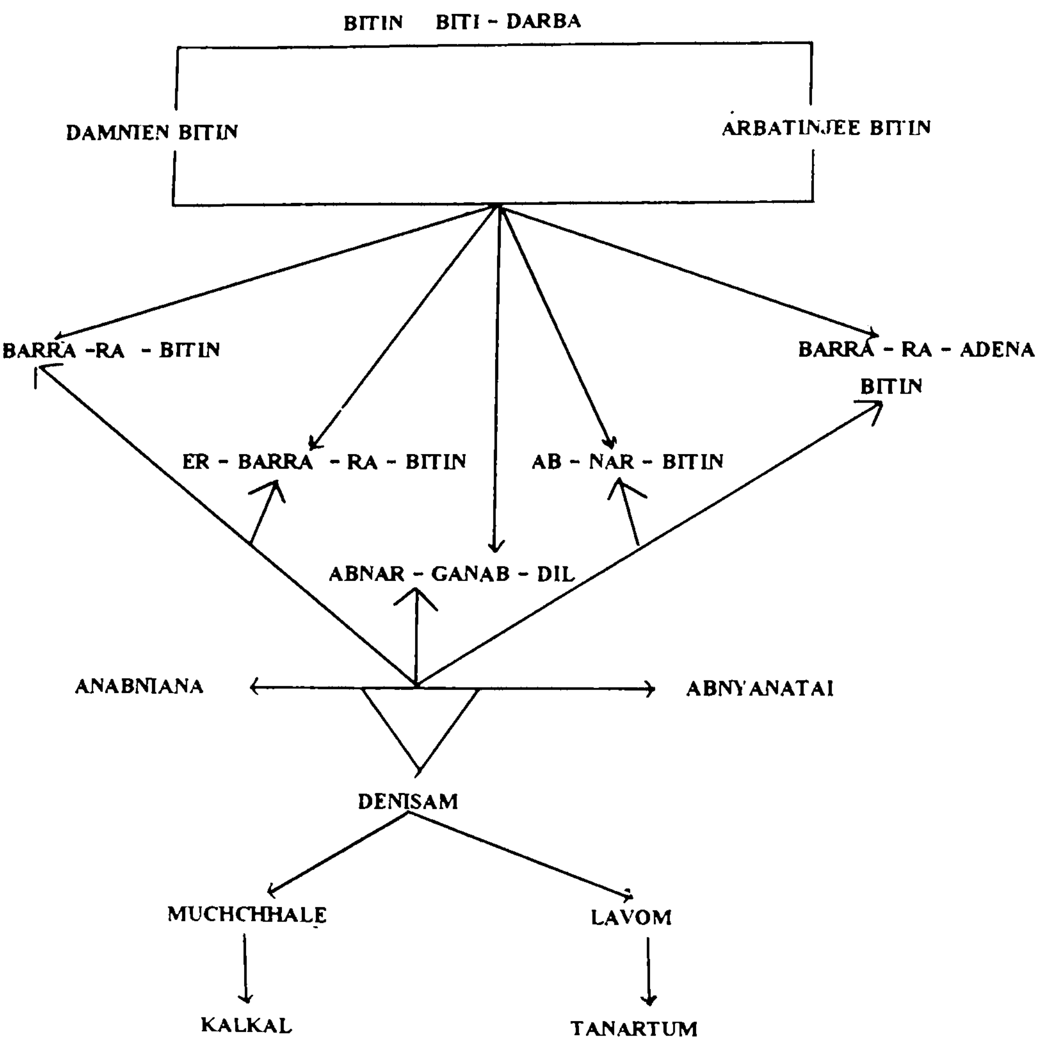


Note

Banudin	Knowledge
Anagandi yandrang	Skill
Baroon	Swidden plot
Soroba	Paddy land
Baseng	Foot hill land
Aagari	Plateu
Kutta	Homestead land
Sindring	Dress materials
Tudub	Bamboo makes
Bada	Gun
Janaban yandram	Tools and implements
Ajinaban	Usable things
Tanglee	Cattles
Ara	Trees
Ledu	Money
Rana	Gold
Rupa	Silver
Unhulkuiyen:	Measurement of labour
Jangda	Collective knowledge/ wisdom
Janang	Collective landed property
yandrang	Material resource : Household
Biti-darba	Property
Rrodu	Man power : self utilization
Budi	Man power : Utilization by others

CLASSIFICATION OF SOCIAL RESOURCES

TABLE - 9

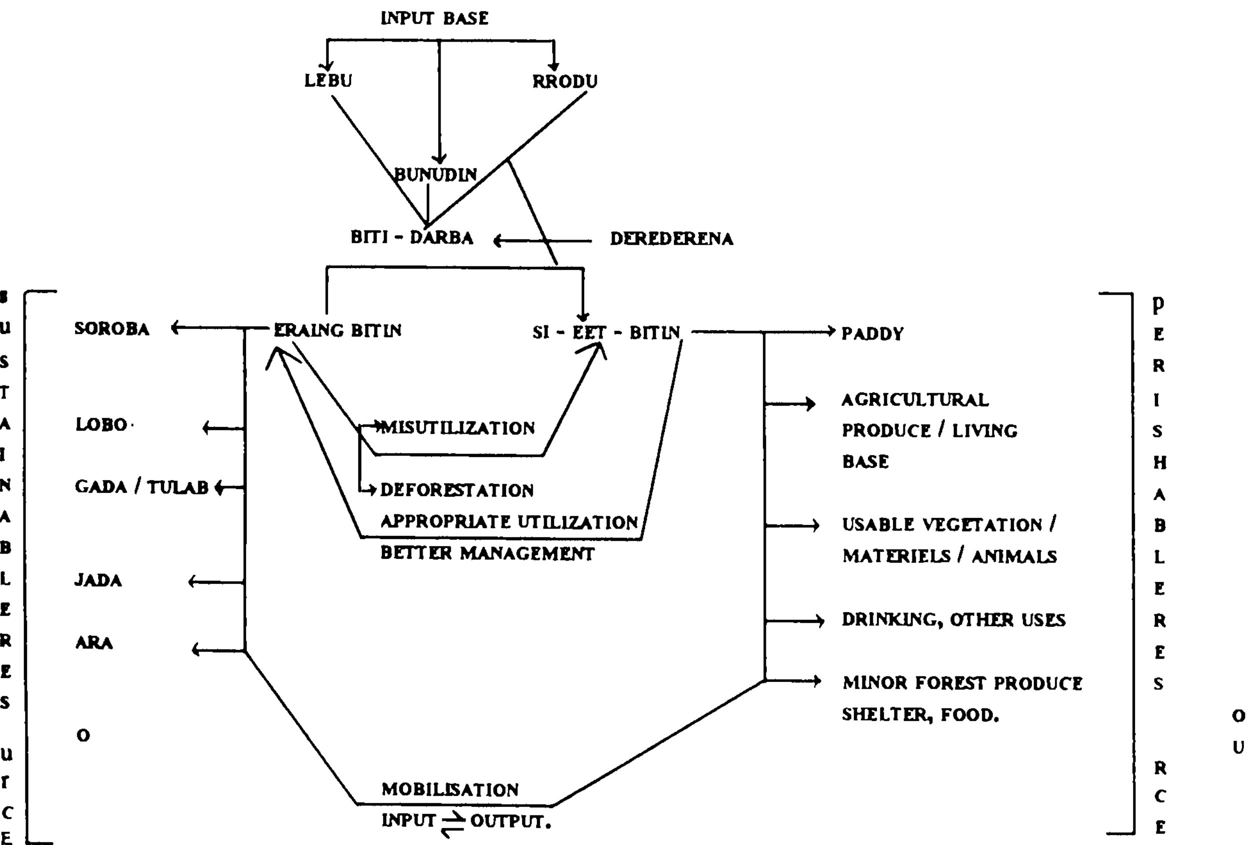


Note

Biti/	
Biti - darba	: Property
Damnien Bitin	: Personal Property
Arbatinjee Bitin	: Collective property : none household
Barr - ra - bitin	: Mobile resource
Er - barra - ra - bitin	: Immobile resource
Abna - ar - bitin	: Renewable resource
Barr - rara adena bitin	: Unusuable resource
Abnar - ganab - dil / Abnar - sanab - ja	: Conversion - one thing into another
Denisam	Estimation / Calculation / Evaluation / Value analysis.
Anabniana	: Management
Abnyanatai	Maintainance
Muchchhale	Loss
Lavom	Profit
Kalkal	Crisis / deficit
Tanartum	Surplus / buffer / conservation

CLASSIFICATION OF SOCIAL RESOURCES

TABLE - 10



Note

Eraing bitin	: In exhausible resource
Si-eet-bitin	: Exhaustible resource
Lobo	: Earth
Gada / Tulab	: Forest
Jada	: Water resource
Derederena	: Dependence

Synonyms

Eraing bitin	: Ereenit bitin
Se-eet	: Aseet - ina bitin / aneelee bitin.

EXPLANATION OF TABLE - 8

Ranabttin is the term used here to explain resource. Here resource is not meant as any matter, material or a base that yields things for social use. The term ranabttin is used to describe ones capacity or ability or the strength that is calculated in terms of his property and household resources. The properties here are both material and non-material by nature, as these include skills, knowledge, physical strength in the production of good, or possession. Baskd upon the use of the term in social aspects, and in simple conversations in making use of resource for things are cited here. It somebody is asked : why don't you make a good house ? the reply comes anabtiyen meaning less resources. Here the resources refer to the economy, non material, non-power etc. When some body is asked : 'How did you become rich ?', the reply is 'Ranabtiendam' meaning (I) have resource. Thus the term stands to explain the sub - categories of resource in terms of property, materials, money...etc. Therefore the term is applicable to everything that caters (panusi) to all the needs of a person.

The column one is meant for the psychological resource, known by the term 'Jangda' which is the applicability of knowledge or the use of acquired knowledge in the production process or in the processes of generating economy and property. It is held as the main property. It has also two sub-parts : Banudin meaning knowledge in general or the acquired indigenous knowledge. The other part 'anagandi yandrang' is the specialized knowledge or skilled knowledge. The term has further two parts : 'Anagandi' referring to this specalised form of knowledge and 'yandrang' to household artefacts, agricultural implements, hand weapons etc. Therefore the association of the terms : Anagandi and yandrang means a skillful knowledge that may be implemented to make the things described earlier. Therefore the term Jangda that describes the psychological resource (theoretical and practical) Banudin stands for awareness, the other stands for skill. This makes a distinction between a jack and a master.

The column 2 goes with the term Janang that refers to land resources. It includes all the lands : the swidden plots (Baroon), the paddy lands (Soroba), the foot hill lands (Baseng) and the harvested or kitchen gardens (Kutta) etc. This is held to be the largest resource that supplies the subsistence needs of the people. It is the only sustainable resource that sustains for long. Therefore it is given top priority among the forms of resources. The trees, plants, forests and the wild beasts are also taken under this category. These are the resources which show the largest production process with timely agricultural practices. The landed properties make a man socially ordered in a society. This is a resource on which other form of resource like Jangda, Yandrang, Biti-darba, Drodu, Budi etc. are invested for a large scale production in terms of subsistence economy and market economy.

The column 3 mentions about Yandrang which is a term stands for collective materials that are being used in every household. It includes the whole set of material culture starting from the construction of a house to all the artifacts, weapons, kitchen utensils, agricultural implements, tools and other implements and all household materials. In this category, axe (Enjum), flat knife and narrow plate knife (Kalam / kandaitra), hunting gun (Badda) Karanyectbada that is used to communicate death news of a person to other villagers, plough (Ertup), hard hoe (Laladang), dresses (Sindring) are mainly cited as examples. Besides these any other man made things (ajinaban) come under this category.

The column 4 continues with the description of Biti - darby (Property materials). The Biti-darba adds adequate meaning and understanding to resources. This is later classified in accordance with its use value in table 9 Biti-draba is the term one would always refer to when speaking about his property. This property is an output of production process. These properties have a good exchange value. Biti-darba cab be better defined under personal possession. They are regarded very valuable as such things can readily be exchanged. Money (Lebu), Gold (Rana), Silver (Rupa), Cattle (Tangle), trees (Era) are mostly accounted for explaining the term Biti-darba. It also takes into account Jangda, Janang, Yandrang, Drodu and Budi etc. which act as the production base or stand as the utilization aspects. Such things have a use value. It gives a mention of property or richness. The term Biti-darby is often used to describe the status of people in the village. On estimating or evaluating a personal property, it adds to the richness of the person. That person is called by others as a Goading. In social startification Goading has different status.

The column 5 mentions about Drodu. Which implies the utilization of man power in a production process. Drodu infact, refers to the individual labour which is invested for a production. Labour put in it gives an appropriateness of the nature of resources and the outputs from it. This is associated with the term 'Unhunkuiyen' which gives as estimation or evolution of labour used. Unhulkuiyen is further associated with mandragora that refers to earning of a livelihood. Therefore it makes sense that appropriate labour use and the extent of labour use determine the standard of output. Therefore, the man power is the best form of resources which can be invested to make property or livelihood independently. Of course this is linked to the psychological resources which helps the labour for proper utilization for a desired output.

The column 6 gives description of Budi that refers to wage earning. Budi literally refers to wage labour. In the case of Budi, labour is only provided for money or earning food for the person who utilized the physical labour, but the production goes to the person forwhom the labour was invested to produce from his resource base. Budi therefore differs from Drodu. The former uses 'Uhulkuiyen' for others to earn money or ready sources that can be exchanged for other things.

(the first being food) and the latter is the use of labour for self or self-owned land resources or other resources. Hence in Budi the production or the output benefits for others and in drodu the output benefit the person himselfs. So Budi refers to earning from employment and the earning is in consideration with wages. People (male) who utilize their labour for service of the others are called Budimar. The employment in connection with Budi however has a difference. Those who are employed in government sectors and have a regular earning as salary are not considered under Budi, rather those who don't have a regular earning, for they work when they are given an employment that lasts for a short-term are consider under Budi. Therefore the Budimar is never stable like the Drodumar.

In the classification of resource in Table I however gives an idea of general understanding of resources in its social usage which also mentions about the categorization of the resources in terms of production and product, input and output, household property and resource bases, investment to procurement, commodity and economy, knowledge and skill, labour and living. All these come under the term Ranbttin and its sub categories.

EXPLANATION OF TABLE - 9

The understanding of Bitin or Biti-darba as periphery led the Saoras to classify the properties in terms of personal and collective. The personal or collective resource have many sources from which they are collected. These the natural resources are known to them very little. But this need based economy is referred to as social resources.

Resource has many forms. In a rather scientific approach, resource is first of all categorized as sustainable and perishable. This classification however is based on the durability of the resources or on estimation of consummation goal and the time. In this regard the Saora people do not have terms for sustainable resources and perishable resources. Sustainability of a resource depends upon its wise use so that it will last long. Further, it demands a considerable knowledge that would be implemented in successful mobilization of resource. This approach to the Saora understanding of the mobilization of resource has been dealt with later on.

The table 9 in connection with classification social resources deals with its management and maintenance : Biti-darba. The management and maintenance lead to a calculation or analysis of loss and profit in the resources use. As the table starts with, Biti-darba which is classified into two sub headings viz : 'Damnien bitin' and 'Arbatinjee bitin' wherein the former refers to personal property and the latter to community property or collective property. But whether they be community property or personal property, they find their resources base from nature or from the surrounding. Consequently and correspondingly the 'property' is according to

the use of the property and the sustainability of the property.

Here the collective property deserve a little discussion. The question arises here : what is a collective property understood by the Saoras ? All the natural resources that are not under personal possession or that which canot be brought under personal possession are regarded as the collective property. Earth is a collective property unless it is personally possessed which is known in form of lands or land resources referring to Baroon, Baseng, Soroba, Kutta etc. Apart from these the forest patches which are not under personal possession go to the collective possession of the villages or communities where every body can exploit resource. But if the forest patch is looked after by people of one village, it is collectively owned by people of that specific village.

Individual properties are often dealt as collective property. This is understood from their help in extracting resource from property bases. An example, can be cited here. A man possesses a vast stretch of swidden plot. But he does not have enough man power to utilize his plot. Then he seeks the help of others to cultivate his plot. Then many people gather and work collectively to finish the work in time. In turn the land owner has to extend service to such people who helped him in cultivating his land. This is co-operative labour use in the production process. This co-operative labour is called 'Anseer' by the Saora and in local Oriya known as 'Entra'. In the Lanjia Saora areas it is seen that before the cultivation practice begins, usually a team is made with ten people from ten different households. They work together for each of the members in the team. In this way they treat the other person's property as their own for, he is devoting labour for that. Further, the ten members team while at work on a field, feel that they are like members of a family and the the land is taken by the team members as a common land. Thus the totality of the lands of the ten persons in the 'Anseer' group is also sometimes regarded as Arbatinjee bitia. Which means 'our property'. This means the personally possessed property of all.

Personal property, known to Sora as Damien bitin is very easily understood as property possessed by a person. The property that is under personal possession may have been inherited from his parents on hereditary basis and some acquired by his own efforts and perseverance, knowledge and labour.

Whether the property be personal or collective, it is acquired from various sources. The resources are given various names here in consideration of their use value and frequency of use. Such resource are categorized under five sub heading : Barra-rabitin, Er-barra-ra-bitin, Abnarbitin, barra-ra-Aden-bitin and Abnar-ganab-dil, which refer to mobile resources, immobile resources, renewable resources, unusable resources and resources that can be transferred from one from to another respectively. These terms however contribute to the understanding of the Saoras

notion of mobility of resources and its better use through proper mobilization.

The Saora understanding of the classification of resources in terms of use value and sustenance is given here with examples of the things (Ajinaber).

BARRA-RA-BITIN : MOBILE RESOURCE

This is generally understood as the immediately usable form of resource. The mobility of the resource is understood in two ways, first the things : living or non-living we refer as mobile. For example, man, castle, animals, a cycle, vehicle are first understood as the mobile resource for they move and change places. Further, such items can also be exchanged for value in terms of currency or other forms of economy. Its further understanding goes that, the resources that may or may not move if comes in direct use are regarded as the mobile resource. Here example are cited of transfer of money from one hand to another with exchange of items. Terms are also found to explain such mobility of resources. The term 'barter' explains 'goods against goods'. For exchange there is a term 'Bananda'. Another term - 'Yani' means an exchange : 'Goods against money'. Besides these terms where materials are exchanged for materials and materials are exchanged for money, the share cropping known as 1 Banti', income from it called Tanartum from physical labour and knowledge is considered as mobile resources. Thus in general understanding, by mobile resource Saora people mean exchange and exchange value of items, economy and money. In this connection, all that come in use of generating economy : household or market, material or money are regarded as mobile resources. With this are included tools and implements, utensils and household artifacts, gold, silver, livestocks, agricultural produces, minor forest produces, trees and plants, edible vegetables ...etc.

ER-BARRA-RA-BITIN : IMMOBILE RESOURCE

The resource under this heading is immobile. It refers to the resource base that stands still. The products from these resource bases are regarded as the mobile resources. If a product is generated from a factory and the product is sold in market as a ccommodity, then the factory is considered as the Er-barra-ra-bitin and the commodity as barra-ra-bitin-. This understanding makes point that what is regarded here as immobile resources are the production bases from where an output is generated. In Saora understanding, a house, landed property, hills, forests, plants, streams, metals, huge stones are considered as immobile resources, though it is emmobile in the sense that such resources produce an output. Immobile resources have also an exchange value. For, a land can be sold for money, a sago palm tree, tamarind tree can be sold for money. But deriving usable resources from the immobile resources is restricted to the spot where the immobile resource stands.

A standing crop is taken as immobile resource but its products are taken as mobile resource. But in all cases those immobile resource are sustainable, unsuitable and untransferrable resources. In this connection, all natural resources are referred as immobile resources.

ABNAR - BITIN : RENEWABLE RESOURCE

The renewable resources as the Saora understands generally the material resources. But all the materials do not come under this category. For a cloth canot be made new after it is torn. A wooden artifact may be made in to another artifact or could be renewed. Mostly Saora people consider the metallic materials as rentable. A gold ornament may be broken to make into another type with a different design. But these are not exactly what Ab-nor-bitin means. A tamarind tree flowers twice a year. But it produces once. It makes sense to the Saora the tree is renewed by itself. But all trees are not renewable , for , the Saora holds that the renewal resources are held with the immobile resources. A tree is also subjected to ageing and consequent death. But before death it provides numerous seeds for new trees to be boru. Thus there happens a renewal of the tree species by the tree itself. Likewise in a paddy land, the crops are seasonal and in terms of cropping the lands are renewed with crops every year. In a swidden plot, the regeneration of vegetation means the renewal of such vegetation by itself. A swidden plot is renewed after a fallow period. It is said that the fertility of soil in swidden plots is possibly renewed when field is left for a resting period. The vegetation regenerates and with that soil fertility is regained.

BARRA-RA-ADENA BITIN : UNUSABLE RESOURCE

Here the original resource is considered to be perishable. The resource after a limited period of use becomes useless or it is not found suitable for the purpose it was made. At the household level, it refers to certain items or artifacts that are not used after a certain period of time. Take the example of a plough. The wooden part of the plough becomes weaker after a specific period of use. Then the wooden parts are replaced. The old parts are then used as fire wood. All the breakable items after sometime are hardly used for any other purpose. The metallic parts do not come under this category. The crop wastes are used as fodder, the broken wooden artifacts are used for fuel, aluminium utensils can be exchanged and all other materials of this category are excluded from being an unusable resource. This is Saora understanding of unusable items. The smaller stone pieces that can be transferred from one place to another for a purpose is an usable resource, but a huge stone that canot be shifted is an unusable resource. Further, the huge stone when broken by machinacal means becomes an usable resource. In this connection, the understanding goes that the use value of a material resource is restricted to its desired shape, size, strength and its utility. A standing but dead tree is regarded as

unusable till it is cut into pieces for specific purposes.

ABNAR - GANAB - DIL : CONVERSION OF ONE MATERIAL INTO ANOTHER

Here the materials can be converted from one form to another accordings to the person's will and need. The metallic part of an axe can be made into a hoe, the broken beam of a cot can be made into smaller cot legs, a gold ring can be made into a gold nicklace, a forest can be made into a settlement, a wood can be made into an artifact. These are the general examples cited by the Saoras to explain the conversion of one material into another. Certain household properties or durable items, can readily be made in to other things. Aluminium pots are bartered for earthen pots and, they can be exchanged for some other goods, a brash plate for a steel plates etc. The household artifacts, can be changed on bartered for more durable or for the similar items. The exchange of goods is also described under this type of resource.

The typology of resources described here together constitutes the total body of 'property' known by the term biti-darba. Therefore the bitin is the extraction of usable objects from the above resources. But the bitin depends upon the wise use of the resources. This wise use of resources depends upon the considerable knowledge and skill that is needed to extract the living resource from the aforesaid types of resources. In this context, bitin becomes the output. Resource is used in such a way that the sustainbility of resource is preserved. The indigenous knowledge is the skill that makes different forms of resource in the effective management and maintenace of resources. The management and maintenance that depend upon the implementation of skill and knowledge, keep the resource in the proper order and maintains the sustainability of the resource. The Saora emphasizes on this management part that is chiefly responsible in making the property and defying the nature of the property, its use and its longevity.

The term 'Anabniana' is equivalent to the western term 'management'. Management as it generally means is the effective and best utilization of resources in the production system. When the necessary outputs to satisfy the needs and demands of Saora are many and they are produced from different production bases, in this circumstance, the management of resource becomes the appropriate use of skill and knowledge for production of specific outputs from specific resource bases. A proper management keeps the production process on the track. Management is understood by the Saora as the overall process involved in making an output, maintaining effective use of the output and efficiency of the management system.

In the context of table 9 of classification of social resources, the management and maintenance of the resource specific valus is given to the

knowledge. A person knows little about the mobility of resources, about turning an immobile resource into mobile resource. Hence he fails to utilize the resources properly. In the Saora community the younger mass who are acculturised and have exposure to the market are regarded as ill-equipped about the traditional knowledge. The older people claim that the younger generation knows little about their indegeneous resources, so are unable to derive economy out of such resources. The Saora attributes that such youth are at the 'trangdi' (the state of transition).

Analysis or assessment or evaluation of the management and the maintenance of resource is described in a term : 'Denisan'. Denisan in fact refers to estimation or calculation or value analysis of property. Since property is an outcome of the management practice of the forms of resources, it would therefore refer that Denisan is the value analysis of the property as well as an evalution of management and an assessment of indigenous knowledge in making property out of the resource bases.

The profit-loss analysis is made from 'Denisan'. If the whole production process is run in a systematic way and gives the desired result then it is believed that it is the function of a better management. Such positive results go in favour of profit making from the resource utilization. The profit is understood as the surplus value that excludes the desired qualitative output or simply the multiplied inputs obtained from outputs. For example, if a cultivator sows some quantity of seeds in the field and processes the field in a regular manner the yield obtained shows the multitude of the seeds sown. But if the yield is more than the desire quantity then it is known as 'Lavou' (profit). The same term has wide applicability to express the profit, benefit, more etc. The profit is the production leading to the conservation aspect which is expressed in a term Tanartan (the excess stock or buffer stock which is conserved or is exchanged for availing other types of property). The buffer stock is exchanged in kind (barter system) or sold in market for cash.

A failure in management would cause a deficit or a loss which is expressed by the term 'Muchchhale'. The loss leads to crisis. This crisis is described by a term - 'kalkal' which implies great difficulties due to shortage or resources for a smooth maintenance of livelihood. A profit may not be easily experienced but a loss is very easily experienced. This is the general idea of the Saora about the different forms of resources and their utility.

EXPLANATION OF TABLE - 10

The table 10 gives an understanding of the Saora mode of the mobilization of resources. The table 9 analyses the management and maintenance of resource. The table 10 refers to their ideas on utilization, management, maintenance and

mobilization of resources.

The table 10 starts with the inputs that are given prime importance in making property : biti-darba. The inputs are Lebu meaning money, Rrodu meaning physical labour or man power and bunudin meaning the knowledge resource. The idea that property is made with these three main inputs complemented with management and maintenance practices, makes the property as the social resources. The chief inputs like money, manpower and knowledge are the main principles on which the management stands and the production process is designed. Therefore the making of property is dependent on these three input resources and on the other hand, depends upon the environment resources. This dependance is expressed in the term 'derederena'. It is clear that the property making is the processing of money, man power and energy in the environmental resources for a desired output of property. The processing of those social inputs with the environmental resources, make the environmental resources as the production base for the output.

The environmental resources are known here by two terms : 'Erring bitin' with synonyms like 'Erinect bitin' and , 'Si-eet-bitin' with synonyms like 'Asect-ina-bitin' and 'Ancelee bitin'. These two terms viz : erring bitin and si-eet-bitin give an understanding of the sustainable resources and perishable resources. The erringe bitin stands as the inexhaustible resources and si-eet -bitin stands as the exhaustible resources. The exhaustible resource is felt more as the out put of the inexhaustible resources.

By inexhaustible resources the Saora points out to such resources which are being exploited since ages and still their with their full productivity capacity. Such resources are paddy land, earth, forest, water, stream, trees, etc, that do not exhaust or perish over a definite period of time. The exhaustible resources are paddy, agricultural produces, usable vegetation, materials, animals made available from forests, drinking water, minor forest produces, subsistence crops from trees etc. These have a short term use and so are regarded as exhaustible. Paddy lands are regarded as the inexhaustible resources and paddy is taken as the exhaustible resources. For paddy the production base is paddy lands and the production process depends upon the inputs like money, energy and knowledge. The manner is which those inputs are processed gives an idea of the management ; the way the product is dealt gives idea about the maintainance and the overall process of production This shows a mobilization of the paddy lands to produce paddy which is also mobile in terms of economy.

The environmental resources regarded as sustainable resources that sustain the life of the Sora by yielding them their social resources which are regarded as the perishable resources. The environmental resources have an inter-converction

with the social resources. As is evident from Saora understanding about sustainable resources and perishable resources, it imples them to understand that nothing is perishable and the perishable resource are further processed to make environment resourses. The logic is that the land produces when seed is sown, otherwise the land has no value. It the seeds are not available then lands are of no use. This example makes a point that seeds give value to lands as a resource. Agricultural produces give meaning to the earth as a resource, similarly water gives meaning to the earth as a resource, similarly water gives meaning to water resources (streams) vegetation give value to the forests and forest produces give meaning to the trees in the forests. It seems quite untrue that paddy can make a paddy land. Therefore their idea that outputs are further used as inputs is true (here seed to seed is considered as inputs and outputs), but limited to certain cases, but an input or output cannot make a production base. Therefore the inter-conversion of sustainable resources and the vice versa is true in terms of input to output and vice versa. This leads to further discussion about the inexhaustible resources and exhaustible resources.

The inexhaustible resources also get converted to exhaustible resources due to improper management, irregular maintenance, improper utilization which are the main factors of this destructive process. Examples are often cited by the Saora to explain this view of conversion of inexhaustible resources into exhaustible resources. Take the swidden plots as an example. Swidden plots produce multiple crops, often a multiple cropping on continued cultivation for years together the production decreases considerably for some years and drastically in the following years. This shows a tendency of the inexhaustible resource to become exhaustible. There appears the question of management and indigenous knowledge. The indigenous knowledge of the swidden plots (inexhaustible resource) from being converted into unproductive lands (exhaustively resource) a fallow period has to be mantled which presumes the soil fertility. Therefore by fallowing the swidden plots, the fertility of the soil (inexhaustible resource) is restored from being gone with continued cultivation on the said plot. Following (management and maintenance) is done to restore fertility of the soil (inexhaustible resource), lest it becomes infertile (exhaustible resource) and hampers production (mobilization) that drastically affects the property (bitin) which gives a zero value to the inputs (Lebu, Rrodu and Bunudin).

The same example may be repeated in the case of forests which also get exhausted by continued interference and mass exploitation. Massive exploitation by mass leads the forest to be converted into barren lands. The natural generation ability of the forest is lost as is seen now in certain swidden plots where the natural vegetation is completely abolished by destruction (due to swindling and deforesting for increasing and ultimated demands of wood). Therefore to keep the natural

forest mobile, the conservative ideas play a greater role and only that stands as the saviour of forests.

The destruction and deforestation of forests is further complemented with swiddening. That a good regeneration indicates a good fertility of the soil. A bad regeneration shows that the fertility is lost. This leads to the conversion of an inexhaustible resource into an exhaustible resource for lack of proper management and deforestation. The deforestation is highlighted here as the environmental resources known to Saora are directly linked to the deforestation. For deforestation has multiple dimensions. Deforestation loses the identity of sustainable resources. Further, deforestation restricts the supply of livelihood from natural resources to the Saora.

A completely deforested land is like a factory where all the machineries are out of order. The revival of the factory demands a higher expenditure. If it is not revived, the factory is of no use for the purpose it was established. Similarly a non productive swidden plot is like a sick factory. When the revival of the swidden plot could not be done for multiple cropping, it is fallowed. After the fallow period if there is no production, it is used as cashew garden which is done to revive the fertility of the soil. But with that multiple cropping is stopped. This is one aspect of mobilizing the deceased swidden plot (exaustible resource) to a further productive cashew garden (inexhaustible resources) with which the sustainability or productivity of the swidden plot is maintained till a longer period (till the cashew ceases to yield anymore). This idea implies to the revival of the exhaustible resources into inahustible resources though the revival is not possible to the original form, it is possible to make the exhaustible resources converted into a different form as is a dead swidden plot converted to a living cashed garden. But the dead swidden plot fails to be converted into a natural forest. Therefore it makes sense that with appropriate utilization and better management an exhaustible resource can be converted to an inexhaustible resource in a different form. It is held that a substantial resource never loses its sustainability but exists in another forms.

In the extraction of resources from the natural resources more emphasis is given on the labour input than the other known sources of input. Because the labour which they invest gives the idea of appropriate management of the resource. Renewable resource in their understanding is their working capacity. Thus it is renewed with a certain amount of work done by the utilization of man power on the production base which is known as natural resources. Therefore, on this standpoint where man power is considered as the main input in resources mobilization which gives an appropriate knowledge of resources use. The resources may be divided into two parts. Operational resource and natural resource. Natural resource meant here is the stand-in resource and operational resource is

means the great resource by use of man power which also means the renewable resource. This makes the Saora understanding of resources practically different from the western understanding of resources. The western understanding of resources refers to the properties directly, whereas the Saora understanding of resource gives emphasize on the labour use, the appropriate knowledge in labour use for resource utilization. At this point the social resources become their operational resource in which their knowledge and man power are mostly used in a scientific manner to utilise the natural resources, for artifacts, properties and all other things.

But the renewal of resources, not only in terms of labour use, but with all other associated factors make the Saora to see the natural resources in a different way. This is mostly highlighted in their adoption to other means or earning economy from the swidden plots. The idea embedded in the following description goes about the revivification of deceased resources, (deceased in term of less productive or least productive or no productivity).

REVIVIFICATION OF RESOURCES

Resources that are associated with the Saora livelihood pattern are always considered very important. Food, clothing, shelter are three prime necessities of man. The quest for these things has made the primitive communities to know different resources from where such things could be extracted. Among these three prime necessities food is a very important need.

The first method of earning food was swiddening by the Lanjias. Shudha Sora people now do not believe swiddening to be their first method of extracting food. But both the communities are of the opinion that they have come through the hunter and foodgatherens stage to reach the settled cultivation. But since the habit of Lanjias and Shudhas varies in respect to hill land and plain land, the hill land inhabitants are regarded more primitive than the plain lands Shudha Soras. Therefore, Shudha Sora people want to establish that, though both have come though the hunter, gatherer economy, they are the first settled agricultural people and the Lanjia Saoras come next. The idea however leads them to think that in the past they were doing swiddening, because they had adequate plain lands to cultivate. Now they have given up swiddening. But Lanjia Saoras continue the practice as they do not have enough of plain lands.

Lanjia Saora are continuing with swiddening. But details of their practice employed in swiddening is described in the chapter "Indigenous knowledge on shifting cultivation". It is now clear that the swiddening is not proved to be beneficial. For the swidden plots have lost fertility. Further, there is no chance with which one could go to clear patches of forest land for swiddening. Hard pressed

in this situation, Lanjia Sora people are bothered about finding alternative resources for carrying livelihood simultaneously with swiddening or by giving up swiddening for ever. The paddy lands which they have mostly depend upon rain and irrigated lands are very few. When the people are met with crisis, some help is extended from the Government. The help from the Government is in the form of the extension of horticultural programme in the Lanjia Saora areas. The policy of the Government has dual importance. On one hand it aims at benefiting the people with cash from horticultural produces and on the other hand horticultural crops will compensate them the loss of environment.

The Lanjia Saora people thought that horticulture would be a better way that can compensate their loss from swiddening. When people heard about the horticultural programme and its extension towards their locality, they thought that the species would be planted on the hills from where they would be able to fetch horticultural produces. But later they came to know that the Government is interested in participatory plantation of the horticultural crops. By participatory management of plantation of horticultural crops, it means here that fifty percent of the expenditure for plantation will be provided by the Government which accounts for free supply of seeds are seedlings, primary maintenance of the crops and the people will have to extend labour and spare their swidden land. With this motivation of the Government in addition to the Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA) and Lanjia Saora Development Agency lunched (LSDA), the horticulture programme in order to achieve double target : environment and economy

But the Lanjia Saora people are very much worried about their crisis caused due to less production in swidden plots and little possession of paddy lands. The population explosion adds substantially to this crisis. Some of the swidden plots dead is terms of production. When the Lanjia Saoras were wondering how to revive the fertility of such swidden plots, the governmental agencies came forward with horticultural programme and approached such people for the revivification of their swidden plots.

Importance was given in the connection to the Lanjia Saora areas. Shudha Saora people were of the opinion that by horticulture the Government was more interested in revivel of the environment and was not much bothered about the Lanjia Saoras livelihood. Shudha Saora people are not practising shifting cultivation and therefore they are less bothered about the crisis in the livelihood of the Lanjias. To them their crisis is connected with paddy cropping.

Many types of horticultural crops slowly entered into the Lanjia Saora locality. They are papaya, drum stick, bulls heart, custard apple, mango, jackfruit, pomegranate, orange, lemon, coconut, cashes nut, banana, guava, pine apple, etc. The saplings were distributed to people for cropping in their swidden plots. In the

beginning they took interest in horticultural production. The second set of people who took interest were those who have less man power to invest in swiddening. The next set of people were of rich class who have plenty of paddy lands that provide to their household consumptions with buffers stocks that are sold in market. Such people lost interest in swiddening. They left the fields for long fallowing or gave them to others for share cropping. They took interest in planting the horticulture species in the swidden plots and left the swidden plots for long fallowing with horticultural crops. Yet there is another set of people who are marginal in livelihood pattern ; they do not have adequate swidden plots and plain lands which would provide them their need. Such people migrate to work as labourers in Kemi of Arunachal Pradesh or Assam. Before they left they thought it better to crop horticultural species in their swidden plots and then go out on work with a hope that on therir return, they will find their horticultural crops producing. The migrant to outside also leave some of their family members in their village to watch their landed properties. They live swiddening on the bares of share cropping and on the money sent by their men from outside.

Horticultural programme thereby got a good response from all groups of people. The people who did not take interest in the beginning, took larger interest when they found good production of horticultural species planted by other people. Thus it became natural for them to go for horticulturel. Such people left certain patches of their own possessed swidden plots in the name of horticulturel to the Government agencies. Now almost all Lanjia Saora people in the locality possess some numbers of horticultural crops in their landed properties. These horticultural species in addition to their personally possessed minor forest produce trees like Mohua,Tamarind, MAngo, Jackfruit and other species fetch substantial amount.

Among the species of the horticultural crops cashew nuts are found to be the dominant variety. Lanjia Sora people are provided with seeds and saplings from the local Lanjia Saora Development Agency and also from the Blocks. The demonostratuion for cashew plantation is given in the field by the LSDA. The Lanjia Saoras say that the LSDA employees not only bring them the seeds but also plant them in the areas available under personal possession. Similarly other species are also brought to them by the LSDA and the plantation work is also done by the agency. Time to time growth monitoring and primary maintenance work of planted horticultural specie are done by the LSDA. This has become one important factor that drags people to take of plantation work. The beneficiaries make the boundary of their swidden plots by stone embankments and watch and guard their future resources. The cashew plots need no further maintenance after the crops grow to a certain height. There is also no fear of the crops being damaged by the cattle and wild beasts. The cashew plantation thus needs no input of labour or money from the beneficiaries.

Cashewnuts become more important than the sal trees. But the cashew plantation is not accepted by the Lanjia Saoras everywhere. They feel that the Government is planting cashew for its benefit. From this they have developed a phobia that after two or three harvests.The cashed plots on the hill would be taken away by the Government. Only homestead land cashew plantation will remain as their own. This phobia has developed to such an extent that people now are reluctant to devote their swidden plots for cashew plantation. A case happened in a village named 'Baseng Garjang' where people protested strongly against cashew nut plantation in their swidden plots, lest the plots be taken over by the Government in future. Therefore, they do not allow the ITDA and LSDA employees to undertake plantation programme on their personally possessed swidden plots. The village mentioned here does not come under the jurisdiction of the LSDA for which they collectively refuse the plantation programme by LSDA in their swidden plots. This has developed a mass hysteria for movement against cashew plantation.

In certain villages people experiences a change in ground water level due to cashew plantation. Water level in such villages which have good water resources that offeres drinking water and water for irrigation, is going down. This decreaes in water level is not properly estimated in the running stream water rather it is better observed is stagnant water like wells, ponds etc. In some places where cashew plantation is done in homestead lands. Here the dug shows a decrease in water level. Many such cases are heard where people claim that cashew plantation is cause for this decrease in ground water level. A man in village Angora cut down all his cashe trees grown near his well as, the well showed a continues decrease in water level. The person narates from his experience that by the time the cashew plants grew to about five feet high this decrease in water level was noticed. This adds to the demerit of cashew plants.

Further the cashew planted fields becomes dry more than a swidden plot - some people attest. They regard cashew trees as fire which suck in the water resources. Therefore people attribute that it is not a crop that can revive the condition of swidden plots.

After many interviews with the Lanjia Saora people it is learnt that cashew plantation is a structural revivification oflands. This structural revivification means a tree replacing another tree. It seems as if people are motivated to make the swidden plots into desert first by removing the stocks of vegetation from which regeneration was possible and then plant the cashew crops there. Thus a variety of crops is replaced by a cluster of cashew plants. The cashew gardens donot allow any undergrowth.

The cashew plantation therefore means the revivification of barren lands with cashed plants in place of indigenous vegetation. It yields better economy, no

doubt, but it drastically hampers the quality of soil. Therefore cashew nut plantation has take into account positive and negative aspects. So the Lanjia Saoras both the aspects.

The Lanjia Saora people now do not take interest in cashew or any other horticultural crops. Many reasons are associated with this. The first is that the LSDA is a society that is opened to motivate people for plantation. It has employees who supply to the beneficiaries plant and sapplings at their available area. They do not like to spend for labour in planting those crops. They feel that planting is also the job of LSDA. An interesting case happened with an old man of a village. The LSDA people gave him two coconut, mango saplings and jackfruit sappling etc. The man did not plant them. After five days when LSDA field worker visited the man found that no sapplings have been planted. On being asked the man replied that he was wating not planted the sapplings anywhere as he was waiting for the LSDA employees to come and plant the sapplings in his land. The man also took no interest in digging pits which he thought to be the job of LSDA people. Ultimately the LSDA people had to plant them in the old man's homestead land. It indicates that people have become rather easy and lazy about the work with the horticultural programmes. Many Social issues are found to have been associated with the plantation programmes.

MANAGEMENT AND MAINTAINANCE OF RESOURCES

As has been stated earlier the major resources of the Lanjia and Shudha Saoras are the landed property. The Sudha Saoras have only plain lands for cultivation of paddy, vegetable and other pulses. They have little of horticultural properties. Lanjia Saora people have swidden, plain lands and horticultural gardens which grow the multiple crops, paddy and horticultural produces respectively. Thus these are important resources that supply to their consumption needs and market economy.

The cultivation practice is managed to get the such as problems desired output intime. Mismanagement untimely cultivation practice, input of seeds, labour and money would cause a deterioration in the crop yield. The man power being important, it depends mostly upon women who are the real cultivators compared to men. More man power exceeding the optimal man-to-land ratio or less man power below the optimum man to land ratio hampers the production considerably.

Co-operative labour use which is quite extensive in these areas is a better idea of management in the cultivation practice in time. Wage labour is not generally used. The share cropping system goes in favour of land management in the sense that no land is left uncultivated. The mobility of land resources is maintained by

share cropping.

Crops in the Swidden and foot hill lands with the paddy cultivation provide the subsistence and market economy. Thus both types of economy are managed by multiple cropping. The cropping basees upon a cultivation of household needs for consumption and then for cash. Accordingly crop lands are managed with a proportionate cropping with each other. Cereals and some type of pulses and red serials are usually for household compensation and the others are sold in the market for cash.

Buffer stocks of crops are sold in the market and the money availed is used for other household needs. The surplus money after household management is used to purchase durable properties like land and exchangeable or saleable properties like gold, silver etc. Luxurious items for personal use is purchased from the sale of buffer stock of crops and cash crops.

Minor forest producing trees that are under personal possession are taken care properly and their produces are sold in the market. Horticultural produces are also supplied to the market. The minor forest produces are managed properly with respect to preservation and conservation of the tree resources on a long term use.

The management of natural resources is a collective effort. They are maintained perfectly and managed properly to keep them operational for long term use. The mode of management and maintenance of limited natural resources are more organised by the Shudha Saoras.

In the Saora process of management and maintenance of goods, properties and resources the man power resource is highly operational complemented with the indigenous knowledge of making appropriate use of resource. even then the Saora people are subjected to great many crisis.

CRISIS IN RESOURCE AND CONSEQUENCES

The discussion on the resources and dimensions of the resource use and understanding of resource management in the Saora society stops at a point where the mismanagement of resources have led them many crisis. The crisis confronted their in livelihood pattern and the subsistence economy led them to adopt alternative methods of earning. The main alternative aime at proving the Saora community with a better economy: The horticultural programmesintroduced in the Lanjia Saora area have a dual importance : on one hand it aims at reviving and preserving the environmental wealth and on the other aims at providing the Saora with a beter economy that would give them a beater livelihood. But the main secret embedded in this horticultural programmes pertains to the revivification of lands

and the environment reoulting is to deforestation. The deforestation has set in motion many types of crises.

Deforestation has mainly resulted in these areas due to extensive practice of shifting cultivation for decades. Many important vegetations are last forever. Deforestation has put the Saoras in transition. They are now in between the market and the forest. Side by side the traditional community has come in contact with new commercial economy. Considerable changes are observed in their traditional pattern of livelihood and social structures.

The influence of market economy on the traditional resource of the tribal people made them to go for heavy exploitation from the resource bases; here market made the Saora people to go for commercial exploitation of the forests leading the forested patches to be converted to deserts. The commercial exploitation here refers to both the exploitation of minor forest produces and major forest produces more for market need and less for household needs. Along with this is associated the alien culture.

The Christian Saoras need more wood to make coffins For that the Christian Saoras started exploiting the timber tres, cut and sliced them to keep for future use. Every person desires to extract maximum size of wood cutting the Sal and other timber trees. Their increasing greed has made the Sal gestation endangered. From them the traditional Lanjias learnt to avail much of those wood for their use in future. This is one of the reasons adding to deforestation, rather destruction of the forests.

The demand of market, the alien religious culture and greed for more sources of livelihood put its bad impact on the vegetation as well as the forest. These influences resulted in class formation based on competition for scarce resources within the village, and negative influnceon the traditional culture. With the increased deterioration of environment by deforestation, people are to migrating in search of alternatives of livelihood.

This has also resulted in erosion of man power efficiency. With migration of male persons elsewhere, women are burdened with all the work in agriculture in minor forest produce collection, marketing and other household jobs. This has put a very bad impact on the women who are overburdened. Women are also forced to work as wage labourers as there is no alternative for livelihood. They are also found to be working in non-tribal houses. The shortage in their immediate living resources caused by deforestation, combined with the increasing demand of plain lands for settled agriculture and external commercial influences of the market has deteriorated the traditional pattern of livelihood leading to social,cultural intellectual erosion. This crisis provoked the Saora people to find alternatives.

Deforestation is therefore not the only cause of an imbalance in the social and cultural strupture of the Saora communities. Aforestation by the Govt. hampered the practice of shifting cultivation directly affecting the traditional economy. All these factors are responsible for forcing the Saoras to adopt other sources of livelihood.

Man power depends directly on women. For women are the chief input of labour in all the Saora production processes. This input of labour in terms of women's work in the production processes has multidimensional considerations. Decrease in household wealth and properties directly implies that in such families women members are less. Women are the assetys of the Saora family. Rich families having much landed property need more women to work in the field. This leads to polygamous life in the Saora society... People who have more landed properties more women labour. As such a richman is to marry many wives. As for example in the village Sagad, a rich man late Siridhar Gomango who had a good deal of landed property had twenty wives. For his property he needed more women to work.

The decrease in the rationalization of resources and proper management practices led the people to migrate. The migration is based on a search for alternative resources. With migration of males, the villages become female dominated resulting in increase of polygamous life. It also forced women to work as wage labourers in the non-tribal communities. Adaptation to non-tribal practics mostly by the Lanjia Saora women caused cultural erosion. Partipation in market economy and the Government hurticultural programmes shaltered the traditional economy of the Saoras particularly that of the Lanjias.

All these factors.directly or indirectly influence the Saora peoples' understanding and use of their social and environmental resource. The risk factors resulting due to crisis in livelihood resource forced people to migrate in search of new alternatives for livelihood such as participation in market, participation in Governmental developmental programmes etc. As a result new cultural traits crept into the Saora culture putting them in a state of transition. Utilisation of their traditional resources decreased abnormally causing an imbalance in their age old economy. The indigineous skill and knowledge are of no use in the changing circumstance.

At present the Saoras are in between the market and the forest. The quest for stable alternatives is going on with time. At this point the future is uncertain and unpreditced leading the Lanjia Saoras to a transition.

7

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF PLANTS AND TREES

The association of plants and trees with the life of human beings and other life forms is well known. For various needs of the human beings, animals, birds etc, the plants and trees contribute a lot. Plants and trees are the sole basis of life on the earth. They are related to animal lives including human beings in many ways. They provide food, shelter which are the prime needs of both human beings and animals. In all aspects of human life, the plants and trees are found to be very much associated. Human beings know the vast diversity of the vegetation world since they started to live on the earth. Plants and trees are the only things that have sustained the animal lives on the earth. The human beings depend upon the vegetative world in a number of ways. The human need of food, clothing, materials for house construction, medicine, is always fetched from the vegetative world. Further the human beings do not depend on the plants and trees for the above things, rather the relationship of human beings with them is multidimensional. Man is associated spiritually, ecologically, economically, emotionally with the plants and trees. This association of human beings is not new, but started right after the birth of human beings on the earth.

Man started his life from forests. The first man lived in the forests in the hoary past. The forests were rich with a great diversity of vegetation. This was not only a canglomeration of trees but also of all the living and non-living components. Human beings, animals, plants and trees are the main parts of the forests. All those parts act, react, interact with one another. The plants and trees play a significant role in this aspect. Plant is complementary to the animal. Without plants and trees animal lives can never survive on the earth. So plants and trees are the most important things for the survival of the animal and the human beings.

Descriptions of plants and trees that have evolved from time to time find mention in different texts of culture. The first stage of culture is marked with the evolution of *homosapien* in the forest. It was the prehistoric age. Man was living in the forests. So the first culture of man developed in the forests. Naturally in the cultural traditions importance is given to the vegetative world and the modes of living in the forests. Through this long association with the plants and trees men could realise that the survival of human beings and animals largely depends on forest.

In the pre-historic period the men lived in the forests as nomads living on what was available in the nature. In the later phase of the pre-historic people men learnt agriculture and construction of settlements for shelter. The rock-shelter paintings and artifacts of the period give an idea of the pre-historic culture.

Evidence is available in Rig Veda and other Vedic literatures that the Aryans were careful observers of flora and fauna- a fact which goes a long way to show that they were a cultured race. After migration, they began to study vegetation potentialities and thought of proper utilisation. They located and preserved the medicinal plants, shrubs and herbs. In respect of forests, their main task was to sort out the fruit and flowering trees and the trees which could be used either as firewood or timber. They also knew that the best collection of the medicinal plants should be made when the Venus (star of medicine) would be shining in the Eastern sky before sunrise. They believed that medicinal plants were most effective during that period. The efficiency of plants and trees for medicine was known to the Aryans from their association with the vegetation world.

The plants and trees are therefore regarded as the life of the human beings and animals for, they supply food and medicine for existence of human and animal life on the earth. So use of plants and trees in a more scientific way with attention towards the preservation and conservation is much an experience of the pre-historic man. The knowledge is transmitted to the further generations which trace their ancestry from the forest dwelling people.

Besides, the primitive man learned the domestication and cultivation of plants and trees for a continuous food supply. The relationship of man with vegetation for food made him to understand that he is living for the trees and plants around him. This developed an interest in the pre-historic man to care the plants and trees for a good life.

The socialisation of man with plants and trees started with their living together in the forests. The forests therefore comprised of three main components : man, plant and animal who lived with a symbiotic relationship among themselves. Man is also related to the plants and trees in a fairly holistic way. The primitive

man worshipped nature and tried to gain control over nature. They believed that nature is the means of livelihood and should therefore, be worshipped. Trees and plants are one of the most important part of the nature, which are means of livelihood to the human beings and animals. So from the beginning of life, trees and plants have been looked upon by men with love and reverence.

Man began to worship tree taking it as an abode of god or supernatural power. The tree worship began before the dawn of the history. Ritualistic veneration of trees as a practice became wide spread. The religious texts of the Hindu culture mention great numbers of trees which are always regarded as the abodes of certain Hindu gods and goddesses. The Vedic Aryans considered the Sowa tree (*Sarcostemma acidum)* as the tree of life. Many other trees like Bel(*Aegle marmelos)*, Banyan(*Ficus benghalensis)*, Peepal(*Ficus religiosa)*, Neem(*Azadirachta indica)* were known as the trees where gods lived. The plant Tulsi(*Ocimum sanctum)* developed spiritual sanctity in the mind ofhuman beings. The tree cult in India is a symbolic representation. Tree worship is universal. The tree cult is not merely a ritual activity. It includes the beliefs, superstitions and myths centering round it. When tree symbol is used for a Hindu god or goddess it is considered sacred. Often this symbol is alive with religious meaning and powers. The images, trees and stones symbolise the various attributes of god. It is their spirit which is worshipped. The tree cult in India is highly esteemed by all sections of people- tribal or non-tribal. The religious practices and rites performed by different religious cultures of different societies may vary but the only thing that never vary is the peoples, love and regard for plants and trees.

Needless to mention that plants and trees have become important components in the cultural traditions of all types of peoples. The developed societies which maintain a modernised urban life know of plant world from literature. Those people have considerably little knowledge about plants and trees. They are only familiar with certain commons species of plants and trees. But the forest dwelling people whether they be tribal or non-tribal have a better attachment with the plant world found immediately around them. So they are more knowledgeable about the plants and trees than the people of developed societies. But in any case the plants and trees are parts of all social, cultural and religious traditions. The tribal people who continuously live in a forest habitat surrounded by the vegetative world have a different perception, attitude and feeling towards the vegetation world. Their relationship with the world of vegetation is multidimensional. They derive their most of their needs from plants and trees. Sentimentally they are more attached with the plants and trees. They have a rich perception about their association with plants and trees. Besides their material needs, their aesthetic sense, thoughts and philosophies are much attuned to the plant world. The tribal communities maintain a social and cultural relationship with the plant world. Plants,trees, animals are the

beings with which tribal societies are very much familiar. Their relationship with the plant world may be derived from a study of their social processes, customs and traditions.

The Saora people have a long experience with the plant world around them as they are confined to a forest habitat. Their relationship with the vegetation world has started right from their origin and evolution. They describe their association with the plants and trees in simple self-evident experiences and understanding. They took birth from '*Kureitung*' which is described as a gourd from where the Lanjia Saora people evolved. The '*Kureitung*' from which the Shudha Saora came into being was a hollow trunk of *Kurei* tree (*Holarrhena antidysenterica)*. Their idea about the plants and trees grew up later on when they were exposed to the forest world.

The myths, legends, oral traditions, folklores describe much about their understanding of plants and plant world. After birth from *Kureitung*, the Lanjia Saora people first knew about grasses. In referring to their cosmogonical myth, it is known that the first plant that grew on the earth was grass. The grass did not grow spontaneously. The grass seeds were got by an angle which were sown on the earth. After the origin of grass, other plants and trees came up slowly. The origin of other plants and trees have least mention in their cosmogonical myth. The grass that first grew was *Purpuri* (*Cynodolm dactylon)*. The grass at present day is very much required during performance of various rites and rituals.

The Christian Saoras' cosmogonical myth states that the *Kittung* gave birth to plants and trees to decorate the earth, particularly to decorate the garden named as '*Adam*'. The *Kittung* wanted to make the garden beautiful. He planted and grew fruit bearing trees in this park. So the Christian Saoras' myth mentions that the first trees known to them are fruit bearing trees. The trees, as is perceived from their myth, was originated to decorate the landscapes.

The Shudha Saora people do not have enough description about plants and trees in their myth. Their ideas on the origin of plant world is described by them in a rather comprehensive manner. They feel that their first ancestor *Kittung* to lived with plants and trees. The tree supreme gods-*Barangdeu*, *Korangulu* and *Sisitamroga* originated different plants and trees on which *Kittung* depended for his survival. However, the Shudha Saora people know of the Neem tree (*Azadirachta indica)* as the abode of the *Lord Jagannath*. Besides, there are descriptions about the different lineages of the Shudha Saoras associated with certain plant species. See chapter 'Society and Culture-II of the Saora'.

The Lanjia Saora people came to know about the cotton plant(*Gossipium herbaceum)* as described in their cosmogonical myth. The cotton seeds were

brought to the Lanjia Saora by an eagle. The eagle suggested the Lanjia Saora people to crop the cotton plants the seeds of which would provide them clothes.

The Lanjia Saora came to know about their crops spontaneously. This is derived from one of their legends that the Lanjia Saoras, when they were living inside forest came across paddy (*Oryza sativa)* plants grown near water streams. They saw that the seeds of the plants eaten by birds. They collected some seeds and planted near water streams. The seeds germinated. The plants grew very fast. The plants attained good height. But they did not flower and fruit. The people thought of the cause of non-flowering of the plants. All on a sudden a jackal passing through that way gave an idea to the Lanjia Saora about the plants. The jackal suggested them to reap the plants immediately. They did so immediately. The Jackal then said them to pestle the crop plants by foot. They did so and got flours of rice. When they were thinking about the rice flours, the *Lobosum* appeared in dream and asked the people to paint an icon by using rice flour as paint. The Lobosum maintained that, if they paint an icon crops will yield more paddy. This is the beginning of their paddy cultivation as they mean from their oral tales. The paddy crop therefore became associated with the *Lobosum*.

The myths and legends describe how the Saora people came to know about the plants and trees. But these are more confined to their spiritual level. In refering to the m}th of the Lanjias it we came across a tree known as Palm tree (*Borassus flabelifer)* on which the *Kittung* and his sister lived for days together. This was the only tall tree in that period. But in their myth it is mentioned that there was another creation before the Saoras were created. The first creation was destroyed by the *Kittung* for the sinful activities of people. The new creation was made by him when he selected specific plant and tree species to be grown on the earth. The plants and trees which are now present around the Saora physical environment are believed to be the selective creation of the *Kittung*. All plants and trees are useful, in one way or the other. The fruit bearing trees provide food while the other trees provide other materials.

Plants and trees in later times became very much associated with the Saora peoples social and cultural institutions. Certain plant species are regarded important on the religious grounds. Taboos are often associated with the plants and trees. Understanding of them is mentioned in their religious cores and processes. The Saoras have named different parts of the landscapes, hills, forests settlements in the name of plants and trees. As a resource, the trees that produce minor forest produces are cared and preserved by them.

The trees and plants are very much loved by the *Kittung*. Therefore these are often sketched in the ikon paintings. Certain deities like *Judisum*, *Mandudasum* are figured as wood. Wooden posts are sometimes established in the memory of

certain gods. Tree cult of Lanjia Saoras are not much elaborative. Trees are never believed as sacred, except that some spirits or gods like to live in it. They believe that spirits mostly reside on Tamarind trees but the gods reside in the Banyan trees. Here the god is referred toes *Kittung*. The Shudha Saora people know the Neem tree as the abode of *Lord Jagannath*. So Neem tree is very much valued in their religious beliefs.

Besides to the ritual use of plants and trees, the Saoras use many plants and trees in their social life. Many plant and tree species are used for making wooden artifacts, agricultural implements, house building and household materials, medicine, food etc. Plants and trees used for various works give an idea of the utilitarian aspects. The people are very much selective about the plants and trees which are used for different purposes. Besides, they use such species mostly which are pliantly available in their locality.

Based upon the use in the social life of people, plants and trees may be categorized into many heads as different sets of plants serve different needs of human beings. While surveying in Saora society it is found that people usually collect plants and trees and use them for following purposes.

The plants usually used as domestic medicines, food and fodder of domestic animals.

Plants and trees used for household equipments and furnitures, agricultural implements, weapons etc. The plants and trees provide shelter and protection. Furniture, floor covering, doors, windows, lifts, etc. are made from the plants and trees.

The plants that are used as food. In this category many a number of plant and tree is known to the Saora people. Fruits, roots, vegetables, crops etc. are derived from plants. Most of the plants for food are cultivated as is enlisted in the chapter " Indigenous Knowledge on Shifting Cultivation". Besides many wild plant species are there that contribute to the food items. Those wild plants and plant products are collected from the hills, forests, swidden plots and from the surrounding. Most of the leafy vegetables, spinach that are collected and cultivated are mentioned in the chapter "Society and Culture-II". The Saora people are accustomed mostly to a particular food habit. So their knowledge about food plants is specific. Among the plants that are known as food species are the crops cultivated in the swidden plots, yoms, fruits, bamboo shoots etc.

Plants are being used for fat and oil. Mention many be made of the plants *Pongamia pinnata*, *Hibiscus sabdariffa*, *Madhuka longifolia*, seeds of which are much known as oil yielding seeds. Castor seeds(*Ricinus communis*) and *Hibiscus sabdariffa* are the cultivated species widely used for different purposes. Oil

extracted from *Ricinus communis*, *Pongamia pinnata* are used as fuel for lamps. Oil extracted from *Hibiscus sabdariffa* and *Madhuka longifolia* are used for cooking purposes and the later one is used to massage over body.

Plants used for drinks and beverage are mostly the *Caryota urens*, *Phoenix sylvestris* and *Madhuka longifolia* species. *Caryota urens* and *Phoenix sylvestris* provide fermented toddy that are collected by tapping the inflorescence of the plants. The flowers of *Madhuka longifolia* are collected for preparation of distilled liquor. So those plants are given higher importance as they provide alcoholic drinks.

Many number of plants and trees are used as fuel wood. There is a specification of fuel wood in the funeral rites, and in the household consumption. Mostly wood of Mango (*Mangifera indica)*, Karanja *(Pongamia pinnata)*, Sal *(Shorea robusta)* are preferred for funeral rites. But for cooking purposes any wood, perfectly dried one is preferred a set provides much of charcoal.

Plants are often in use as packing materials. The crops are stored in bamboo containers mostly. But in many places people make containers with straw of paddy (*Oriza sativa*), also store crops in hollow root base of Sago palm tree (*Caryota urens*), etc. Lofts and underground cellas are made with wood where crops and other materials are stored. People say that in ancient times all the storing materials were made with plant parts. Now storing articles are bought from market places.

Most of the plants and trees are valued on the basis of the produces they yield. Those are the species from which the people collect minor forest produces. Such produces are collected and sold in market for cash. So those species are regarded as the cash crops. Those crops are mostly nature grown species in the forest. Besides, the people also include the horticultural species cultivated as the cash crops. Most of the minor forest producing trees found near the settlement are kept under personal possession. So the trees are also regarded as the personal properties. Details of the minor forest producing species are dealt later on in this chapter.

The Saora people are very much aware of the indigenous and exotic vegetation. Here indigenous vegetation refers to the plants and trees that grow extensively in their localities and local forests. The exotic species are those about which they have little knowledge. Such species are brought to them. These are mostly horticultural species. The horticultural species are brought to them by developmental agencies and the local government. The tribal people are of opinion that such species are provided to them for their economic development. Mention may be made of the plants and trees that are brought to them like Mango (*Mangifera indica)*. Jackfruit (*Artocarpus heterophyllus)*, Guara(*Psidium guajara)*,

Pineapple *(Ananuscomosus)*, Cashewnut *(Anacardium occidentale)*, Bull's heart *(Annonareticulata)*, Lemon *(Citrus ourentifolia)*, Forbidden fruit *(Citrus maxima)*, Orange*(Citrus sinensis)*, Drum-stick*(Moringa oleifera)*, Custard apple *(Annona squamosa)*, Coconut *(Cocos nucifera)*, Cinnamon*(Cinnamonun zeylanicum)*, Indian Cassia Lignea*(Cinnamonum tamala)*, Papaya *(Careca papaya)* which are being provided by the developmental agencies like Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA) and Lanjia Saora Development Agency (LSDA). Not all the species given above are exotic to Saora. The fruit bearing species like Mango, Jackfruit, Custard apple, Drumstick, Papaya, Guana are the species are known to them. But the other species that give a good economic yield like Cinnamon, *Cassia Legnea* are very new to them. About other fruit bearing and economic species the Saora people know when their relation with market was developed.

The Lanjia Saora people do not take much interest in horticulture. They are much acquainted with the swiddening. In their food habit they are acquainted with mango, jackfruit and papaya. Other fruits produced from horticultural species are of little interest to them. There are two reasons as to why Lanjia Saora people take little interest with horticulture are-firstly, the people are reluctant to carry the produces to the market and secondly such fruits are not important in consideration to their prevalent food habit. The people of village *Sagada* are of opinion that the mango, jackfruit, drumstic, pine apple mature in the early summer season. But it is the period when the people have lot of work in swiddens. So they do not like to spare their labour in taking the horticultural produces to the market. This is because they give first priority to agriculture. They do not give importance to a cash crop better than a subsistence crop. When they do not take the fruits to the market, the Dom people come to them and procure the products at a very chief rate. The Saora people make a comparison between the price fetched and the labour given in collecting and bringing home the produces. They feel that the price which they fetch is too less if compared to the labour invested. Therefore, they take not much interest with horticultural crops.

Further, the developmental agencies provide the sapplings to the Saoras to crop them in the devastated swidden fields. Lanjia Saoras have developed a misconception that if they crop the horticultural sapplings in their swidden plots, the Government will take away the plots from them. That is why they do not like to plant such species in their swidden plots. Further, they have a great love for swiddening. So they do not like to convert a swidden plot into a horticultural garden. Those people who have small swidden plots do not like at all to raise the fruit bearing trees there. They feel that when the trees will grow bigger, they will shade the land and so no crops can be grown there.

Horticulture involves less labour than the shifting cultivation. The people

are traditionally socialised with the crop plants. From that aspect they get the identity as agricultural people. Swiddening is one part of the agriculture. Though swiddening is a hard and labour consuming affair, they love to practise it. It is because the crops grown in swidden plots provide to their requirement of food. The tribe is surviving with swiddening which provides them food for the whole year. But the horticultural crops do not provide their staple food. The people depend upon the horticultural crops or fruit bearing trees when their lean period appears. In their lean period they survive on mango, jackfruit, mango kernel, tamarind seed etc. So they are familiar with the above tree species that provide their requirement during the lean periods. For food they depend upon the tubers besides the above species during their lean period. In this aspect they are accustomed to a few species which we mention as minor forest produce yielding species.

Mango(*Mangifera indica),* jackfruit(*Artocarpus hetero -phyllus)*, tamarind (*Tamarindus indicus),* are the three main tree species with which the people are very much associated particularly for ritualistic and utilitarian needs. The people celebrate new eating festivals of certain crops, fruits, tubers, etc. In different periods of the year they organise new-eating festival of different plant products. The people believe that the new crop produces should not be eaten before offering them to the gods and spirits. If the crops are eaten without offering them to the gods and spirits, they cause problem and harm to the people. In the summer season, they organise *Udan abdur(Uda*-mango, *abdur*-new eating festival). On this occasion mango, jackfruit, custard apple sometimes black berry etc, are worshipped. But pineapple, guava, papaya and other fruits are never seen to be worshipped on such occasions. Because their gods and spirits are not acquainted with such fruits. The *Ragan abdur* (Redgram-new eating festival) is organised at the time of maturing of the crops. The *janah*(Maize) *abdur* is organised in the rainy season when maize is offered to the gods. In the *Ganayan*(tuber) *abdur*, different types of tubers are offered to the gods. The *Dioscorea* species and the sweet potato(*Ipomoen batatas)* are worshipped on this occasion.

The new eating festivals give importance to certain crops and trees, the produces of which are very much preferred in the food habit of the Saora people. The spirits of the dead and gods are also very much pleased with such food items. With this belief, they adhere to their traditional food habits and feel that the crops, fruits, roots described earlier are the main items of their food habit. These plants are socially and culturally associated with the life of Saora people.

The Saoras give much respect to the seeds. The ritual associated with seeds is called *Jamal*(seed) *abdur*. In the *Jamal abdur* they arrange a worship to seek blessings and good wishes of their ancestral beings. After harvesting the crops, they organise the *Jamal abdur*. The seeds are first of all offered to the spirits and after that they consume. In the *Jamal abdur* varieties of crops are offered to the

spirits. The *Bidal purpur* ritual is organised before sowing the seeds, they offer worship to the ancestral beings. With this worship they feel that the spirits will enter into the seeds, so that these will germinate better and produce good crop.

Their religious belief is very much associated with certain plant and tree species. The *abdurs* indicate their fear to consume the crops before they are offered to the gods and spirits. This belief prevents them from collecting, reaping or harvesting of crops before they are matured. Further, the crops that are being worshipped in *abdurs* indicate the peoples love for certain plants which the spirits also love.

Besides these there are many other ways through which they are linked with certain plants emanating certain religious practices, folklores, myths and legends etc. The Lanjias know the trees as abodes of gods and spirits. But the Shudha Saora people, who are half way through integrating their religious processes with Hindu traditions worship certain tree species like the Hindu people. The Bel (*Aegle marmelos)*, Neem (*Azadirachta indica)*, Tulsi (*Ocimum sanctum)*, Sandal wood (*Santalum album)* etc, are worshipped by them. Neem tree is very much important to them on religious grounds. The other tree species like *Bael*, sandal wood, etc. are new additions plants and trees. They feel that tree is an abode of god and spirit, so they do not cut such trees, never worship a tree particularly. Any tree may be worshipped where the gods and spirits are believed to be dwelling. In such worship the Saora people give respect to the god or spirit living on the tree.

There are certain trees under which certain religious performances are organised. In the religious performance associated with *Ratu'd pur*, a place is selected in the outskirt of the village under a Sal (*Shorea robusta)*, a Mahula (*Madhuka longifolia)* and tamarind tree(*Tamarindus indicus)* usually at the junction of two roads. The place selected for worship is called '*Greinginding*'. In such places the *Ratud sum*, a very dangerous spirit is believed to reside.

The Saora people leave a place at the outskirt of the village for *Genuar* where stones are planted as menhirs of the dead spirits. Every settlement has its respective *Genuar*. *Genuar* is preferred at a site where three trees namely : Sal(*Shorea robusta)*, Mahula(*Madhuka longifolia)* and jackfruit(*Artocarpus heteropohyllus)* are found. *Genuar* sites are also seen without those trees. If the above trees are not found, *Genuar* can be made at a place where one or many large trees are found.

For *Ajora pur*(Stream-worship) a place is chosen near a stream. If the trees mango(*Manguera idica)*, tamarind(*Tamarindus indica)* and tarang(*Xylia xylocarpa)* are found near a stream. the place is selected for the worship. In fact, the middle space surrounded by the above trees near a stream is the best place for

Ajodapur as per the beliefs of the Saora people.

The above noted trees are very important on certain religious grounds. Some people inform that mango, jackfruit etc., are the favourite fruits of the gods and spirits. Tamarind one very important component in the food item of Saora people is also liked by the gods and spirits. Sal is very important as the *Aignires* of certain gods are on it. The *Judisum*- a dangerous spirit is made with Sal wood. Apart from that this type of tree is regarded as the abode of the gods and spirits. The same tree is mostly used for house construction of Saora people. Further, the wooden posts with which *Manduasum* is represented is a wood of Sal. In many other ritual practices the parts of Sal tree are used. The Mahula tree is liked by the gods and spirits because it yields flowers from which liquor is prepared.

The Shudha Saoras regard the banyan (*Ficus benqhalen - sis)*, peepal(*Ficus religiosa)*, Neem(*Azadirachta indica)*, banana (*Musa paradisica)* as the abodes of gods.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS ASSOCIATED WITH VEGETATION

Myths and legends are often associated with the plants and trees. Many of such legends and mythical tales are recorded by Varrier Elwin(1954) in his monumental publication 'Tribal Myths of Orissa'. The oral literature that are recorded by Elwin describe the beliefs and feelings about the origin of different forms of vegetation.

Verrier Elwin's description on the vegetation world is given here to understand the Saora's ideas of the birth of species and varieties in the world of vegetation. The legends sometimes give the ideas basing on which the people use plants and trees in different aspects of their social and cultural life. The tales and legends of Saora in Elwin's 'Tribal Myths of Orissa' have been mostly collected from the Hill Saoras of Ganjam district. During our research in the Hill Saora areas, especially in Puttasingi, we found no such tales and stories associated with the world of vegetation. A review of such oral traditions is made below.

1. Rugnu Saora had a daughter who died while still unmarried. They put her cloth and neckless by her dead body. After the *Goar* ceremony was performed, they found flowers growing from her necklaces, and other ornaments. From the brass pin in her hair came the rose(*Rosa indica)*, from her necklaces, the Champa(*Michelia champaca)* and hibiscus(*Hibiscus rosa sinensis)* flowers. Then she told her sister in a dream 'Flowers have grown from the necklace I used to wear. Now make flower-garlands for the gods'.

2. Sumbro Saora and his wife Addi lived on Mohendragiri mountain. They were young and after many months Addi conceived. Her first child

miscarried, but after four months she again conceived and this time the child was born. They buried the placenta behind the house near the door. Six months later Sumbro and Addi went to another village and, while they were away, there grew up from the placenta-pit a marigold(*Togetes*) flower. When they returned they found their house beautiful and fragment with the yellow blossoms. *Uyungsum* the Sun Saw the flowers and was pleased with them. He came to Sumbro in a dream and said, 'offer marigold to me in sacrifice'. Sumbro did so and the god was pleased.

The following two legends describe the origin of grass.

3. In the days when men had tails they used to sweep the floor with them. But as the population increased, the tails got in the way and at marriages and funerals, people used to tread on each other's tails and trip over, and this caused a lot of amusement.

One day *Kittung* went to the Under World bazaar and found it crowded as usual. As he went round looking at the stalls and searching for some good tobacco, some one trod on his tail and he went sprawling on the ground. Unfortunately he fell against a stone and two of his front teeth were knocked out. The whole bazaar roared with laughter and *Kittung* lost his temper. He picked up his own tail, pulled it out and threw it away. When the other tails saw this, they were frightened and they all of their own accord detached themselves and ran away. *Kittung's* own tail became the Sago Palm and the rest turned into grass which is now used for making broons. (Abbasingi, Ganjam, Page-107)

4. In Saski village there was a very old Saora called Bulli. He had five sons, all were grown up, indeed the hair of the eldest was already whitening. When Bulli died, his sons performed the funeral ceremony and went to the river afterwards to shave. The white hair of the eldest brother was left lying on the bank. Then the dead man came to his sons in a dream and said, 'from the hair shaved in my honor grass has grown it will be very profitable to you. Cut it and use it for thatching your houses, then you will have no trouble in rains'. The brothers did as their father commanded. That is why the thatching grass (*Themda arundinacea)*, like hair, whitens first at the roots. (Oleida, Ganjam district, Page-108).

About the origin of weeds one story is recorded.

5. At first there were no fields. But when the number of men on earth increased they cleared fields and made ploughs. They used seven kinds of grain and the crops grew well there were no weeds and no disease attacked the growing plants. Whatever was sown bore splindidly and the people became rich. There were no poor in the world at that time. Each grain was so big that it served for a

man's meal.

When Ramma and Bimma saw this, they went to *Kittung* and said, 'if everybody is rich they will not be afraid of us'. *Kittung* said 'It is all because of their fine crops'. Ramma and Bimma said 'what can we do about it ?' *Kittung* said, 'you must make grass and weeds grow in the fields and then men will have to waste half their time removing it'. 'But how can we get grass and weeds?' 'Find the foetus of a six or seven months' woman who has aborted strip yourselves maked and bury it at midnight in a field.

Ramma and Bimma went off to find such a foetus, but they could not get one anywhere. But Ramma's own wife was seven months pregnant and they forced her to abort. At midnight, Ramma and Bimma carried the foetus to the field of one Mani Saora and buried it there. When the rain came, grass and weeds sprang up in every field, and since then men have no longer been rich. (Abbasingi, Ganjam District. Page-111)

The origin of tree species is traced out from following three legends described by Elwin.

6. At first there were no trees or grasses on the earth and only a few living creatures. But when men and cattle increased, the earth felt the weight and began to sink down, and men were frightened and went to Mahaprabhu.

He was anxious and called Bhimsen and tried to make the earth strong, but it was impossible. Then Bhimsen said, 'I know what to do'. He cut his stick into four bits and drove them into the four corners of the earth and the earth became strong. From these bits trees grew and bore fruit and flowers and when the seeds scattered a great jungle grew up. The first bit of the stick became the *abba* (*Madhuka longifolia)* the second the *Sargiya*(*Shorea robusta)* the third the Plum(?) the fourth the Sagopalm(*Caryota urens)*. (Kusudda, Sambalpur District. Page-112-113).

\- *Kittung* cut off his beard and considered where he should put the hair. 'If I put it in water it will be spoilt'. So he buried it in the ground. From it grew a date palm(*Phoenix sylvestris)*, then a coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera)* and gradually all trees were born. For this reason the Saoras offer coconut to Kittung. (Padangpanga, Ganjam District. Page-113).

8. After the first earth had sunk beneath the waters and the new earth was made, *Kittung* planted the forest with fruit bearing trees. These were the only trees he made. That time, there were few people and no grain, everybody lived on fruit. But when the population increased and men made fields and hill-clearings and sowed then with grain, they needed firewood to cook with and they cut down

fruit trees and burnt the wood. In this way the forest was destroyed.

When *Kittung* saw this he was very sad, for he loved his trees and had pity on them, and he went to find seed. But he found none and sat down on a rock and wept. Then the tutelary wife of *Kittung's* father came out of the ground and asked him what the matter was. *Kittung* told her and she gave him seed saying, 'Every tree will bear fruit, but men will be able to eat the fruit only of those that were first made. They will not be able to eat the fruits of these new trees'. *Kittung* sowed the seed and when the forest grew again he said to men, 'Do not cut fruit trees till they are dry and useless. For your fires and building use the new trees'. (Guli, Ganjam District. Page-113-114).

The legendary tales about the origin of different species of plants and trees give a meaning to *Kittung* and the different anthropomorphic forms of *Kittung* as the sole creator of plants and trees The origin of species of plants and trees also describe some aspects of the Saoras socio-cultural life with which the origin of species are associated. It is very clearly mentioned in the legends that, plants and trees were grown to be used by the Saoras. Besides, it also give a comprehensive idea about the ritual use of plants e.g. Flowers, coconut, etc. Apart from that, the legends make a sense that plants and trees are grown from the god's desires and from his body parts.

AEGLE MARMELOS (L.)Corn.

Family: Rutaceae	Oriya	Bel, Bilwa
	Saora	*Kulpadal*
	English	Bael Tree.

A thorny tree of overage size with trifoliate leaves, the middle one bigger than the two lateral leaves. The fruit is round, hard and green, turns yellow when ripe. Those are found by the roads, in forests. These are mostly planted near Hindu temples, especially near the temple of Lord Shiva.

Elwin(1954) has recorded a legendary tale about the origin of this tree. The legend goes- 'There were two brothers- Kurso and Parso. They had a sow with a litter of tem. They sold eight of the sucklings and kept two. They cut the tail of one and removed its testes. They dug a pit in the garden, put salt in it, and buried the testes. After six months the rain came and from the testes grew a bel tree and spread its branches over the garden. The brothers thought "it was in this very place that we buried the pig's testes". They cared for the tree and fenced it round. It soon gave fruit, which had a stone like pig's testes.

The leaves of the tree are used during the performance of *Ab-guite* a ritual

done immediately after death. A Shaman is invited to detect which ancestral spirit took away the soul of the dead. The Shaman does some performance to know the where-abouts of the soul in the *Kinnaraidesa*(under ground). The Shaman takes some Bel leaves and prepare many tiny cups with the leaves. Then he puts some rice(*Runku*) in each leaf cup and invokes all the ancestral spirits by uttering their names. Rice in each leaf cup is meant for one ancestral spirit. After invocation the Shaman checks all the leaf cups. Rice must be missing from one leaf cup out of many. The Shaman then declares the name of the spirit to whom that cup was offered (from which rice disappeared). Then everybody comes to know about the location of the dead's spirit. By use of bel leaves they detect the where-about of the dead's spirits. Bel leaves are found to be used in all the mortuary rite performances.

In the name giving ceremony(*ad-nimon*) of the Lanjia Saoras, thorns of the tree are used. The thorns are put at the entrance of a house, hung from or fixed to the roof near the front door during the performance of name giving ceremony. By that, the people feel that the evil spirits cannot enter into the house. In some houses it is seen that bel thorns are fixed on the front verandah roof. It is believed that evil spirit cannot enter into such houses as the thorns are fixed in the roof. If the evil spirits enter, the thorn will pierce into their body. Thorns of the tree are used to pierce the nose and ear of children for use of nose and ear rings.

The Shudha Saoras also believe the tree to be very sacred. They describe that the tree is the representation of Lord Shiva. The Lord is satisfied if he is offered the bel leaves. Referring to the Hindu religious texts, they describe that the trifoliate leaves of the tree describe three different aspects : Creation, destruction and maintenance of Lord Shiva. So the Shudha Saora people give utmost religious importance to the bel tree. The people worship lord Mat-tarunam with leaves of bel.

Fruits of Bel are very much liked by the Shudha Saora people. With ripe fruits they prepare a nice drink. The unripe but matured fruits are burnt and eaten. It avoids all sorts of stomach disorders. The Shudha Saoras use the leaves in worship to *Gaidmsum*(Hindu Lord Ganesh), and goddess Durga.

Saoras metaphorically compare the breasts of beautiful women with bel fruits.

ARTOCARPUS HETEROPHYLLUS.Lam.
(Syn: *Artocarpus integrifolius* L.F.)

Family: Moraceae.	Oriya	: Panasa
	Saora	: *Padsa*
	English	: Jackfruit Tree.

The tree grows to a good height. Latex comes out from the fresh injured parts. Bark is coloured and spotted. Leaves are shining, obtuse. Fruits many. Flowers and fruits mostly seen on the trunk of the tree. Usually planted. Fruits have a thorny skin. Fruits give a sweet smell when they ripe. The tree flowers in January-March. These are planted in kitchen gardens and homestead lands. The tree population is raised in the forest through afforestation.

Elwin(1954) has noted two legends about the birth of the tree.

Sarku Saora, who lived in *Kodigadjang*, had a wife and two sons. The boys grew up and one day the wife bore a third son. When the baby was six months old, the mother got a sore on her breast and her milk became soury. Sarku called the shaman and tried every kind of medicine but of no use.

Milk dripped from the wound and Sarku picked it up and buried it behind the house. After a short time the woman died and they did the *Goar* ceremony for her. From the buried milk grew a jackfruit tree. In one year it grew up, in the second year it bore fruit. Then the ghost came to Sarku and said, 'Feed my baby on the milk of this tree'.

In another legend, *Gadejangboi Kittung* had a daughter shose name was Pandai. This girl had a pet goat in the belly of which were the seeds of the jackfruit tree. The girl loved her goat as her husband and took it with her wherever she went out.

When her mother realized how much Pandai loved her goat, she thought, 'When the other *Kittungs* and the gods hear about this they will laugh at us and say that the girl is married to a goat. So she made her daughter ill and, said to the goat, 'Go and fetch the Shaman to cure her.

As it was going along, the goat met a herd of other goats, she-goats and it went with them. When *Gadejangboi* saw that the Shaman was not coming, she herself went in the form of a tiger and killed the goat. She ate everything except the entrails. Then she resumed her own form and only realized that it was too late. She had not completely finished eating the goat. 'Pandai', she thought, 'will quarrel with me if she sees this'. So she dug a hole and buried the entrails with the dung and presently from the seeds hidden there a jackfruit tree grew up.

The tree is very important for the fruits it produces. Saoras very much like the tree. The tree is found in the kitchen garden of every Saora family. The fruit is eaten raw and cooked. The young fruits are boiled and eaten. It makes one important food in the summer when the Saoras have their lean period. The fruit is very much seen in gift exchange system. Any person who goes to a friend's house [illegible] carry a jackfruit as a gift.

The leaves are sometimes used in ritual performances when Sal leaves are not available.

Lanjia Saora feel that the tree is very much liked by their ancestral spirits and supernatural spirits for the delicious fruits. The evil spirits fear of being hurt by the thorns of the fruit and so they do not go near the fruit. The people believe that *Kittung* has given thorns to the fruits so that evil spirits cannot eat them and so the fruits can be saved from them.

The tree is important for its wood that is used in making many wooden artifacts. But a Saora would never like to cut a living tree. It shows the peoples love for other tree, especially for its fruit. The fruit is sometimes used as a substitute of goat in a sacrifice (Elwin :1955).

ASPARAGUS RECEMOSUS Wild.

Family: Liliaceae.	Oriya	Satavari
	Saora	*Chhatuari*

It is a creeper with hard stem. Stem is thorny, leaves are very small has tuberous root. The plant is found in forests. It spreads its branches on the ground or supports over other plants.

The plant and the leaves are very much associated with the practice of witchcraft in Shudha Saora society. The people believe that the witches have a great fear for the thorns of the plant. No witch or spirit dares to come close to the plant lest the thorns pierce their body causing its death. The practice of witchcraft is brown as '*Pangenia*' or '*Tanai*' to the Saoras.

In Shudha Saora society, the plant is seen to be used mainly in the religious practices done for *Chandisum*. *Chandisum* is the deity who drives out the malevolent spirits from their villages. So during the *Chandisum* worship, twig of the plant is lined in the clothes of the *Kudan* or *Kudanboi* to ensure his/her safety from the witch attack. During the performance, the Shaman takes a twig of the plant in his hand and visits every house in the village. Literally she sweeps out the witches and malevolent spirits from everybody's house and so from the village. The process is followed with chanting of some mantras.

At the spot of worshiping the *Chandisum*, a number of twigs of the plant are worshipped. After the performance, the Shaman gives one twig each to the head of every household. The people take the twigs and fix them in the roof of respective houses. By that, the people feel, witches and malevolent spirits can cause no harm to people. *Chandisum* worship(*Purpur*) is organised once in a year.

The Lanjia Saoras do not use the plant in any of their practices. The people known that the tuber of the plant is medicinal. But its use as a medicine is very rarely seen. In some cases, people grind a piece of the root and take it to cure stomach disorders.

Azadirachta Indica A. JUSS.

Family: Meliaceac	Oriya	:Limba
	Saora	: *Nima*
	English	: Neem Tree/Margosa tree.

A big tree, rough bark, leaves and flowers small, white and scented. Fruits like small berries. All the parts of the tree except the fruits give a better taste. The tree has much of medicinal values.

The population of the tree is negligible in the Lanjia Saora areas. But in Shudha Saora areas the tree population is very high as these are planted, protected and preserved.

A legend, described by Ram Gomango of *Ramaguda* gives the medicinal importance of the tree. It goes that- there was a Guru(teacher) who had two good students. The Guru wanted to test their knowledge. He sent one student to a far off place. One day, the Guru called the other student and said, 'I want to send some message to my first student, (who is also your friend) who is living at a far distance. Will you please carry the message to him'. The student agreed to get the work done. The Guru gave a letter to the second student. He immediately left in search of Ist student. The Guru directed the student to sleep under a tamarind tree when the night falls. The student did so. It took one month for the second student to reach the first student. For the whole one man, the second student was sleeping at night under the tamarind trees. When he reached the spot, patches had already developed on his body. He delivered the letter to the first student. The first student opened the letter and came to know the message of Guru that 'Examine the body of the messenger and cure him without any medicine'. The first student examined the body of his friend and detected it as leprosy. He asked his friendabout the history of the disease. The patient said 'The Guru said to me to take rest under tamarind trees always. During the journey I was sleeping under tamarind trees at night. The white patches have developed on the way. It was never found earlier on my body'. The first student said, 'Alright. You return back. But this time sleep under the Neem trees, but not under the Tamarind trees'. The second student returned back and did as he was directed by the first student. When he reached the Guru, he found all the whitish patches on his body disappeared.

The tree is very much regarded as a divine tree by the Shudha Saoras, as it is associated with the *Jagannath* cult. The people give the tree a higher importance, for the wooden figure of *Lord Jagannath* is made with the wood of this tree. In the cosmogonical myth of Shudha Saora, it is described that the *Lord Jagannath* as the manifestation of *Madusum*(*Kittung*) liked to live in a place where there should be many Neem trees. The medicinal value of the tree is known from the myth.

The above legend gives the tree an importance on aspects of medicine. It cures leprosy. If a person massages paste of the leaves everyday, he will never be affected by leprosy- (Shudha Saoras believe).

The *Nimalaka* clan of the Shudha Saoras is named after the tree. It is held that the people who were born from the tree are known as *Nimalaka*.

Brushing teeth with neem sticks has both positive and negative consequences. As the people hold, there appears no problem if a person brushes teeth for a short period. But its long use continuously, would cause problem in the reproductive ability of males. It causes sterility in male.

Massaging the body with turmeric paste and paste of Neem leaves cures all sorts of itches and skin diseases. The leaf paste is applied to cure the small pox, chicken pox, measles etc. The tree has a great medicinal value.

BAMBUSA BAMBOOS.

Family : Poaceae/Gramineae

Oriya : Baunsa
Saora : *Ureng*
English : Bamboo.

Bamboo is a perennial grass species. Every year, between July and October, new shoots sprout at the base of the tree. Bamboo is always found in clusters. It grows wild throughout especially in the hilly forests.

Stem of the plant is round, smooth and hollow. Nodes are swollen. It has no branches. It has simple shiny, thin, stiff, smooth and dark green leaves. These are found mostly near streams.

The plant is associated with a legend. When men were born, *Kittung. Kittung* collected stored and began to distribute the seeds. Though his wife was pregnant at that time, they both had to work very hard distributing the grain to men. They distributed most of the grains and the woman time was three months pregnant, but a female child miscarried. *Kittung* tied it lap in leaves and buried it

in the place where people threw cowdung.

Ten years later, at the beginning of rains, a bamboo shoot sprang up. *Kittung* and his wife went to see it, remembering it was in this very place that they had buried the foetus. *Kittung* began to dig the place and when he reached the root of the bamboo he found that it was growing from a bone. The woman cried, 'Our child has become a tree', and they wept. 'If only she had been born in time she would have been living and playing with us now. *Kittung* said, 'Had she lived, she would have done all the work of a girl. This tree too will do every kind of girl's work. It will make baskets, fans and mats'. (Elwin: 1954,PP-120)

Bamboo is extensively used in all aspects of the Saora social life. The first importance of the bamboo is that it is a good food-component. The young shoots of bamboo are collected in the rainy season. The shoots are thinly cut like clips and fried with spices. The chips are boiled first and water is removed out. Further it is boiled and made a curry. In the rainy season the Saoras mostly depend upon bamboo shoots for food. Bamboo is used to make many types of household artifacts. Big vessels to store grains are made by weaving bamboo foils. Containers of various sizes are made by the people themselves which are used in their household uses. Bows and arrows, mats are made from bamboo. Bamboo is very much required for thatching purposes. The musical instrument '*Ragaidang*' is made with bamboo. The instrument is a bamboo piece furrowed alternatively with ridges along the length of the bamboo piece. To operate a small stick is rubbed once, the ridges and furrows give a musical sound. The instrument is used in various practices for entertainment and in the name giving ceremony.

During the performance of *Karja*, a long bamboo is used as a ladder for the underworld spirits to reach the *Karja* site. One end of the bamboo is put in the rice pounding hole and the other end remains exterior to the roof. The spirits cannot come to the earth without a bamboo ladder. So bamboo is very much important in this aspect.

The people describe that the bamboo does not flower every year. Whenever bamboo flowers, immediately after the bushes die. The mice population tremendously increase when bamboo flowers. The mice eats bamboo rice. So in some places when the people see bamboo flowering, they cut down all the plants in the bush. They believe that if the plants are not cut at the time of flowering and left till the plants die itself, their properties will be ~amaged by mice. The mice damage the crops in the kitchen gardens when they do not get bamboo rice after the plants die. They also enter into the houses to eat the grains. The people describe that at irregular intervals the plants flower. The thorny bamboos flower at an interval of 8-12 years- the people say.

BAUHINIA VAHLII. Wt. & Arn.

Family: Caesalpiniaceae.

Oriya : Siali
Saora : *Layal*

It is a perennial shrub, climbing to an immense height. Leaves roundish, heart shaped at the base and obtuse, united to a little above the middle, 4-6 nerved. Flowers longish and white. Flowers gradually become cream coloured. Long legumes, pendulous, compressed at the lines, 8-12 seeded. Grows near water places and in moist forest floors.

A legend is associated with this plant. One day Ramma wanted to eat some meat. He removed the entrails from the belly of a she-goat and made a trap for birds. He cut up the gall bladder to use the bits as bait. He took the trap to the 'jungle, put it in the ground, spread branches over it and scattered the bait all round. Birds flew down to eat and were caught in the trap. Many birds were caught in this way. *Kittung* saw them in the trap and said, 'who made this ?'. He broke the trap with his axe and said, 'Let all these birds become fruits and the cords turn into a vine and the bladder becomes leaves. 'So the thing became a Siali vine and the birds became its fruit'.

When Ramma came and found his trap had turned into a vine, he broke the buds and leaves and took them to *Kittung*, saying, 'I wanted some meat and made a trap, but look what has happened. Now how am I to get some meat ? *Kittung* said, 'I made your trap into a new tree, for I did not know it was yours. But if you roast the seeds and eat the kernels, you won't want meat, and the leaves will serve for your sacrifices, its rope will be very useful, even better than a meal of meat'. (Elwin: 1954, 124-25)

Leaves of the plant are used in almost all the rituals and festivals organised by the people. Offerings to the gods are served on Siali leaves. The people say that the gods like dishes served with Siali leaves. Bark of the plant is used to make ropes. The rope of Siali is very strong and is used in making cot beds. Various types of traps are made with the bark of the plant. The seeds and kernels of the plant is edible. Most of the times people take fried kernels and seeds to the '*Garasal*' (means toddy drinking place)and eat those with toddy or liquor.

In community feasts, people prepare a great number of leaf cups to serve food. They prefer the Siali leaves for the purpose. In some villages, the people earn a lot from stitching and selling of plates and cups made out of Siali leaves., So Siali is very much associated with their socio-economic-religious life.

CARYOTA URENS

Family : Arecaceae.	Oriya	: Salap
	Saora	: *Alin ara*
	English	Indian Sagopalm.

Salap tree is just like a coconut or arecanut tree. It grows to a diameter of 4 to 6ft. and to a height of 20ft. The branches are long like that of a coconut tree and are more like those of an Arecanut tree. The leaves are bigger and broader than those of other two palms. It is a straight and beautiful palm. These are fairly common in some parts of Agencies area of Orissa, sometimes planted. Flowering period is April-August. In the hill surrounding of Lanjia Saoras, the trees are found in maximum number.

Many a number of legend is associated with this tree. The legends give on account of the immense love of Saora people towards the tree species. Some of the legends from Elwin(1954) are cited here to show the attachment of Saora people with the tree.

I. At first the Saoras had no gods and of course no need of priests. When the Saoras started worshipping the gods, the gods directed the Shamans to offer them palm juice. With palm juice the gods feel contented. Since then palm juice is the most important component in the offerings made to the gods.

II. The tree grew from a woman's dead body as described in one legend. There was a *Kittung*. His name was *Pedemattung* and his wife's name was *Dmoraiboi*. He went to hunt in the jungle and got so engrossed in it that he forgot to go home, but stayed for many days sleeping in trees. At last his wife went after him. They slept together in the jungle and that night the woman conceived.

Some-time afterwards *Kittung* again went to hunt. As the time for the birth of her child approached, the wife went to fetch wood. She put the bundle in the house, then took her pot and went for water. On her way back, girl and boy twins were born. She said to herself, 'I will just take the water back to the house, and then I will come for the children'. She left the children on the ground and hurried home with the water. In the meantime, two kites swooped down and carried off the children with the cord and placenta. Other kites saw them and fought saying, 'Give us our share'. In the struggle the babies fell down and were killed. The boy turned into a mango tree and the girl into a tamarind.

But one of the kites kept hold of the placenta. There was a great battle over

it. and then at last it fell down and turned into the banyan tree.

The woman went back to get for children. but could not find them anywhere. There was not a trace of them. She began to weep bitterly. *Kittung* came by and saw her thing swollen and blood coming from it. He said, 'what is the matter ?' 'I have lost my children'. They looked everywhere but there was no sign of them and *Kittung* exclaimed, 'You have eaten your own children. You are a witch'. And he killed and buried her. From her grew up a Sago palm, from which we get our milk.

III. A legendary tale describes the Sago palm pith as a food item. It was a time when people lived on palm juice, for there was no other food. Soma Saora was directed through a dream by spirit of his father to cut the Sago palm tree and collect the pith. With the pith good gruel was prepared.

IV. In *Sajang* village were many Saoras, the chief was Kumbap. After Kumbap's mother died, he called the neighbors and performed the *Goar* Ceremony. There were no Sago palms in those days. On the *Goar* day there was a great dance from morning to evening. The Shaman was very drunk and danced too. As he danced, his trumpet hit his left eye and knocked it out and it fell to the ground. He picked it up and ran home with it in agony. As he ran to and fro in pain, he dropped the eye and it was lost in soil. After a time a Sago palm grew from the eye and soon after it was mature the Shaman died. This is why the fruit of this palm looks like an eye.

V. A legend tells that the Sago palm tree is born from a charcoal. *Kittung* put the charcoal under earth which grew into a Sagopalm tree. The tree grew tall and in two years bore a spadix. *Kittung* called Ramma to cut it and told him how to take out the sap and drink it and that if he did so, he would be drunk and happy. When the Sap was exhausted, he should cut down the tree, remove the pith, dry it, powder it and make it into gruel. In this way the whole tree would be used and nothing wasted.

VI. Girls and boys came from the upper world to bath in a pool among Parlakhemundi mountains. After they had bathed and danced, they made their way home. From the hair of one of the girls a pin of Sambar bone fell down and from it sprang the Sago palm. Another pin fell to the ground and became the fruit of the palm. The boy's had tufts of feathers in their turbans; one of these was lost and became the date palm. We worship these trees in the names of the boys and girls of the upper world. The Dead drink the wine and so do we.

VII. A legend telling why Sago-wine is used in sacrifice goes that- One day Rajno Saora of *Tassoi* village wanted to get wine on *Kinjang* Hill : there he found a big tree with three spadices. He was pleased and climbed the tree. When

he cut the first spadix out came the creatures like rats they fell to the ground and disappeared. He cut the second and the third. The same thing happened. He hung a pot on each branch and went home.

That night gods came in dream to Rajno Saora and said 'You are to be a Shaman and sacrifice to us'. So it was. This is why Sago-wine is used in sacrifice, for gods were born from the palm and regard the sap as their mother's milk.

The Saora people have a deep love for the tree. The toddy of the tree is a very delicious drink. Toddy is tapped from the inflorescence of the tree. The practice of toddy collection is the same like that of the Kuttia Kondhs. The tree is regarded as a personal property. The trees in forests or at far off places from the settlements are rarely cut by people for toddy. They usually collect toddy from nearby trees. Often it is seen that the people do not care the trees in the forests, for the tree population is maximum. In fact, population of the trees in Lanjia Saora areas is maximum in comparison to the Shudha Saora areas. From the comparison of the tree population it is held by the Saora people that the tree grows better in the hilly areas than on the plains.

The Saora people are socially very much linked with the tree. There is hereditary transfer of the Salap trees as a property. After the owner's death, the tree goes to the possession of his sons and if the sons get divided, the trees are also divided. The people love the toddy very much. Drinking toddy is socially approved and there is no bar of age in taking toddy.

People gather at the *Garasal*- the toddy drinking place in the morning and evening time. Normal chit-chats and many other types of discussions are made there. Sometimes the time scheduling for a ritual or festival is done there. Mostly people of the *Birinda* are found gathering under a tree which was owned by one of the *Birinda* members. Before the events like *Goar*, *Karja* that is to be performed for a dead, the *Birinda* members decide about sending gifts and other things to the dead's house. Most of the times the decisions are made right at the *Garasal*. Anybody wanting to be socialised with the Saora people can make his purpose easy by sitting with the people at the *Garasal*. The people who attend *Garasal* regularly or irregularly, show a better inter-personal relation among themselves.

At the Garasal all the people are served toddy proportionality. All the people sit and discuss among themselves with good humor. The *Dumdi* is given importance here. *Dumdi* is a long handled gourd. To the cylindrical end of the gourd, a hollow bamboo stem is fixed. At the other end of the hollow bamboo, shaft of a peacock's feather is fixed. There remains one opening at the bulbous end of the gourd. While drinking, all toddy is collected in a big earthen pot. The *Dumdi* is immersed into the toddy pot. Then the *Dumdi* is held in a starting manner before

the face. Through the open end of the shaft of peacock's feather, toddy pours down into the mouth. After taking some, one man transfers the *Dumdi* to ano~her. When toddy from the gourd is exhausted again it is immersed into the toddy pot and the dumdi is always transferred from one hand to another in a cyclic manner. But no one ever finishes the total toddy taken in the *Dumdi* at a time. He must transfer the *Dumdi* to another man with some toddy in the *Dumdi*. The first mouthful of toddy is meant for the *Sonums*. So people spit few quantity of toddy for the *Sonums*. By doing so they believe the tree would never become dry. If the *Sonums* are pleased, a good yield of sap continues.

A ritual *Pursal* which is a worship given to the ancestral spirits. Details about the worship is mentioned in the chapter 'Religious Practices...'. The people believe, if a toddy producing tree suddenly stops yielding toddy, then it means some evil spirits have stolen the toddy. So they arrange the *Pursal*. At the *Garasal*, therefore, people distribute toddy among all lest their evil eye or greed for toddy would make the tree cease to produce. People pray the ancestral spirits in *Pursal* for their ever benevolence so that the tree produce enough toddy.

In almost all types of rituals and festivals, the gods and ancestral spirits are offered with Salap toddy. The gods and spirits love to have Salap toddy always. Salap toddy keeps the soul of gods, spirits and human beings at peace. The spirits who had desires for toddy during their living on the earth appear in dream asking for a worship with plenty of toddy. In a '*Karja*' performance the ancestral spirits are given with toddy for their contentment. If the spirits are not contented they sometimes cause drying of the Sago palm trees and also cause problems to the owner of the trees. During painting an icon, the Italmar lives on Salap toddy with boiled redgram till he finishes the painting.

Toddy is an important thing to be gifted to somebody. In marriage negotiations, the groom's side sends pots of toddy to the girl's house. During a *Goar* performance a relatives gift is often evaluated from the quantity of toddy. In the guest treatment and hospitality, the people give toddy to the guest. The Saoras sometimes invite the outsiders to the *Garasal* to drink toddy with them. Salap toddy therefore has a lot of contribution to public relation of Saoras.

Toddy has a better nutrition value- as well perceived by the Saoras. They give toddy to pregnant women. By that they feel that the child in womb will be healthy. Besides, they feel that a child represents an ancestral spirit. So if the mother is provided with toddy the ancestral spirit who is going to take birth can be appeased. The Lanjia Saoras do not take cow milk and in turn take Salap toddy which provides health and energy. Some people also give toddy to their kids for their good health.

The Christian sections of Lanjia Saora and the Moder section of the Shudha Saora communities are restricted to take toddy in their religious grounds. So those people are slowly giving up their habit with toddy.

Big drums are made with the hollow root base of the tree. On the open end of the root base, a leather is tied tightly to make the drum. The drum is used in ceremonies, festivals and marriages. The sheath fibre of Sago palm is used to make stringed instruments, to make bird traps etc.

Curcuma longa L.

Family: Zingiberaceae.	Oriya	Haldi
	Saora	*Sangsang*
	English	Turmeric.

A grass species. Root stock(rhizome) perennial. The leaves are broad, long with a turmeric smell. Flowers little yellow. Grows better in the Swidden plots and homestead gardens. The rhizomes grown on hilly lands give a bright yellow colour on grinding. The rhizome is cultivated on plain lands.

A legend associated with the birth and medicinal aspect of the plant is documented by Elwin(1954) which goes One day *Kittung* was ill with fever and jaundice he turned yellow all over and his urine was dark. He went out of the house and vomitted a lump of bile. He covered it with earth and went back to the house. Soon a turmeric plant sprang up from the lump of bile. In three days it grew large and bore flowers. When *Kittung* saw this he picked one of the flowers and ate it. At once the fever left him and his yellow colour departed. He thought leaf and the flowers are such good medicine, what about the root ? He dug it up and broke it into bits which he then planted out : they soon grew and he had a whole garden of turmeric. After that the *Kittung* ate a little everyday. But he got tired of eating it raw when he cooked it with his food; he found it much improved. *Kittung* discovered that it kept disease away and when it was rubbed on the body it stopped itch.

Another legend goes that One day the Saoras who were living on the slopes of the Mahendragiri Mountain offered sacrifice to Tangorbasum on the path that led out of their village to the east. They finished their offerings, feasted and went their way. But they forgot the leg of a fowl. It lay there as it was for a time and then when the raias fell it sank into the earth. Presently a turmeric plant sprang up from it. *Tangorbasum* came in a dream to the priest of that place and told him to bring the root home and plant it in his garden, for it would be useful to him in many ways.

Not a single ritual is seen that is performed without the use of turmeric. Turmeric in powder is offered to the gods and spirits in every ritual. Turmeric is regarded as a cooling agent. So it is massaged over body to cool. The gods and spirits are given a bath with turmeric paste and water to cool their body.

After death of a person, turmeric is massaged over the whole body of the dead when it was kept the mortar. In a *Uungsum* worship for a sick person, turmeric is offered to the god. Turmeric paste is applied on the menhirs established after *Goar* in memory of a dead person. The use of turmeric is very remarkable in a name giving ceremony. In a name giving ceremony the people after a certain phase of the performance throw turmeric towards each other. There takes place a humerous horse play among men and women attending the performance. They throw turmeric water towards each other, polish turmeric paste on each others face.

The young babies are given bath with turmeric paste polished over their body with oil. This keeps their skin smooth and cure itches. If turmeric paste is applied then the pain and the wound is healed. A pinch of raw turmeric paste with water is prescribed to cure a person from roundworms. Besides, turmeric is also used as an antiseptic cream.

The girls polish turmeric paste over their body before bathing. By that the skin looks clean and it makes a person look fair complexioned. Turmeric is one most important ingredient for cooking. The Lanjia Saoras in ancient times were not using turmeric to cook meat. But now some people use turmeric in cooking meat.

Shudha Saoras consider turmeric very auspicious. On the auspicious occasions, they smear turmeric on new clothes, spray turmeric water in house and on cattle. They are using turmeric more or less like the Hindu people do.

CYNODON DACTYLON Pers.

Family: Graminea Ponceae	Oriya	:Doob
	Saora	:*Purpuri*
	English	:Bermunda grass.

A grass species. Prostrate on the ground. Commonly found in the plain lands, crop lands, road sides etc. The grass do not grow well on the hilly grounds.

The grass is very much associated with the religious performances of the Saora people. Both the Lanjia and Shudha Saoras believe that the plant is very much sacred for which they use the plant during performances for ancestral and

supernatural spirits.

A legend is cited earlier in the chapter : 'Myths, Legends, Cosmology and Worldview of Saora', holds that *Purpuri* is the grass that grew first on the earth. There is mention about a mythical eagle who brought the seeds of the grass and had sown them. So *Purpuri* grass is the first form of plant species on the earth as per the legendary attributes. The Saora became happy to see the grass and so wanted to gift the eagle something. He gave an opportunity to the eagle to beg something. The eagle wanted that the people should offer the grass for the eagle in all the mortuary rite performances.

Because the grass was first to come on the earth, the people believe that the gods and goddesses like the grass very much. So while performing a ritual or a worship, they offer the grass to the deities and spirits. It is also believed that after invoking the deities and spirits, when they appear at the spot of worship, they sit on the grass bed.

The Shudha Saoras also use the grass in almost all of their rituals and worships. But they are adapting Hindu systems of worships. During performance of a immerse worship with a bunch of the grass in water is sprinkled over the people present there. By that they feel, the people attending the worship are made pure.

Some quantity of the grass is graided to make a paste. The paste is squeezed and the water that comes out is collected. This water is put in the nostrils to cure the bleeding from nose.

DISOPYROS MELANOXYLON ROXB.

Family: Ebenaceae

Oriya	:	Kendu
Saora	:	*Kendida*
English	:	Ebony/ Persimmon

It is deciduous tree. Grows upto 8-10 metres. Stem soft, hairy. Leaves broad and hairy. Flowering in early summer. Fruits round, yellow and edible. Wood is black. Distributed in the forests and road sides. Never seen to be planted in the Saora areas.

A legend of Hill Saoras of Ganjam area describes Manglo Saora lived on Mahendragiri mountain. He had five sons and three daughters. One day when they were all cutting trees in their cleaning on the hill side, a snake bit the youngest girl and she died. She was unmarried, though her two elder sisters had husbands. The parents decided that the girl should be buried in the clearing at the very place where she had died. In due time they performed the funcrary ceremonies.

From the grave there grew an ebony tree. When the tree was five years old, the ghost of the girl came to the parents in a dream and said, 'An ebony tree has grown out of my body. Do not eat the fruits yourselves, but tell the husbands of my two sisters about it'. Next day the father went to the clearing and saw the tree and the ripe fruit on its branches. He called his two son-in-law and told them to pick and eat the fruit. They did so. Since that day there have been ebony trees in the forest. (Elwin : 4954,1-127)

The tree is very much associated with religious beliefs. It is believed that if a stem of the tree is cut and planted in a kitchen garden or agricultural field. The evil action of the spirits is mitigated. It is believed that the evil spirits foil to see anything in the croplands if the pole of the tree is planted there. Elwin(1955) describe that a pole of ebony is used to protect a garden of tobacco or chillies, in the belief that if a sorcerer tries to injure the crops, his eyes will be attracted by the pole, and " as this wood is black so the whole garden will appear black(and thus invisible) to him, and he will not be able to do anything".

The ripe fruit of ebony is delicious. Young fruits give a gum which is used in pasting different things. Lanjia Saoras say that the fruit is very much liked by certain spirits and therefore, a number of spirits dwell on the tree. A tree on the roadside is a dwelling place of a dangerous spirit-*Raatu'dsum*. So even a Shaman passing by the tree fails to see the spirit. The spirit is said to be hidden in the black wood of the tree for which it is not easily seen. The spirit is detected after it is possessed in somebody.

The wood is not much seen in the tribes' material culture. But sometimes the wood is used in making ordinary household artifacts. For, the wood is not very strong and so the things made with this wood do not last long.

Ficus religiosa. L

Family:	Moraceae.	Oriya	: Osta/Aswattha
		Saora	: *Anger*
		English	: Peepal Tree.

A large deciduous tree. Leaves ovate, lont leaf stulk tip of the leaf long, numerous veins and veinlets. Fruits round, small, at the leaf base. Fruits turn yellow or slightly pinkish when ripe.

Flowering April-June. Distributed everywhere, mostly on the hill slopes. Sometimes planted on roadsides.

A legend associated with the birth of the tree goes that- before the creation

of the world, *Kittung* and his sister used to live in a gourd. When the new world was made and the gourd broke open, brother and sister came out and made their home on *Kurabeli* hill. There were no trees on the earth at that time and the two had to sleep in the open under the sky. One night while they were asleep, a mountain squirrel bit off one of the fingers of *Kittung's* left hand. Only the third finger remained. *Kittung* woke with the pain and cried his sister also woke and cried.

When the hot weather came, the girl said, 'How can I live in this heat when there is no shade ?' *Kittung* cut off his maimed left hand, and put it on a stone. It soon grew into a tree and gave shade beneath which *Kittung's* sister sheltered. This was the pipal, which has one finger in the middle of its leaves and grows on rocks in the forest. (Elwin: 1954 P.132-133)

The tree is also associated with another legend that describes the denomination of a settlement *Anjarsing*(in Society and Culture-I).

The Shudha Saoras regard the tree as the house of many benevolent gods. They worship the tree for the benevolent gods living in it. They do not cut it. They feel that planting a tree would reserve lot of virtues for a man. So they like to plant a tree on the roadsides, near the settlement and at such places where the peoples' interference is maximum. So the tree is very much cared by the people. The tree has many-fold religious importance as is described in the myths and legends of the Hindu religious texts. The Shudha Saoras are taking up such traditions and so are worshipping the tree.

An *Anjer* tree on the road side gives shelter to the strangers on the way. The Saoras are perceptive that in summer the leaves generate enough wind. So while a man takes rest under the tree he gets enough cool breeze to relax his body. So an *Anjer* tree is always preferred to take shelter under it. Besides, since the tree is a house of benevolent spirits, there appears no problem to the person who takes shelter under it.

Lanjia Saoras use the leaves of the tree in some witch worships. It is said that the leave drives away many evil spirits. In a witch-worship, other witches may try to attack the Shaman. But if the peepal leaf is kept there, no witch dares to attack the Shaman. The leaves are mostly used in worshipping *Ratu 'd sum*. Elwin(1954) points out, that the leaves are used in sacrifice of *Ratu 'd sum* who will not accept offerings in any other kind of cup.

Elwin(1954) cites a legend which holds that the tree grew from the left hand of *Kittung*. *Kittung* cut off his maimed left hand and put it on a stone. It soon grew into a tree and gave shade beneath which *Kittung's* sister sheltered. This was '*anjerneban*' which has one finger in the middle of its leaves and grows on rocks in the forest.

MADHUKA LONGIFOLIA (KOENIG) MACH.

Family : Sapotaceae

Oriya	: Mahula
Saora	: *Abba*
English	: Mowra butter tree.

A deciduous, moderate height tree. Stalked leaves, crowded at the end of branch, ovate, oblong, coriaceous. Flowers are stalked, crowded at the branch end and white. Fruits are ovoid berry. The sweet pulp of the ripe fruit is edible.

Flowering Jan-February. Distributed mostly on hills, less on the plains, roadsides. Fruiting in April-May.

A legend is associated with the tree. When *Kittung* planted trees he forgot the abba. One day, when his wife was in her period he himself was cooking and she did the outside work, bringing water and watching the crops. *Kittung* had no water when the food was ready and he said, 'Bring some water quickly and I'll eat'. The woman took her pot and went for water. She filled the pot at a stream, put it on the bank and went back to the water to wash her hands and feet. Then she picked up the pot and put it on her head. On the bottom of the pot a little red earth stuck and got into her hair. She put the pot in the house and the two ate their dinner. At sleeping-time, the red earth fell from the woman's hair to the ground and *Kittung* seeing it said, 'What is this'. He thought his wife must have been flirting down by the river and that some boy had thrown mud at her. She said, 'No one put it there ; there was no one there, it just came from my head'. *Kittung* picked up the earth and in front of his house made a little hole in the ground and buried it. He said, 'If it's true that no one put it in your hair, let a tree grow from it'. With that he went to sleep. During the night an abba tree sprang up. In the morning they saw it and the wife was pleased. 'Look', she said, 'I was right'. *Kittung* said, 'This is the seed of your head. So it's name will be *abba* (head)'. Whenever the woman saw the tree, she reminded *Kittung* that she had been right.(Elwin:1954)

Another legend about the spirit of the tree holds that- *Kittung* went to bathe in a river, for he was very hot. He rubbed his body and some of the dirt came off. He said, 'What shall I do with this dirt ? If I drop it in the river the fishes will eat it and they may injure one'. He dug a hole on the bank and buried the dirt. From this came an *abba* tree and bore flowers. Kittung went to eat them, he took one or two, found them very sweet and brought a basketful home. He dried and cooked them, then put them with water in a big pot. He made a hearth by the stream and this was the first still, where Kittung first made abba spirit. (Elwin:1954).

The Saora rituals speak of the importance of an *abba* tree. Not a single ritual is seen to be taking place without the use of *abba* liquor or Sago palm toddy.

The *abba* liquor is very much liked by the spirits and so are offered always to the spirits. The Lanjia Saora describe that after the spirits are invoked, their soul lies mainly with *abba* liquor. So if the liquor is not offered to them at that time, they may cause severe harm. So while offering liquor for spirits, they take utmost care and ensure themselves that liquor is served for all the spirits. If liquor is not served to a spirit , it feels offended and so immediately turns back to cause a harm. So the tree is much known for its liquor. The Lanjia Saoras are also perpetual addicts. But with development of Christianity, a great mass of people have given up taking liquor. In the past Lanjia Saoras were preparing liquor by the hill streams for their own. But now they are depending upon market, particularly as Dom people from whom they purchase the liquor. Liquor is prepared in the country indigenous processes.

The wood of the tree is regarded as the best to make mortars. The wood does not crack so soon. So for rice pounding and pounding of other grains the mortar is made of this wood.

Fruits of the tree are collected for preparation of oil. The fruits are called Tola and the oil extracted from it is very much used to massage over the body. It is a non-edible oil. In the winter seasons people like to massage the oil over body.

MANGITERA INDICA.. L

Family : Anacardiaceae

Oriya	:	Amba
Saora	:	*Uda'n*
English	:	Mango

A tree with leaves alternate, petiolate, simple, 15-30 cm, long and entire. Flowers are small, greenish yellow and fragrant. Fruits are druopers. Young fruits gree and turns yellow when ripe.

Fairly distributed in all parts of India. The population of the tree is highest in the Lanjia Saora locality. Flowering February-March. Fruiting March-April.

The tribes show the best of their response towards plantation of mango species. They crop it in their homestead lands and swidden plots. But they prefer the country variety better to hybrids. For, they like the sour fruits and have little or no interest for sweet ones. Elwin has described three legends collected from villages-Tunulu, Kinteda and Sogeda. The first one goes-

Sukru Saora was rich and many people came to his daughter's wedding. They sat before the house and drank and danced. Suddenly a gush of wind blew a mango seed into the midst of the company. They looked at it, but nobody knew

what it was. Sukri look it to his house and in the rains planted it in his garden. A tree sprang up and in five months it was tall as a man. Sukru called if the *Udan* tree, as it had come flying. When it gave fruit, Sukru's dead father came in a dream and said, 'This is a good fruit, fit to eat, look after it carefully'.

The second legend goes that- *Kittung* used to live in *Badong* Hill and many Saoras went to sacrifice to him. Bajai the Shaman always used to go there with the rest. But one year he failed to go, for he was busy, and the next year he forgot and *Kittung* was angry with him and made him ill. Bajai hastily took a goat and a fowl and went with all his relatives to the hill and sacrificed there. They drank liquor, cooked meat-rice and after offering some to *Kittung*, they feasted together. After the feast they went home but they left the goat's thigh-bone behind. Next day when *Kittung* went to place he stumbled over the bone. He picked it up and said, 'They have not eaten this: What fools they are ! He buried it in his tobacco garden, and in time it turned into a mango tree.

The third legend describes : There was a famous chief. But *Uungsum* attacked him and burnt his body with his heat. The Shaman examined him and said, 'You must sacrifice an egg'. For *Uungsum* had said, 'When he gives me an egg, his body will be cooled'. The Shaman buried the egg on the bank of a stream. *Uungsum* said, 'These Saoras don't know me : They say there is no *Uungsum*. Now let there be a mango tree here and they will all recognize my power. The fruit will be like an egg : When unripe you must remove the skin when ripe it will be yellow inside ; it will be sweet to taste like an egg.'

Mango tree is very intimate to the Saoras. The great population of mango trees in their locality indicates their love for the trees. This is because, the people derive a lot of economic and spiritual benefits from the tree. The tree produces lots of fruits which appear as a boon for the poor Saoras in their lean period. Before eating mango, a worship is offered to gods when mango is offered to them. Mango fruits are eaten raw and cooked. The people collect fruits and peel off the skin and cut it into pieces. To the pieces they add salt, turmeric and sometimes chilly and keep them in a big earthen pot for 2-3 days. Then the pieces are sun dried and preserved for long use. The people are very much fond of 'charu' which is a very important item with rice. For preparation of Charu- a soury soup, those dried mango pieces are required. So every house in Saora locality gets engaged in preparing the mango pickle at the time of its production.

Mango flowers indicate the end of Winter Season. Mango tree is a good wood for many household artifacts like doors, windows, cots, beds,.. etc. But the use of mango wood is not much seen. Hence, such trees they do not cut.

In a funeral pyre the mango wood is required. If dried mango wood or

branches is available near the grave, they are collected. But in none of the cases it is seen that people cut a tree to be used for the funeral pyre. Besides, many a number of worship is organised under a mango tree. Elwin points out that in some places the mango is associated with *Kinchesum-* a god to whom human sacrifice was formerly offered. When themselves from a tree, it is always from a mango.

Mango bark is used to forment date-palm toddy.

MUSA PARADISICA. L

Family : Musaceae.	Oriya	: Kadali
	Saora	: *Kinte*
	English	: Banana Plant.

Herbaceous plant with a long drooping stem. Easily recognised from its large and broad leaves. In the world, both of religion and medicine, the banana plant has never been without significance. There are two varieties of it seen in the Saora areas. One type is wild and the other is cultivated. The cultivated variety is again of two types- country variety and hybrids.

The wild banana plants are distributed on hill and near perennial water streams. One legend associated with the plant, collected by Elwin(1954) from Hill Saoras of *Abbasingi* of Ganjam relates-

Ramma and Bimma lived on Mahendragiri. One day they quarreled and Bimma went to live alone in another village. He was very fond of parrots and used to catch as many as he could and keep them as pets. When Ramma heard of this she started keeping mynas. Bimma planted a plantain it grew well and gave a lot of fruits.

One day Ramma's servant came to Bimma to see what was going on. He talked a lot against Ramma, saying that he had been dismissed from his service, and Bimma was pleased and gave him a cluster plantains to eat. The servant went back and told Ramma about the tree. In his garden, therefore, Ramma planted a tamarind tree. It's leaves grew bigger than those of the plantain and it bore more fruit. When Bimma heard of it, he sent his parrots one night and they tore the leaves to shreds. Ramma was very angry and sent his mynas to strip the plantain leaves. But the leaves were too tough for them, so Ramma cursed the tree saying, 'from henceforth you will bear one lot of fruit and then die'.

The whole plant comes in use of the Saora people as it has always been with the people in villages. The plant itself as well as its fruits are sacred. The plant symbolises a sacred object used to invoke gods in Hindu religious processes when

the fruit stands as the sacred offering to gods.

The Lanjia Saoras believe that the plant is sacred because it is liked very much by the Ildasum. Therefore, in many icon paintings, the banana plant is found sketched to one side of *Ildasum*(sketched in icon). This gives importance to the plant. Ildasum is always considered benevolent to Saoras though he may turn malevolent through others towards the evil spirits. Likewise the banana plant is ever benevolent to the people.

In *Ajoaa pur* (Stream worship) when worship is offered to the *Ajorasum*(stream spirit) offering are served on plates and cups made of banana leaves. In many other rituals and festivals the banana leaves are used.

Shudha Saoras bury the banana plants at the gateway on auspicious occasions. By placing the banana plants at the gateway they believe that no evil spirit may hamper them. Further, they believe that in a witch practice, a man can be saved in sacrifice of a fruiting banana plant. The banana fruits now have become the common offering of Shudha Saoras to their gods.

As a food, ripe banana is delicious. The Lanjia Saora people like to keep the bunches of the banana with the plant till it is matured. Then they keep the fruits under straw to ripe. They prefer ripe fruits and using the fruits as vegetables in curry is very rarely seen. Sometimes they fry the fruits. The central strand on the plant is collected after cutting down the plant. This they eat as vegetable. But the fruits are mostly taken to the market for sale.

Elwin holds ' The leaves, fruits and roots are offered to *Kittungsum* and *Mardisum*, but bunches of the fruit may be given to any tutelary or ancestor in substitute for something more expensive'.

Now in the common festivals, ceremonies like marriage, name giving ceremonies, Saoras as well as Christians are placing banana plants at the gateway. The tribals are showing gradual tendency towards adopting the fruits as one of the good foods.

PONGAMIA PINNATA (L.) PIERRE.
(=P.GLABRA VENT.)

Family: Fabaceae/Papilionaceae	Oriya	: Karanj
	Saora	: *Karanj*
	English	: Indian Beech.

A moderate sized tree. Leaves shining, Flowers white with little red

patches. Fruit is a legume, hard and flat. Distributed in the locality in great numbers.

Wood of the tree is important on the religious grounds. The wood is preferred for funeral pyre. The Lanjia Saora people believe that for the peace of a dead's soul, it should be burnt with wood of this tree or that of mango tree(*Mangifera indica*). Of course, wood of other trees are used, but on the funeral bed of the dead, wood of this plant is a 'must'. If a dead body is burnt with this wood, the people believe that the soul attains peace in the underground.

The raw sticks of the tree is used as brush sticks. The people have a strong conviction that by brushing feeth with this stick, the teeth become strong and are not easily affected by any disease.

Oil is extracted out of the seeds of this tree. The oil is massaged over the body of a dead immediately after death. In the *Karja* ceremony, this oil is used as fuel for the holy lamp. No oil other than this is ever used in the *Karja* ceremony.

The wood of the tree is white and light. The Saora women cut the wood like a wheel which they wear in their ear lobes. This is a traditional ornament of the Saora women especially of the Lanjia Saora.

Raw bark of the tree is pestled and the paste is applied on the body to cure the skin diseases particularly the scabies.

The tree is therefore very much preserved in the Lanjia Saora localities. It is for the tree's attachment in different spheres of the tribe's social life.

PTEROCARPUS MARSUPIUM Roxb.

Family : Fabaceae	Oriya	:Piasal/Bija
	Saora	:*Bija/Amen*
	English	:Gumkino tree

A deciduous tree growing to a great height. Leaves small. Flowers yellow. Completely deciduous March-April. A red exudation from bark on injury. Distributed in the forests. A few population on plain lands.

Saora people hold that in ancient times the population of the tree was maximum in their locality. But due to its high demand in the market and at household level, the trees have decreased a lot.

One legend documented by Elwin holds that- Burdu Saora of *Tiddasi* village had a daughter. When she grew up, her mother died and the girl looked after

her father. Many people came to marry her, but she was not ready. Monglu Dalbehera had a son who made love with the girl. In time she conceived. When her belly showed itself, her father saw it and abused her and the villagers laughed at.

One day when the girl went to the clearing for work her pains began and the child fell to the ground. The girl buried it on the spot and went home. In that place, from the child's left side came a tinsa tree and from the right a *Bija(Pterocarpus marsupium)* tree. This is why if these trees are cut, they bleed like men.

Saoras are very familiar with the tree for its high value in material culture. The wood can be very much polished easily and so is preferred for many types of wooden furnitures, doors, windows, and other such artifacts. The most important wooden artifact in Saora houses in the pestle with which they pound rice. The pestle is a cylindrical wooden piece to one end of which an iron ring is fixed. The other end is slightly tapered to make it handy. The Lanjia Saora people inform that in ancient time the handle end, contains a bulb like design. The bulb like spherical design of the pestle is compared to the breast of women in a normal chit-chat.

The Lanjia Saora youngmen use the tree to take revenge on certain woman or women. That, they steal a piece of cloth of the woman to whom they want to avenge. A hole is made on the living tree in which the cloth is put. Immediately the red exudation of the tree makes the cloth wet and red. By this the performer believes that the woman whose cloth was put into the hole in the tree would suffer from a heavy menstrual bleeding. The bleeding will continue till the exudation sap from the tree ceases to secrete.

The flowering of the tree stands as an indicator of the beginning of the time for saving seeds in the swidden plots. Some people believe that if the tree bears a lot of flowers it indicates a good rainfull that year. But because the population of the tree has greatly diminished, so this belief is slowly disappearing.

Elwin points'out, "In parts of Gumma area it is a taboo to cut this tree, but elsewhere the wood is used for making doors. In some places it is regarded as a favorite tree of *Gadejangboi*. A small branch may be used in the treatment of dysentery, for this is a bleeding tree : the blood-red gum-resin resembles blood. For the same reason, it is dangerous for a woman to cut the tree, for since its branches mensturate she too may suffer from excessive menstruation".

The Shudha Saora people know the tree from the view point of its material value. The value of the wood is more than the Sal wood and is comparable to wood of *Gmelina arborea.*

SHOREA ROBUSTA Gaertn. F

Family: Dipterocarpaceae

Oriya	: Sal
Saora	: *Sargia*
English	: Sal tree.

It is a very important timber tree growing to a height of about 150 ft. Distributed throughout the forest areas of the state. Leaves ovate, oblong, cuspidate with condate base. Flowers coloured, unilateral on the branches. Flowers are small and creamy yellow. Fruits with three wings. Flowering : March-April, Decidnous in March.

The tree is valued from a study of the material culture and religious culture of the tribe. In their material culture, one would often come across many a number of artifact that are made of Sal trees. The tree provides to the peoples' need for house construction, agricultural implements, plough, doors and windows, beds-etc.

Besides the material value of the tree, its religious value is more emphasised. A legend documented by Elwin describes the birth of the tree. But, the Saora people hold that they and the Sal tree are of simultaneous origin. They believe that the Sal tree is as strong as their deities and spirits. One Shudha Saora opines about the naming of the tree as *Sargia*. According to him the tree touches the heaven(*Sargai*) and so its name is *Sargia*. Since, the tree touches the *Sargaipura*(heaven) it is directly linked with the deities in the *Sargaipura*. This attribute is rather metaphorical in its meaning. The Shudha Saoras believe that many supernatural spirits live in the heaven and so idea is applicable here. But the Lanjia Saora people do not have such a belief. They regard the supernatural spirits as omnipresent beings. So the Sal tree is very much associated with their religious culture.

Some deities of both the Lanjia and Shudha Saora are carved from Sal wood. Mention may be made of *Judisum*, *Manduasum*, and many other wooden statures that represent different deities, which are made of Sal wood. They do not carve their deities with any other wood.

The leaves of the tree are used in all religious performances of the tribe. They believe that their gods, goddesses, ancestral spirits all like to be served with Sal leaves. Therefore in the religious events Sal leaves are very important.

The Shudha Saoras partly depend upon Sal leaves as a source of income. They make plates and cups with Sal leaves and sell them in the market to fetch some

price. This adds to their household economy. The Shudha Saora people sometimes collect and sell dust resin in addition to the cups and plates. But the Lanjias are not at all interested with this business. Even at the fruiting season of Sal, Lanjias do not collect Sal seeds. The Shudha Saoras sometimes collect Sal seeds and sell to the big tradesmen.

The Christian Saoras make the cofia box for their dead kins with Sal wood. The box containing the dead body is buried. They believe that Sal tree is also an abode of benevolent gods and goddesses. In the present conditions due to excessive deforestation the population of Sal tree has decreased to a great extent.

Tamarindus indica L

Family : Caesalpiniaceae	Oriya	Tentuli
	Saora	: *Titin*
	English	: Tamarind.

Evergreen tree. Bark black in colour. Leaves small. Flowers red or light pink. Flowers twice a year but fruits once.

The tree is fairly distributed in the area. Because, the tribal people preserve the trees as their property. It appears as if the tamarind trees have dominated over the Sal tree in the area.

The legendary tale after the tree holds that- *Kittung* thought a great deal about how to make a tamarind tree, but he could not find the seed anywhere. As he came home one day he sweated in the heat and rubbed his body and some dirt came off. He made it into a little ball, pressed it out like a tamarind seed, held it in his hand and sat pondering for a long time. Then he thought, 'if only this would turn into a tamarind seed, how nice it would be'. He put the dirt in his mouth, and took it to his garden and planted it. In the rains, the tamarind tree sprang up. It gradually became very big and had great leaves. When the fruit came, it was very small. Everyone came to eat it, but people said, 'Here are big leaves and small fruits'. They cut the leaves with their knives and said, 'from today carry small leaves and big fruit, or we will cut you down and throw you away. As the tree came from the dirt of *Kittung's* body, so let the fruit be shaped like a man's ribs'.(Elwin)

Fruit of tamarind is a very important component in the tribe's food habit. The people like the tamarind soup very much in their food.

The tree is much regarded as a property. Tamarind is the most important minor forest produce collected by the tribes. But the tree is now no more a forest produce. The trees are concentrated near the Saora settlements. The Lanjia Saoras

fetch a good amount from selling of the tamarind.

The local Dom people approach the Lanjia Saoras to purchase tamarind. The fruits are sold in two ways. The first method is the business men(usually Doms or Kumutis_ purchase the fruits on auction (matured or immatured). In this type of purchase system, the businessmen pay too small a price for the fruits. They pay less because they devote labour in plucking the fruits. A tree is auctioned for one fruiting season only. Once a tree is auctioned, the Saora loses his ownership on the fruits of the trees for that year. The clever Lanjia Saoras do not sell the fruits on auction. They pluck the fruits by devoting labour. After a sundrying of the fruits, they thrust them to break the hard legume coat. Then they sell the tamarind at a higher cost, more or less equivalent to the market price and so fetch a good amount. So people who have enough man power to collect the fruits by themselves sell those later on fetch better price.

Spirits of departed people also take care of the tamarind trees which are under the possession of their living kins. So people believe that in each tree, one ancestral spirit is living to safeguard it. People never dare to steal the fruits from any other is trees. The Shudha Saoras believe that the malevolent spirits live in the tamarind trees. They do not like to keep the trees near their houses as it is a cause of leprosy.

8

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE : ORAL TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE AS A PHENOMENON

Tribal culture is unique in its aspects. Their cultural traditions are mostly exhibited in the social processes, work patterns, social systems and interaction among people. The tribal pattern of maintaining a livelihood is a very important aspect of their culture. Their method of earning a livelihood follows their traditional pattern. The livelihood is directly related to the environment around them. About their economy and livelihood pattern, it is noticed that the tribal people mostly depend the forests.

Much is known about the association of the tribes with forest. It is established that forests and tribes are inseparable units. The entire cultural background of a tribe reflects in their intimate association with the forest world. The tribal people have myths, legends, folklores that describe the beginning, growth and development of their culture. Embedded in their rich folklore are the origin and evolution of the races and communities. All those aspects of their culture are preserved in their oral traditions. Their oral traditions are also enriched with thoughts, philosophies, ideas and ideologies. The oral lores or traditions aptly describe the overall ethnicity of a particular tribal group. Folklores, preserved in oral lores therefore appear as the treasury of ideas about the various aspects of their socio cultural life.

In a social group people interact in a specific way as approved by their society. In fact, in every society: tribal or non-tribal, people are always bound to certain rites and rituals, social norms, traditional belief systems and everything is bound in a fixed set of principles sanctioned by the society. A close examination of the tribal way of life gives an idea of how the people in the society are bound to traditional and customary taboos, beliefs, principles. Oral traditions are the first aspect describes the social and cultural life of a tribal community pertaining to their livelihood pattern, beliefs, understandings, religious beliefs and attributes, and other cultural core-themes.

Oral tradition consists of different forms of folk lores, mythical tales, legends, riddles, metaphors which can clearly deliemate the tribal's indigenous knowledge. The folklores, tales, stories, songs etc. have a great deal of practical implication in the tribes social and cultural life. These lores are the basis of many of their social processes, work patterns, religious attributes, etc. The oral traditions have a great contribution to the practical way of life of tribal people. One's inquisitiveness to know and understand his indigenous culture, traditions, values, knowledge, religion etc, leads are to explore the folklores of such events, because, the folklores preserved in their oral traditions give more or less a sound idea about the background of such processes. So social processes are guided by the lessons in the folklores and are regulated by the beliefs.

The main quest here is in what way a tribal man knows about his culture, traditions and what he knows about the origin of such a culture ? The quest unravels many past things. The tribal people give importance to their past experiences. Their experience about the living and methods of deriving livelihood in the past is a source of their indigenous knowledge. The cases, happenings, inventions and discoveries, problems and solutions, in the past fed them sufficient know-how to deal with the present environment of their society and culture. The past experiences add and subtract the essentials of a good life, supplement and complement new innovative to find alternatives of crisis, mould the standing principles of their social and cultural life in a way to suit the present. Their overall experience of phenomena in their past life pave the way for living in the present day society.

Perceptions and attitudes of people are always subjected to change. Some changes happen spontaneously. Some ideas are newly derived, some ideas are disapproved in a sense of superstitions and misconceptions. Yet new things set up on the foundation of the past happenings. This however does not hamper the knowledge assimilated in the past. It is simply a reformation of ideas and traditions. This reformative idea is born out of peoples' mind when they are confronted with specific situations that demand a change in perception, attitude, action and orientation. So, a reformation is essentially a need of the time. To cope-up with the timely need of the society, sometimes the working principles of the society need a change. And it goes on as it has always been in the past. So changes in the way of social and cultural activities is a function of timely need, desirability of environment.

These changes are analysed through the indigenous knowledge of the folk, of their past and present. The individual perception tends to a total change of the mass perception which in course of time became a pattern of life and way of life. So a human being particularly a tribal who is not civilized enough, acquires knowledge from the experiences of the past. The considerable knowledge which such people hold, in terms of their indigenous knowledge is acquired through experiences.

In approaching a phenomena enquiry of knowledge of tribal people, the

investigator has to trace the very ancient lores dealing with their ethnicity, origin as prescribed in their oral traditions. Oral traditions at this instance becomes very much important in tracing the ethnological history of the tribes. The tribal sense of history is shallow. It is because the events after three four generations become merged in their oral lores and myths. The events and the themes of such events are therefore recorded in their history of ethnicity. The tribal people do not have a perfect understanding of history in a scientific way. It appears, that their past experience is an event in their history. The events preserved in their oral traditions are very much important. So such events are like a phenomena. Hence it is the tribal's oral tradition that speaks of their history of origin and evolution, of ethnicity and cultural identity, in a socio-cultural framework.

The value of history in the human sphere arises from the value of self-in-itself, from the value of values, from the value of freedom as against constraints, from the value and necessity of ceaseless creativity, and, among other things, from the value of man's creative endeavours in both the proximate and remote past. These past creative endeavours are valuable because they can be viewed as carriers of continuities and discontinuities, as beginnings and endings, as developments and disintegrations, as fulfillments and disappointments in the never ending human quest for self-completion. Thus they tell us what we were capable of doing in the past, what we are doing, and what we can do in the future. In short, they tell us what we are. Hence, the historical approach takes precedence over the scientific approach in the sphere of human; the former tends to liberate the latter from trammel.

History known in terms of myth is a form of knowledge. The battle between the positivists and idealists- to state the matter in its extreme aspects rages on seemingly without resolution one way or the other; the former seeking to apply a unitary and reductionist criterion deriving from the experience from natural sciences and the latter resisting such an action. If one recognises, however, that history is concerned with the reconstruction of 'complexes events' in the past, and not with the discovery of natural lows or statistical generalisations, it is manifest that a significant difference of focus distinguishes natural experience from myth. A complex of events stands out by reason of the connectedness of the events in it, and also by reason of its concreteness and particularity a complex of events is essentially a reflection of human creativity it is significant in the sense in which a work of art can be said to possess significant form and when skillfully reconstructed communicates more than a natural law or probable generalization.

The complexes of events in the context of tribal life is a collection of social processes. The whole social processes in their society over a particular time, say of one calender year make a complex of events. So the same in different periods of the chronological sequence of history is their complexes of events. This is subjected to reformations many times in the past with the growth of consciousness of human beings. Those events as a whole has given birth to many of their complexes of reality. When

tribal people started living in a natural environment, they started dealing with other living forms and collected perceptions about the natural sciences around them. Their discourse of natural science, though not ever interpreted by them in a scientific manner as we understand, yet is known to them through the behavioural and utilitarian aspects of such natural lives and components. Their understanding and perception about these structural components of the nature particularly their knowledge on the useful aspects of such components is their structural reality that is sedimented in their understanding of utility and usefulness of things. This gives their understanding of the object reality or structural reality that is understood from their explanations in self evident terms. The secrets after the use of such structural complexes in further times, gave rise to their understanding on the image reality of the structural complexes. This image reality, complemented with the structural reality aptly defines their knowledge of history and natural sciences, phenomenon and realities. A phenomenon describes the concreteness and particularity of an idea and the reality is reflected in their social processes.

In this connection with the history of knowledge, a question arises in mind how does one recover the past ? What is the reference to the knowledge of past in a tribal non-literate or semi-literate society? These two questions, however, are important to know the tribal understanding of their indigenous knowledge. This is also the problem of truth and fact in history and is part of the theory of knowledge. It is evident that the past facts are not open to our direct inspection. But it can not be concluded that past facts are beyond the human reach. Therefore, the quest begins with the looking around for appropriate evidence. An investigator knows from experience, the experiences of his own life time and from those of others often older than himself that the past leaves traces of itself in the present. If the elders are not referred to continuities of any kind would not be possible. This may result in dissolving of reality into a spectral panorama of innumerable disjunctions making no sense whatsoever to anybody at all. If follows that the past does leave traces of itself the present. These traces take the form of documents, coins, institutions and procedures. This is the evidence of history which the investigator seeks out, examines, tries to judge the authenticity of, and utilizes in building his reconstructions of the past. Thus the past is not entirely beyond the grasp of an investigator.

In tribal societies, facts of the past is very much important. For, the entire domain of their indigenous knowledge has germinated from the past things. Of course today's deed is tomorrow's history. So every generation in the tribal society has a past. People stick to their old ideas and knowledge of the past to maintain their social, cultural or their traditional life style. Their indigenous knowledge is reflected in their traditional way of life. The changes, reformations in the processes can be listed out by comparing the same processes of the different periods of the past and the present. There arises another problem linked to the authenticity of the evidences. In a non-literate tribal society the authenticity of an information is hard to be proved. It is because the folks

do not have written literature of their history. Whatever is known to them is preserved in their oral traditions and folklores. Hence the oral traditions are the only reference that may give some idea of the historicity and authenticity of their history of ethnicity. It sometimes appears as if the oral traditions are the richest source of knowledge acquired by the tribals. It can't be said lest it becomes a misconception, that all the acquired knowledge of a tribal or non-literate community is derived from their oral traditions. The oral tradition is rather a theoretical knowledge which is passed down through the generations.

ORAL TRADITION : WHY IT IS IMPORTANT IN TRIBAL SOCIETIES

The tribal way of life is unique in its pattern. Tribal people as we understand in local communicative language *are Girijan* (Hill-people) or *Adibasi* (First- inhabitants). Local oriyas sometimes refer to them as *Banabasi* (Forest inhabitants). These titles are usually given to the tribal people. These titles also define their habitat in the hills and forests. Their living in the hills and forests, the different terrain and their work pattern for earning a livelihood keep them deprived of many facilities that are provided by the governmental. They are therefore non-literate groups. After the in roads of governmental development programmes, some tribal groups have got privilege for formal education. So in a non-literate group of people here we mean to tribals mostly, the tradition is preserved in oral lores.

The oral lores of the tribal people is not made at a go. In fact, the oral lores are subjected to great many changes in different periods of time. The transmission of the lores through generations maintains its preservation across generations. By oral tradition we mean all the myths, legends, songs, tales, stories, riddles, metaphors and many other types of expressions and conversations which people use in different spheres of their social life. Oral traditions do not have a definite historical record. This is understood from studies among tribals. An informant, however, cannot tell the period when a particular myth was originated or who composed it or how it was recorded. From many informants it is commonly heard that the oral lore which they know, they have learnt from their immediate predecessors. They hold that the oral lores are initially composed by their grand predecessors. They fail to recall that generation from which a particular lore or oral tradition was conceived. In this regard there appears no justification about the history of origin and development of an oral tradition. Whatever a person knows at that time is a part or a major part or the whole of the knowledge that his predecessor had. But if oral traditions about a particular fact of present, is examined or matched with the same type of information recorded in oral literatures or historical literatures, one would be in a position to conclude that there appears many missing links in the information availed of the two different periods of the chronological time scale. Modifications may also arise often. Hence no authenticity about the history of a particular oral tradition can be given. It makes a sense that oral traditions are not always

a fixed. It is fixed in the literatures only. But literatures also vary with variation in the informations in different periods of time. At this instance it therefore becomes hard to find the original work. No justification can also be given in favour of any particular information. to hold it as the original work.

The changes in the oral traditions about which one is now talking is a function of many factors. The factors are obviously time, place, situation, environment and the folk itself. A love is synthesized in the folk`s mind when the other factors suitably influence the folk. Therefore, different lores give different sets of interpretations. Very length lores are often found preserved in the tribals oral tradition. Preserving such a huge lore in oral tradition sometimes seems to be amazing. Though we are talking of a non-literate community, yet they demand high sense of regards from the literate societies for their ability of preserving great traditions in oral traditions. Through the oral traditions, the whole tribal communities become educated about their traditional way of life. So oral traditions have a great deal of influences in the spheres of a tribal social life. The oral traditions give meaning to the different social institutions, religious performances, actions and reactions, values and understandings, customs and traditions, religion and resolution, good and bad, taboos and beliefs and all that is a part of the tribal social life. Oral traditions at this point becomes a grave educator from which the tribal people know of their society and culture, history and science, facts and perceptions about their pattern of social life.

The first set of knowledge acquired by a man is from the understanding of self. The self realization and self analysis of a person to understand himself takes him back to find his position in the society. Accordingly he refers to the tradition and culture of the society in which he lives. From there he gets facts about his society, culture, tradition, the type of the society, the environment around him and his society. From this he derives the first knowledge of knowing himself as a member in a particular society which has a definite form of rules and regulations, rites and rituals, ideas and philosophies, understandings and perceptions and many such things. In his further quest he knows the history of origin and evolution of his society and other things. But how does a man know these things? It is the oral tradition following which and understanding its various aspects that he gathers detailed information about him, his society, the culture and tradition, pattern of livelihood and the other aspects of his social life. This is a common phenomenon. It is not only seen in the tribal societies, rather the non-tribal people also follow the same pattern of acquiring knowledge of self and the society of which he is a member.

Folklores are the glorious traditions of the mankind. Folklores give depictions about a society. A society which is very traditional, far away from modernization, maintaining a rudimentary form of livelihood keeps up the tradition of folklore through oral traditions. The oral traditions keep the memory of the past, the abstract idea of different aspects of social life, and the beliefs in the cosmological components fresh.

Folklores get sedimented in peoples micro-cosmic and macro-cosmic thoughts. Both the micro-cosmic and macro-cosmic thoughts have different implications on a person's way of life in the society. Macro-cosmic thoughts become the collective idea of the folks in the society. Micro-cosmic thoughts are a type of self analysis, inventions and discoveries, likes and dislikes and mainly influence the behavioural life of a person in the society. So it is a form of individual knowledge acquired by self which in later times may or may not influence the traditional life style. This individual perception many a times have put an effect on the reformation of the society. So individual perceptions after an analysis of the collective idea on macro-cosmic thoughts is sometimes given importance in the tribal society. This perception in later times is preserved in oral traditions in forms of lores. It may be a song, a tale or an elucidated explanation of an idea. Man thinks over an idea and analyses it through his curiosity. The outcome gives a sort of sensation in the human analytical mind. The final product is a perception. The perception backed by justifications, analysis and authenticity, above all if sufficient logical background is there to make it a commonly accepted fact, then the fact is established to be followed by others. At this instance the perceptions take shape of knowledge. Knowledge here is understood as something that need to be preserved in mind to perform the different activities, to mobilize the thought in a proper direction. Over all this is the knowledge that disclose the entire set of belief systems of a community.

Since ages, oral traditions are given a higher status. For they stand as the basis of a perception and knowledge. The traditions have implications on the organic, economic, emotional, aesthetic thoughts of mind. Therefore, the oral traditions carry the alphabets of a life process. The alphabets are combined differently that give an idea about the different aspects of the human life in a society or outside a society. So man in all the spheres of his social life refers to the oral traditions to evaluate and understand the meaning of the different social processes which man ought to do in a society.

Oral traditions establish the foundation of the tribal knowledge. Embedded in the tradition is the total set of understandings of the tribals knowledge on art and craft, science and philosophy, culture and seripture, ideas and values etc. Folklores or oral traditions are therefore a collection of tribal understanding on history, philosophy and science.

Oral traditions in our approach to indigenous knowledge is held important. For, the tribal people refer their oral lores to describe to every aspect of their life. Their knowledge of coming into being and expressing themselves as social units in later times is only described in the oral traditions. A tribal man therefore explores the truth of the past and philosophy of life from the oral traditions. In between is the whole set of knowledge that applies to the ecological, economic, social and cultural mobility of the folks towards a process of self accomplishment and continuance of the indigenous traits of maintaining life.

Folklore and oral traditions are given importance in both literate and non-literate societies. But this is very well marked in tribal societies. It is because the tribal societies are far away from the world of technological modernization. Their work traditions, culture and philosophy of living inside forests is attuned and coupled with the oral traditions. It is the oral tradition that keeps integrity among folks of a society through integrating the folks under a common social, cultural, religious pattern. It is through the oral traditions that the ethnicity of the tribes is maintained, preserved and conserved. Oral traditions give colour, motion, meaning and understanding to different social processes. Their discourse and acquired knowledge is got from the oral traditions. So the oral traditions are important which expresses a man's or a communities intellectual up-bringing through a sequential way treading the different steps of the traditional culture and society.

In this connection, attempt has been made to study the indigenous knowledge of a tribal community- Saora mainly on two of it's sub-groups: Shudha Saora and Lanjia Saora. Earlier chapters on this tribe describe the various aspects of their social life, various dimensions of their thoughts and philosophies, facts and fictions, economy and livelihood which collectively give a brief background and ethnicity of the groups. Their life and livelihood is processed through their indigenous knowledge. They have a conviction that their oral traditions which are handled down through generations from the predecessors to the successors is the main source of their indigenous knowledge. The entire domain of their knowledge is derived from the oral tradition, to say so, may seem a fiction. But the people believe that their indigenous knowledge derived from sources of oral traditions gradually with times have branched out to many forms. All those are used and applied by them to perform all their activities in their habitat. Perceptions however, vary a lot in between Lanjia Saora- the primitive type and Shudha Saora- the mainstream type, yet have distinct similarities in many things.

In both Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora societies distinct similarities often appear in many of their social processes like: work patterns, technological methods, religious performances, political processes, cultivation and practices. The work patterns and the other social processes are maintained with a culture bound way of life. This also gives on idea of the indigenous society culture of the tribes. Each community has its own cultural identity though both are some-how similar in their language, culture, food habits, religious processes, political process and livelihood pattern etc. Every community have their indigenous system of management, their ideas and principles to which every tribal folk is conscious and aware. Saora in their indigenous terminology are known as "Saora *Maranji*". The dialect spoken by them is known as "Saora All the Saora sub-groups speak Saora language, yet the language vary to a certain extent among the sub-groups.

Lanjia Saora is the primitive tribe living in the interior pockets of the areas surrounded by hills and forests. They are far away from the mainstream or the

modernized world. So they have less contact with the non-tribal groups of people. In their locality they often come across Oriya and telugu speaking people. Through their contact with non-tribals they know a little bit of their language. But the Saoras do not know enough of the local non-tribal languages. Whatever they know is very much useful for a bilateral conversation in a communicative form of language. Similarly the non-tribals also know little bit of Saora language. But in any case such people are very few who know one additional language besides their mother tongue. In their search for better earning prospect. The Saoras come across many other means of livelihood and many non-tribals. This helps the language medium that is facilitated with ecological mobility. Migrants to Assam come to understand Hindi, and Assamese and are able to converse in these languages. The knowledge of spoken Oriya and Telugu language is not acquired by those people who remain busy in their own work and rarely come in contact with Oriya/Telugu speaking people.

Shudha Saora are the mainstream tribe who come in contact with the oriya and telugu speaking people. They understand oriya and telugu better than the Lanjia saora because of the better communication contact they have with these people who live closer to their habitat.

Lanjia Saora are proud of their language- the 'Sora'. Though it had no written script or is unknown to the traditional Hinduised Saora. The language became more popular among the converted Saora. The older generation speak traditional Saora language but the younger generations is fond of Hindi and English language rather than Oriya, Telugu and Sora. Lanjia Saoras(Hinduised) are more proud of their own language because, they can recall their traditional history through the language. They regard the Oriya and Telugu speaking people as higher community and like some extraordinary beings. The Saoras give no weightage to the local Oriya speaking Dom community whom they feel are inferior to them.

Shudha Saoras are very much proud of their language and culture than other communities. They trace their ancestry to their myth. They maintain their tradition and culture in a way similar to their predecessors. The Shudha Saoras feel themselves a higher class. Their feeling of superiority is associated with the *Jagannath* cult. They think that the Brahmin priests who offer worship to *Lord Jagannath* temple at Puri are the Saora people. This attribute they derive from their myth. The Shudha Saoras believe in *Lord Jagannath* as the source of all knowledge. This view they hold from a belief of metamorphosis of *Lord Jagannath*, after the invention in the form of '*Mattarvanam*' or '*Aksharabrahma*' as known in Oriya. The incarnation of *Lord Jagannath* to *Mattarvanam* marks their revolutionary ideas against traditional religious pattern, rather they feel that *Mattarvanams* itself stands as a religious renaissance and a vast intellectual curriculum. *Mattarvanam* is highly regarded as a text of the Saora indigenous as well as exogenous knowledge. The secret message of *Mattarvanam* is to perceive the knowledge of the whole through language. For, they believe that

language is their most primitive trait and they acquire their indigenous knowledge through the language which they speak. Language is important here because it is the language that acts as a medium through which knowledge is transmitted. Further, the language that they speak is used in transmission of knowledge, keeps no communication gap among the folks. Hence it becomes rather easy for people to share their common traditional knowledge through their spoken language.

In further times their ideas are shaped with the language. The language maintains and helps in keeping their traditional culture. Hence, language is one very important carrier of knowledge from person to person and from generations to generations.

The tribal people now have become aware of the other communities living around them. They have also become perceptive about other cultural patterns. With the acculturisation process they come across various people of different societies and cultures. There the tribal mind grasps a non-tribal culture. The in roads of alien religion, tradesmen, government servants, researchers and tourists into their areas have made them aware of different sets of people. The tribal people respond to them in their own traditional language. But there appears problems in bilingual conversation. Misinterpretation and misconcep-tions emerge out due to language barrier. The non-tribal people or the people who do not know the Saora language interpret their versions differently. All those misinterpretations arise because of the communication gap in a bilateral bilingual conversation. It is a way, the tribal people attest, through which their indigenous knowledge or their acquired knowledge takes a new shape and this erodes many facts which are linked with their indigenous knowledge.

Language is used to understand knowledge. The Saora people are very much conscious of it. Whenever they use other communicative languages to express their feelings, perceptions, knowledge, ideas, value etc, they appear to skip many facts and communication gaps arise. They like to express their thoughts and ideas in their indigenous language. While talking in their own mother-tongue they give a vivid description which is authentic. Therefore, in the approach to study their indigenous knowledge and knowledge of their language, this is very beneficial to the investigator.

Because, it is through the language, the exact expression of their ideas comes out spontaneously. A Saora man on seeing a non-tribal or outsider in their locality put a question to the person if the person can converse in Saora. This is asked in the tribal version "*Aman Saorambate Galamte*"? or "*Aman Saora Birina Gamte*"? Both the questions mean "Do you understand '*Sorambate*'? Sorambate here means the Sora terms used in their conversations. *Galamte* means 'do you understand'? *Birna* stands for the knowledge of Saora tradition. So the question comprehensively ask if the investigator has ideas about the Saora language and culture. *Galamte* here stands for the question of knowing the language or understanding the language. So according to the Saora people, language is the first step to know their indigenous knowledge that is

embedded in their indigenous thoughts, perceptions and social processes. Whenever a Saora person puts the question `Saora *Birna Galamte* or *Saorambate Gamte*, he intends to say that he has an indigenous knowledge and tradition and asks if the other person would understand. This is the question by which the investigator perceives that the Saoras have a sense of understanding of his indigenous knowledge. No such Saora terms can be cited, as it could not be derived, that can be comparable to our title- `indigenous knowledge'. But they understand knowledge with simple self evident terms having specific meaning and perception. They express the meaning using it in different context and dimension of their social and cultural life.

KNOWLEDGE : GANALAMA

Lanjia Saora use the term '*Ganalama*' for 'Knowledge'. *Ganalama* is understood as individual's intelligence applied to various forms of work, for the successful management and output. *Ganalama* is the knowledge that is employed in processing a thought to an action. So *Ganalama* is used in specific contexts. It is always supported by prefixes. The prefixes make one understand about the type of *Ganalama*. So *Ganalama* becomes meaningful with use of prefixes. *Ganalama* is also understood as a product. It is the output of the term *Annagandi* which means the individual self-intelligence and ideas. *Annagandi* is the process and *Ganalama* is the product. In between is the term *Anjanaba*. *Anjanaba* refers to the learner and the observer of the processes.

Knowledge comes after the individuals observation, experience, perceptions from the process called *Annagandi* which simpl means the application of individual self-intelligence. Therefore, *Annagandi* is measured from the observation of the work process, methodology, ideas and innovative thoughts involved in work. The end product of this work processes is the term knowledge or *Ganalama*. So *Ganalama* is the output perception of work process. *Ganalama* is therefore a product of a long process of work supplemented with ideas and innovation and hence it is very difficult to express in simple self evident terms. It has many dimensions. For the better understanding of knowledge in the Lanjia Saora community it needs to be explained in its various dimensions in their perceptive versions, through the practicality and applicability of intelligence in the work processes and it's use in various aspects of their social and cultural life.

TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE : JUJUBIRAN GANALAMA

There is no specific term in Saora language to express traditional knowledge. By traditional knowledge, it simply means entire knowledge about their society, culture, tradition, etc. The Saoras do not experience a long leisure period because they always have a compact schedule of work throughout the year. So the knowledge that they acquire, includes individual perceptions assimilated through their participation in work

processes. So procedures, experiences and appropriateness of the work process give meaning to traditional knowledge. By traditional knowledge we here mean all those work experiences, perceptions, ideas that give meaning to the traditional cultural background of the tribals. By traditional knowledge it therefore means knowledge that is used in their practical social life. Traditional knowledge of Saoras is therefore a form of very practical knowledge. So traditional knowledge is a form of utilitarian knowledge. This is very much reflected in all their social processes, work patterns, livelihood pattern and socio-economic life. But the Saora people understand traditional knowledge as a form of primitive knowledge primitive in the sense, very old and ancient. This is explained through their self evident terms as follows:

Jujubiran Galam, the term gives meaning to traditional knowledge. *Juju* stands for grand father, '*biran*' stands for their knowledge(understood from their advice, experiences, ideas, perceptions- etc.). *Biran* literally means the sayings of old people who are no more on the earth. *Galam* stands for 'understanding'. So from the old peoples sayings, experiences and knowledges, the younger generation knows... The term '*Jujubiran Galam*' combinely mean the understanding of their (Lanjia Sáora's) grand father's deeds and sayings which is followed by the succeeding generations. This is taken as a form of knowledge which the Saoras follow in their practical way of life. In all aspects of their practical socio-cultural life they refer their ancestors. Though the term literally refers to grand father yet it is not only limited to the grand fathers but also to their fore fathers or ancestors. Hence they mean that the knowledge which they hold now is the knowledge acquired from people of fore-generations. It thus makes them to understand that the traditional knowledge is the knowledge that have been transmitted to them from generations.

Traditional knowledge in their belief is the knowledge of their fathers and forefathers. In their version, knowledge that is applied in various fields of their social life like in the field of agriculture, shifting cultivation practices, rituals, worships and ceremonies, technology, painting, house construction etc. is their traditional knowledge.

Todays events is tommorrow's history. In their quest to understand the traditional knowledge they refer to the history of their tradition. Their cultural history gives them the understanding of traditional knowledge or events of the past. So what had been followed and experienced by their forefathers is the source of their indigenous knowledge which is also interpreted by them as their traditional knowledge. The people have a strong conviction that, what they follow at the present will be followed by their succeeding generations. So traditional knowledge is meant as the knowledge of the previous generations which the culture-bound Saoras follow. This understanding of knowledge is menifested in the term *Jujubiran Ganalama*. *Jujubiran Ganalama* is a more appropriate term because it refers to the knowledge of the preceding generations and the time is specified here simply as 'past' or 'history'. In contrast, *Ganalama* is the term that can be used to mean knowledge of any generation, any person with no

specificity of time. All those terms and explanations of knowledge comes under '*Saora Birna Galamte*'.

The term *Saora Birna Galamte* gives importance to the traditional language. It thus highlights the Saora understanding of traditional knowledge which is preserved through their indigenous language medium. Therefore the language is significant in preserving their traditional knowledge.

Earlier it is mentioned that knowledge is the outcome of many processes, experimentations and work traditions. Meaning of *Ganalama* is made clear with the associated terms like *Anjanaba*, *Anagandi* etc. *Anagandi* means personal intelligence which is applied to a work process. *Anjanaba* is the curiosity to know to study, to learn etc. It refers to learning through observation, perception, participation etc. ·

In this context, it is explained by the Lanjia Saoras that curiosity leads a person to become inquisitive to know different things. To know the things a person need to participate in specific work patterns. There the Lanjia Saoras understanding of assimilating knowledge is made clear. They emphasize on the practical work tradition for assimilation of knowledge about the specific work. Thus it is clear that they have much of a practical knowledge than the theoritical knowledge. This gives meaning to *Anjinaba* and *Anagandi*. Both are closely liked. This is the first step of acquiring individual knowledge. Later on through participation in different types of work the knowledge that is assimilated is called the *Ganalama*. To question the self about a particular thing or to become inquisitive is also a form of knowledge and intelligence. Any theoritical explanation to the question born in the inquisitive mind however do not solve the problem. The final accomplishment of one's knowledge(*Ganalama*) is achieved through the processing of *Anjanaba* through *Anagandi*.

When the different steps of a work process is taken into consideration there appears many terms. The Lanjia Saora do not have more specific terms for all the processes. Though they use, in some of the cases, the specific terms if they have. The Lanjia Saora people do not have specific terminology for different steps in a work process. Therefore, the processes involved in the work in most of cases is known by the title of the work. For example, the making of wooden artefacts, agricultural equipments, house hold artefacts there is a term 'Sab sab'. It means carpentry works in making of all the wooden materials for their socio-cultural needs. In this work different processes like cutting wood, measurement, sharpening the implements and tools, piercing or drilling the wood for nails joining the slabs etc. but for all these steps they do not have exact terminologies in their language. Rather all these processes come under the term 'Sabsab'.

The hill land cultivation particularly the shifting cultivation is known as '*Jumtutri*' *Jumtutri* refers to the cultivation by burning the wild leaves and branches of the trees on

the hills. This refers to the work processes involved in shifting cultivation. Besides they have certain specific terms associated with the term '*Jujuntri* or *Barun abaran*'. *Barun* stands for hill land or the land for cultivation and '*Abaran*' refers to work. So *Barun abaran* combinely mean work in shifting cultivation fields- the hills. The different work processes in the swiddening are known to them by specific terms. For example, *Gajeng*, *Dulba* and *Lala* of *Baroonabaran* refers to the slashing, burning and seedlings. *Gajeng* stands for slashing the big trees and cutting of wild grasses and plants. *Dulba* the collection and gathering of these leaves and branches and setting fire to it. *Lala* refers to the croping of the seeds. This processes are done after a shower of rain in the post burning period. *Pujeng* is the term for weeding. Throughout the process a number of steps are observed. *Gala* refers to the reaping of crops and *Mal* refers to gathering of crops on the ground. *Galamal*, therefore, combinely mean the reaping or cutting of crops and keeping them on the ground at least for some time. *Rai* is the term for the collection of pods of different seeds. So these also refer to the work process under shifting cultivation. Lanjia Saora have their own yearly calender. This calender and the name of the months are closely associated with their cultivation practices. Months are known to them in terms of agricultural practices. So through weather forecasting and agricultural operation they know about the different periods in a year. This depicts an agriculture dependent society of Saoras. Their understanding that they are agricultural people develops interest in them to know various agricultural practices and thus they became aware and accustomed to their traditional knowledge of agriculture and food gathering.

Shifting cultivation stands as an example of a form of traditional knowledge which every Lanjia Saora knows and needs to know. In the practice, every step is known by specific terms. Here the Lanjia Saoras makė a point that they have specific terms for specific steps of a specific work. Here the work is significant from the point of view of their needs, demands and traditions related to their way of socio-cultural life and linked to their livelihood patterns. The work like swiddening, terracing, plain land agriculture, minor-forest produce gathering, other social and culture modes and methods of actions which they feel important is known by step wise events. So they fix specific terms to step wise events for the work processes which they feel important. They are of the opinion that the work which marks the collective profession is known to everybody. But those which are taken as individual profession, the knowledge of such profession remains confined to the individual itself. Very rarely or occasionally such a knowledge is shared with others. Religion, medicine, witchcraft, etc, are regarded as individual professional knowledge. So traditional profession like the shifting cultivation practices and general livelihood patterns are known to all and shared by all.

Saora worships different deities in a manner as it should be through different phases. A religious performance is not a joke. With that the community welfare is secured. Therefore it is processed with step wise performances. The commons do not

know the terms used or the names given to each step or phase. The step wise performance of a worship are done spontaneously. The performer only knows when to do what. So the common folks do not interfere with the activity. The common folks believe that the Shaman is doing in accordance to their traditional pattern of worship. So they do not take much interest to know the terms of the step wise activities. They simply regard the process as their '*Purban Ukka*'. *Ukka* refers to their forefather's sanctioned rules or customs. So this is simply interpreted as Purpur *Ganalama* i.e. knowledge of worship. It refers to the adaptations of the methods and ways through which their forefathers were doing the worship. This knowledge of worship is neither a self acquired knowledge nor a traditional knowledge that is inherited from the preceeding generations. Of course the processes in the worship are known to a person from people of his/her previous generation. But the divinely processes like invocation, chantings, etc, are not inherited from the ancestors. Here the shaman is regarded as a highly specialized man, dignified and respected for his act of performances. The knowledge that a shaman holds is therefore believed to have been got directly from the Gods.

Knowledge of performing religious activities is positioned at the top on the list of knowledge on their social life. The people have their rudimentary thoughts on religion and so they always want to be protected from the malevolent spirits by religious performances. Therefore in both Lanjia and Shudha Saora communities religious headman is given highest regards for his professional divine knowledge.

The Lanjia Saoras live inside forests. They remained isolated from the market and mainstream for quite a long period. To fulfill their obvious demands from the locally available raw materials, they developed their indigenous technology. They have their own method of extracting oil, distillation of liquor, other manufacturing systems, traditional architechture of house designing etc. Their technology of earning their food and livelihood, making musical instruments to suit to their aesthetic sense, carvings, paintings are indigenous and are specific to their own kind. So their indigenous technology is very much reflected in their traditional way of life.

The Lanjia Saora have a good expertise in oil extraction from oil seeds. They extract oil from seeds of *Karanja* (*Pongamia pinnate*) and red *Sorrel*(*Hibiscus sabdariffa*), Castor(*Ricinus communis*) etc. To extract oil they use their indigenous wooden mortar and pestle, filtering nets made of bark fibre of Siali(*Bauhinia vahlii*) etc. In ancient days, as the Lanjia Saoras hold, in every house there was at least one manual oil mill. But now such manual oil mills are hardly found anywhere. People have started depending on the market for milling of oil seeds. So with the development of modern technology, their traditional technology has become obsolete.

In the processing of Mahula (*Madhuka longifolia*) flowers for distilled liquor,

they employ their indigenous method. Before preparing the liquor. the flowers are put in water for three four days after which they are kept in a large earthen pot. Another earthen pot is inverted over the pot containg the flowers. A porous bamboo pipe is fixed to the outlet of the upper pot, the other end of the pipe remaining in another pot meant for liquor collection. The pot containing flowers is kept on fire, the steam pass through the bamboo pipe into the collecting vessel which is kept over water stream. Stream condense there on cooling and the liquor is thus prepared.

The Lanjia Saoras understand skill in a different way. Though they do not have a specific term for skill, yet they understand skill in a similar way as we understand expertise. This is a different kind of knowledge which is assimilated through work ability and considerable wisdom that is needed to do the work. *Ganalama* here gives meaning to the desired wisdom in the successful. completion of the work. A man who is professional in one work only, is regarded to be skillful and expert in that particular work. Accordingly every Lanjia Saora is skillful in all aspects of their traditional work patterns. The ideas involved in operating the work is *Ganalama* but the timely, appropriate completion of the work gives meaning to skill or expertise.

From the above discussions about the traditional knowledge of Saora, it is clear that all the people have a specific set of knowledge about their traditional work patterns. The wisdom involved in operation and performance of various types of work is their traditional knowledge. It is understood that skills. experience, aptitude, intelligence, perception. in totality mean their domain of *Ganalam*(knowledge). But in actual sense, acquiring knowledge is also a work as it is understood from their terms like *Anjanaba*(Curiosity/interest and eagerness to know), *asaiba*(the quest/search for knowledge). *Amagandi* (the work process) etc. So *Ganalama* is achieved through the co-ordination and interaction of the above terms in a sequential way like *Anjanaba- Asaiba- Amagandi- Ganalama. Ganalama* in individual level base upon the individual ideas, perceptions, skills, experiences etc. which collectively means knowledge.

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE : SORA BIRNA GANALAMA/PURBAN GANALAMA.

Lanjia Saora do not have specific terminology for indigenous knowledge. They express it by using the closely related terms which may collectively. directly or indirectly express the meaning of the indigenous knowledge. In fact, Lanjia Saora feel that the term "indigenous' means the knowledge of their own community, their traditions and customs sanctioned by their forefathers through traditions and customs, depicted in myths and legends. The knowledge is preserved in their myths, legends, folk tales, songs and lores which contribute a lot to the understanding of their indigenous knowledge.

In this context, an analysis of the term may be taken into account. "*Purban Katabir Ganalama*" is a term made with the conjugation of four terms. *Purban* refers

to the very ancient time. *Kata* refers to the myths (directly or indirectly), legends world views, cosmology, songs, lores etc., bir comes from "*Birna* which stands to express the socio-cultural traditions that give a meaning to their ethnicity and broad cultural background. *Ganalama* stands for knowledge. It is interpreted here as acquired knowledge basing on the earlier discussions on *Ganalama*. Jointly these terms give the meaning of their indigenous traditions and gives an expression about their indigenous knowledge. *Purban Katabir Ganalama* can be abbreviated and used as *Purban Ganalama* which stands for very ancient knowledge of their society.

Lanjia Saora are traditionally known as "*Sora Maranji*". And through the term they specify their ethnic identity as Lanjia Saora. The term *Sora Maranji* gives a meaning to their mythical attributes of coming into being and specifies their language. About their identity with those names, they feel that the term *Sora Maranji* sounds elegant and better than Lanjia *Maranji*. Hence they like to express them as 'Sora *Maranji*'. They rarely use the term Lanjia *Maranji*. Here the term 'Sora' gives direct meaning to their language, culture, ethnicity and the mythical. The Saoras hold that their knowledge of the past, all spheres of their traditional social life, different patterns of work for ensuring a continuous supply of livelihood and all that is important in their socio-cultural life, is embedded in the term Saora *Birna Ganalama*.

The Lanjia Saora have their indigenous method of house construction, space management inside the house in a scientific manner. The management of space inside is scientific for them in relation to their environment and geographical surroundings, the space for art painting, the living space of ancestors and in the Diasing, (the lighted front wall to the door). Single door system for the danger of wild animals, pounding hole, kitchen room, space for domestic animals, space for keeping the food materials and agricultural produces, space for household artifacts, agricultural equipments etc. give an idea about the peoples self and collective perception of management of space, material management etc. Their perceptions about the environment around them is an important part of their indigenous knowledge. The physical environment around them is shared with living, non-living and spiritual entities. They feel socially secured due to the presence of the deities and spirits around them. The Saoras very much fear the ancestral and supernatural spirits. So they believe in their traditional religion and theology. Therefore they strictly follow the pattern of life which has been sanctioned or approved by their spirits. Their life pattern complemented with religious attributes becomes a major part of their indigenous knowledge. In the intellectual curriculum of the people, the ancestral and supernatural spirits are given high sense of regards and respects as teachers of Saora indigenous knowledge. The Saora people believe that the deities and spirits pass on their knowledge to the Shamans, witchmen, astrologers etc. Therefore such people become highly specialised and are held in high esteem in the society for they have mastered two sets of knowledge: the practical knowledge of livelihood pattern and the divine knowledge for the betterment of the society.

In this consideration of practical knowledge and divine knowledge, the Saora society makes distinction among people as professionals and general folks. In this context of discussion, the Saora folk art may be given an attention. The indigenous term for the wall painting in Lanjia Saora language is "Idtalan" or *Idital*. *Idital* in their indigenous meaning refers to both writing and painting. It also includes the drawing of pictures of various ancestral spirits, *sonums*, gods and goddesses, trees, plants, snakes, animals etc. This pictures painted in the *Idital* art have a greater emphasis on their religious and social culture. This ikon art directly or indirectly come as greater part of the indigenous knowledge of both Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora. *Idital* or *Ikon* simply means to house, although it is not sketched exactly like a house. It is regarded as the house made for their forefathers, ancestors, sonums and their gods and goddesses. The *idital* art stands as a very important cultural trait among other such traits which depicts a lot about their society and social structure.

Both the communities- Shudha and Lanjia Saora follow a similar idea, pattern and tradition in painting the icon art-the *Idital*. This knowledge of painting the icon art is known by the Sora as *Idalan Ganalama*. The person who is authorised to do the job is known as *Idolmar*- the man who is painting or writing. *Idalan Ganalama* stands for knowledge on icon painting and writing art.

In the icon art, the painter known as *Italmar* paints may figures, material and non-material objects and picturises the society patterns. The painter in fact establishes a relation between the objects or figures painted in the art. The overall art gives specific meaning to specific events. The *Italmar* shows a very social relationship among the various enthropowerphic forms in the art. The anthropowerphic figures stand as images and imaginations about the supernatural beings and the living beings. In the earlier chapter on 'Religious Practices, Magic and Concept of Disease', some events have been described to elaborate the conditions for which an icon is painted. Accordingly an *Italmar* paints an icon as desired by the ancestral or supernatural beings. The painter does not have specific designs of art for specific events. The painters believe that the knowledge of painting, the idea, the subject and objects that are to be sketched in the art is directed by the spirit. Painters hold that they get dreams where in the spirits direct them to pain an art. Then the painter maintains the religious restrictions and paints the icon. The painters assent that their hands sketch the things that are to be sketched (as per the desire of the spirits) spontaneously. Here they attribute the direct passage of the spirit's will and knowledge into the painter which makes the painter draw the art. So the Saoras believe in the direct flow of knowledge from the spirits and deities into the human mind. But such human mind which can acquire such knowledge is chosen by the spirits. Such people become specialised in this knowledge for which they get ample regards from the general folks. It is quite natural that the general folks extend high sense of regards for those people because people believe that such people have a direct or bilateral communication with the spirits and deities. Therefore the icon painter is given

a different status in their society for his acquired knowledge in this regard. A content analysis of icon art arouse the conception that the icon painter sketches his perceptional world views and cosmological understandings in the art. A person may or may not be having the skill of painting an art, but after getting a direction from the spirits in dream, he becomes a painter.

The display of objects in the icon art gives an idea about the peoples perception of the outer world. Besides the artefacts of their indigenous material culture, they often sketch the high technological objects in the paintings. Examples may be given of a motor cycle, camera, pistol, acroplane, radio, car, bus, sun glasses, wrist watch, etc. All those things have special understandings in the context of the art. The Saoras hold that those items or materials are not new to them because since decades those things are found in their wall paintings. But going back to their very past, the Saoras hold that those items were never seen in their art. So it implies that the inclusion of those items in their folk art is neither new nor very ancient. The Saoras believe that their spirits like those items and so desire that these items should be sketched in their folk art. They believe that their spirits and deities are well aware of the use of those things. The inclusion of these items in their folk art replaces many traditional items which had the same type of use as the above items. For example, a bicycle is replaced by a motor cycle. By that the communication can be faster. But an aeroplane is meant for the supreme deity of the icon- the *Ilda*. Because *Ilda* is positioned at the highest stratum in the status hierarchy of spirits, so the aeroplane should be his vehicle. A camera is desired to document the court scenes of the *Ilda*. Accordingly other items also have lots of utilitarian value for the spirits in the icon.

In the context of their indigenous knowledge it can be said that they became acquainted with those modernised and technological items after their exposure to the outer world. So their knowledge on these things indicate their exoteric knowledge. When their perception about the exoteric knowledge and exogenous items increased, they took interest in sketching such things in their wall paintings. Once the knowledge was brought in and depicted in the icon, it became a common thing in the Saora society. It can also be said that the indigenous people who dwell constantly amdist the forests became aware of those things from the non-tribals or from tribal-migrants. That the Saoras have migrated to many places is a known fact. In the early periods of their migration they didnot leave their indigenous culture. So it may be assumed that the migrant Saoras brought home the ideas of the outer world. So with the influx of the exoteric knowledge through the object contents in the icon art, the Saoras became more aware of the outer world. Now they are able enough to perceive the world around them since they are coming closer day by day to mainstream and those things therefore fail to arouse enough curiosity in them. Therefore the icon art depicts their spiritual and material basis of their world views. The role of the *Italmar* here becomes important as he is the person who renders the knowledge to others through his drawings and

paintings.

The practice of religious affairs are usually done by Shamans. In the ranking of Saora social practices, the religious practices remain at the highest position. So the performer also secures the highest position in the status hierarchy. Religious practices are very important and specialised jobs. So the Shaman- the performer is respected for his/her act of divination, worship, etc. This knowledge of the worship (*Purpur Ganalama*) refers to the work process in which shaman recites the Mantra or chants hymns, and performs the activities in a specific way. Every work that is related to a religious activity individually or collectively is known by the term *Purpur*. The Shaman is the person who possesses the knowledge of the entire traditional religion, their panthcon, practices and performances specific to its type. The shaman is therefore the master of the indigenous knowledge pertaining to religion. Saoras both Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora have their own machinery to keep discipline and maintain order in society. This institution stands as an important agency of social control. This institution of law and order is the political and decision making body of the Saoras. It is regarded as the village judicial system. The Saoras know the judicial court by the term "*Bisaramar*". *Bisara* stands for decision or justice in legal terms. *Mar* refers to the person of the judicial body or means a collection of decision makers authorised to give a decision in the system. So *Bisaramar* means the persons who make decision and so the same also means the decision making body. Each knowledge related to this is called *Bisara Ganalama*- the decision making knowledge. *Bisara Ganalama* does not independently, mean the decision making knowledge. The knowledge that is instantly applied in the process of decision making is known as *Dengbir*. *Dengbir* refers to law. So *Dengbir Ganalama* means the knowledge related to law and principles prescribed in the village court's statutes. Therefore, *Dengbir* gives meaning to *Bisara Ganalama*. Because without *Dengbir Ganalama*, *Bisara Ganalama* is meaningless. *Dengbir* and *Bisara* are related more or less in the same way as *Anagandi*(work process) and *Ganalama*(knowledge). According to the Saora perception *Bisara Mar*- the decision making body, involves the three tier hierarchy which is already described in the political hierarchy and stratification system of the tribe in the chapter 'Society & Culture of Saora-I'.

As in other tribal societies, Saoras are also perpetual addicts. They usually take fermented toddy of *Sagopalm* and distilled liquor of Mahula. Saora people believe that wine(*Salap* or *Mahua*) is the first and best food item for treating guests. It is also an important source of food requirement of the Saora. They collect it from the Salap tree (*Arasal*). The process and methods they use for collection of *alli*(*Salap* toddy) is totally of indigenous type. The knowledge related to this is understood by the Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora as *Gatsalan Ganalama*. *Gatsalan* is the conjunction of two terms. *Gat* refer to cutting or sharpening and *sal* stands for Salap tree (*Caryota urens*) from which toddy is collected. So the term combinely mean the understanding and

knowledge of toddy collection by cutting and tapping the inflorescence of the tree. And the term *Ganalama* stands for knowledge is related to *Gatsalan* or all knowledge about *Gatsalan*. This tradition is given utmost importance in the Lanjia Saora in comparison to the the Shudha Saora.

It has been found that both the communities have their indigenous dances. Some are bound by their traditions and some are optional. The dance is *Karja*, *Goar* and *Abdur* at *Manduasum* etc. are of compulsory types. For example at *Manduasum* (the village god) new eating festivals are organised. The new eating festivals are called *Abdur*. As observed a cock(*Kansim*) is usually sacrificed. But prior to the sacrifice, the Shaman carries the cock in his hand and dances. Others join in the dance.****

People hold that the dances in the ocassions of worships and rituals are compulsory and customary. The dance is not solely meant for entertainment. It is important because along with the processes it sometimes appear as an aesthetic drive. A worship is organised to fetch the spirit's good -will and so all the traditionally sanctioned processes in the worships are indispensable for the sake of the betterment of the society. Therefore dances are regarded as compulsory events in rituals and festivals. A person acting as Shaman must know the type of dances specific to a ritual or festival. Though the dances all the events are of similar type yet there appears certain distinctions. In this connection a case study of Mandeba Raika of village Gudada is given here.

Mandeba Raika - 60 years/Hindu/Male, opines that a dance is compulsory event in a festival. When he was offering at Manduasum once, for the betterment of the society he stated "I am offering to Manduasum on behalf of the people. The spirit may cause small pox, chicken pox (Sinal-pox) if he/she is dis-satisfied. He/she may also send tigers to kill the people in villages if he is not satisfied with the worship. So I dance at the time of organising the worship to appease the spirit. We always try to avoid the wrath of evil spirits through worships and dances. I am sure that the dance is liked and enjoyed by our spirits. If we do not dance at the time of Abdur then the Kittung may become angry and kill the villagers and their domestic animals by sending tigers. I believe in this because one such incident happened 6-7 years ago in village Manengool. There the Kudan and people did not dance at the time of organising Abdurs. So tiger harmed the people a lot".

Hence to work as a Shaman, one must know the dances which is important to satisfy the spirits. Dancing is therefore an important part of the Shaman's acquired knowledge. The general people also follow it exhibiting their inclination to the traditional affairs.

In the Abdur dances, the shaman simply swings his/her waist to the left and right. The shaman steers the cock's head in his hand complementing the direction of the

movement of the waist. But the dances in *Goar* ceremony and *Karja* ceremony are quite different from this type.

Some dances are almost compulsory and some are performed occasionally. Dance like other facets of culture is religion oriented. For example, in *Karja* ceremony the shaman in trance (*Mir*) dances ecstatically representing spirits of the dead. Sometimes the shaman also dances (without being trance) in the *Karja* ceremony holding the sacred light on his head.

In both the communities calling of the spirits, their propitiation and finally farewell bidding in a traditional fashion, form a part of their religious perception. So these are the knowledge on their compulsory form of dances.

While holding the cock in his hands the shamans dances and offers it to the sonums. This has been found every where in the Lanjia Saora as well as the Shudha Saora rituals and festivals.

In the Saoras' important ceremonies and festivals, like new eating(*abdur*), name giving(*Adnimun*), new cutting (*Lajjab*) first sowing of seeds(crops), *Goar*, *Karja*, *Sirung*(marriage) etc- entertainment is an inevitable part keeping the people engaged exuberantly. So people(Saoras) organise dance and songs in these ceremonies and festivals and enjoy themselves. These dances are essential items in the socio-cultural life.

In all types of dances the Saoras maintain specific rules- steps, movements, gestures and postures. It is pertinent to mention that the dance form varies from ceremony to ceremony. Among the Lanjia and Shudha Saoras there are also variations in the dance forms. As for example, dance in Karja and *Goar* is different from the dance in marriage and naming ceremonies etc.

The knowledge of dance is known as '*Tangseng Ganalama*'. The individuals who know dancing are called *Tangseng Galam mar* and *Tangseng maranji*. The *Tangseng Galammar* have the very good knowledge on dance. His expertise is understood as *Tangseng Ganalama*.

Both the Saora community have indigenous musical instruments, used specifically for specific purposes. The instrumentalists have no proper terminology in Saora language. The individual's skills in playing the instruments are very much marked in the proformance. *Debdingal* is the musical instrument player. *Debding* is a type of musical drums. The knowledge of beating the *Debding*(drum) is called *Debdingal*. Likewise the beating of *Tudum*-an one sided drum is known as *Tudumgal*. It refers to the understanding of beating *Tudum*.

Music as an essential part of Saora's indigenous culture. Both song and dance

are inter-related with each other. Music and dance provide enthusiasm not only to the performers but to the community as a whole.

Saora people have several musical instruments which form a part of their indigenous material culture. Some of the instrument are very essential in their religious and ritual ceremonies and some are for the entertainment purpose. It is very difficult to identify or give the name of all the instrument in any communicable language, except a few.

Some of the musical instruments are prepared by the Saoras themselves. A few of them have expertise in preparing these instruments, which they have learnt hereditarily or through observation and experience. Playing of wind, string and percussion instrumentals is learnt through observation, experience and participation.

The musical instruments are broadly grouped into three categories on the basis of their specific use. (1). The musical instruments used specifically for religious purpose (2). Used both for rituals and for entertainment (3)used only for entertainment. All these are their traditional musical instruments.

SHUDHA SAORA CONCEPT OF KNOWLEDGE

The Shudha Saoras have their indigenous way of understanding 'knowledge and individual interaction. Their understanding of knowledge is conceptualized in seven terms. The terms in their practical usage have various implications and interpretations. But in their theoritical understanding of the terms, they derive a comprehensive idea on the various phases of earning and acquiring individual knowledge. The domain of an individual's wisdom consists of various states of knowledge. This is their understanding when they make sense that knowledge is acquired through various steps; each step having its significance. They interpret that there are a number of steps through which knowledge is acquired. It goes in the same way as the growth of a human child. When compared to the growth of human child, it makes sense that with age, intellect grows in a parallel manner. Hence an old person is regarded as a wise person of course, an old man's knowledge is enriched with experiences and so he is more wiser than a young man. An old man's life has passed through great chapters of experiences from which he gathers practical knowledge, ability of doing, use of common sense and general intelligence. Through various stages of life, the knowledge, perceptions and ideas etc, are assimilated.

The Shudha Saora conception and perceptions of theoritical knowledge in fact develops right after the discovery of the scripts. From the scripts they come to know about words, sentences, literatures etc. Further they feel that the alphabets are gods and goddesses and who are the sole authority of knowledge. So the scripts or alphabets stands both for the deities and knowledge. Knowledge is god as both are linked through

the alphabets. The Shudha Saora perception words make sentences, sentences make sense of a fact. When a fact is composed with use of alphabets, it is called as the knowledge..

The Shudha Saora terms expressing their version of knowledge and acquired knowledge is given below. But before going through the terms, it is important to note a clue described by Shudha Saoras. The clue helps in decoding, understanding and finding exact senses in such terms. The clue described here also stands as an example to understand the relation among the seven conceptual terms of the Shudha Saoras.

The Clue : Take for granted that a man comes across an alphabet (say A) which he did not know earlier. Then his inquisitiveness leads him to know (*Amapeng*) what it is. Then he comes to know that it is an alphabet. Further the man extends his inquisitiveness to know it there are any alphabets. He comes through the other alphabets and learns (*De-peng*) them. The inquisitive mind does not stop here. It becomes interested in making use of the alphabets. He goes on adding alphabets to make words(*Judipeng*). After words are made and the sense of the words are understood, the mind works to form sentences(*Maipeng*). Sentences make sense of an idea or a thought and adds a universal view to the ideas. Mind then gathers all the thoughts and ideas at one place, analyse and synthesizes the things and makes a set of ideas in from those (*Sanelpeng*). In the next phase ideas are jotted down in words(*Andang-eet*) and finally in *Amaking-eet*, the wholesome idea is expressed. Thus a literature of a thought is developed.

The Shudha Saoras describe a word '*Sarda peng*' as the store house of knowledge. In fact, the term expresses their indigenous knowledge. '*Sarda*' refers to Shudha. The Shudha Saoras were known as Sarda Saoras in the past. '*Peng*' refers to a box of vocabulary. So collectively the two terms mean the vocabulary box of Shudha Saoras. Knowledge is expressed, measured and evaluated through vocabulary. In this connection *Sarda peng* is understood as the Shudha Saora term for indigenous knowledge. '*Peng*' is a combination of two words *Pe+ing* where the former literally means box and the latter wind or vocabulary or words. These people have a conviction that wind vibration in throat gives sound to the words. So wind makes words and the vocabulary is a collection of words. The Shudha Saora perception of their wisdom or domain of indigenous or traditional knowledge is embedded in the word Sarda Peng. The following are the terms that give an idea of the phases of acquiring knowledge:

Amaking/Amapeng: To know, to identify, to recognise. *Ama-* To identify, *Peng* stands for *Sompeng*(scripts). *King* in *Amaking* stands for *Kin*(songs). So *Amaking* is understood as the songs pre served in oral traditions that is referred to acquire the first idea

on indigenous or traditional knowledge.

De-peng: Further learning. *De*-counting *Peng*-scripts.

Judipeng: Adding. *Judi*-adding, *Peng*-scripts. Here alphabets are joined to make words.

Maipeng: Further addition. *Mai*-more *Peng*-scripts. Here more words are composed and words are arranged in a sentence to express a particular theme or fact.

Sanelpeng: Research and analysis. Literal meaning of the word could not be found. But the term is applicable to *Gombarson* which means research. *Gombarson* has a *synonym- Angneilla* which was used in ancient days for research. Here the sentences or the facts are analysed to understand the other dimensions of the fact. It also refers to finding meaning of the sentences and making lessons.

Andang-eet: Inference note. *Andang*-Hearing/ listening eet-writing. The findings of the research and analysis are documented here. New perceptions and explanations, innovative ideas are synthesized from the research and analysis and described (orally or in literature) for future use. The literal meaning express writing or taking notes of a dictation. The dictation here refers to the new set of ideas and research findings.

Amaking-eet: Expertise of expressing and explaining people. *Ama* - To identify *King*(kin)-songs, eet- writing. When the whole process for quest for knowledge ends, particularly when the learner's perceptions and ideas become revised and clear, he becomes a resource person whom people listen. The person at this stage is highly intelligent and so have the ability of expressing and explaining people about the knowledge acquired by him. With reference to the term *Amaking*, the *King* (song) takes shape of *Kaning* (long songs) often recited in various spheres of social life from which basic ideas on indigenous knowledge is derived.

Kotrujuju: Supreme status of a person (being) with regards to the person's acquired knowledge and intellect.

The above mentioned terms also have another set of understanding. Each term

in the above seven terms (excluding *Kotrujuju*) applies to one state of human mind. So the seven terms express the different stages of learning and acquiring knowledge. The process continues right from the birth of a human being. The process of learning ends after attaining supreme status or after death. For a normal man all the seven steps go on in a sequential way and each step is marked with a specific set of understanding. But a person may even acquire enough knowledge in a short period. Therefore there appears variation in mental age from person to person. A number of persons of equal chronological age may not exhibit equal mental age. In this context the further understanding of the terms is given below.

(1).Amapeng: (0-10yrs.) A person is confronted with something new. Say, he came across a new material, an object or something which he hadn't seen before. Now he thinks, his consciousness arise, he observes, he applies his brain to understand, to examine, to know, to perceive and consider various sides of the thing or object. Finally he becomes able to identify, to recognise, the know what the thing is. So, any new thing has to be observed, to be understood, to be recognised or identified or is to be named. The thinking process involved in recognising or in knowing the thing appropriately is understood as *Amapeng*. When a new baby takes birth, if steps on earth with a null mind. The baby then opens its eyes and tries to observe the world around it. It comes across many persons. In course of time the baby comes to know who is what, in what way the baby itself is related to such people. Until the baby attains 10 years in age, it remains always in an effort to know, to recognise the 'beings' around it which ultimately makes it to understand the society, forms of social intercourse and all that is in the world of reality. Hence, as the tribal explanation goes, it is understood that Amapeng is a word that stands for an amalgamation of thoughts and perceptions to know something in certain and to recognise it.

(2) Depeng : (11-20 yrs) After a thing is identified, named, understood and recognised, it gives ample scope to a thoughtful mind to go for further analysis of the thing. Analysis of the thing or the matter feeds sufficient to once mind to learn the thing at its best and to mean it in proper terms and terminologies. The process goes on in a non-stop manner till a sound idea, though not a perfect or exhaustive idea, on the thing is spelt out.

As regards the development of brain of a human being after 10 years, the human being goes for institutional education, both formal and informal and shares knowledge through institutional teaching. This learning makes the human mind to grow consciousness in itself. So *Depeng* is a learning hase. Learning through analysis of reality complex

helps one to formulate or to develop new thoughts in mind, thus helping the intellectual development.

Nothing exactly can be said about the thought of the Shudha Saora people regarding the conceptual world. But in a normal expression or to a lay man. It is under stood as learning like a school going boy or a girl and analysing what is learnt.

(3) Judi peng : (21-30 yrs) The prospective development of brain and developmental thoughts reach at a point when man likes to add supplement new ideas to his mind. The addition of new ideas helps the man in developing spiritual consciousness in him. He then knows about his position in the world position in the world, adds a meaning to his necessity in the world and then reaches a point when he thinks to maintain a continuous transmission of thoughts and philosophies through generations.

In the practical social life, at this age, one thinks to get married. By that he adds a new individual to his immediate world. This addition of a new one to his immediate world also facilitates the incorporation of different sets of thoughts, ideas and perceptions. Physically, this addition means an intimate and mutual association of two beings. Thus it is both a structural and functional union of "being".

(4).Maipeng: (31-40 yrs) Further additions. In actual matter of fact, *Maipeng* refers to further addition of practical and spiritual thoughts in the method of understanding. Here it is better understood as 'mixing up'. The incorporation of new thoughts positive or negative in the previous phase gets mixed up and puts problems in his mind to sort out ideas. Whatever it may be, it is true that the mixing up of different sets of ideas make a mind to know the various diamensions of the living space.

In the context of soical life, *Maipeng* derives an explanation in relation to *Judipeng*. The union of two beings in the *Judipeng* now adds new beings to the world. To make it clear, a conjugal life is formed, it leads to a family formation with addition of children. Now, the man moves forward to satisfy the materialistic desires. Hence his ideas go either sides i.e. both positive and negative thoughts for a stable management and maintenance of his family.

Hence, *Maipeng* refers to the universality of understanding when many thoughts are put together. Or it may be said that

in *Maipeng* many things are taken together churned till a common perception comes out of it.

(5).Sanelpeng: (41-50yrs) *Sanelpeng* has two parts: *Angnel* and *Gamarseng*. The former refers to 'Oral' and the latter refers to "written". Now the mind is matured. It has collected great number of phenomena, ideas and perceptions. Since the birth whatever is observed by the mind is analysed at this phase. This phase is important when knowledge and wisdom sentiments and thoughts come into being in both oral and written literatures. The considerable wisdom acquired by mind at this phase is a function of mind through different phases. In the social use, at the *Sanilpeng* phase a man is able to analyse and synthesize the ideas. This is a phase when a man thinks to write out or speak out his experiences. He calculates what he has got and what he has lost by coming to the world. He thinks and rethinks, he researches [*Gambarson* = *Angneilla* (old use)- Research] his life, arranges data and prepares a note in his memory about the universal truth of life.

(6).Andang-eet: (51-60yrs) Experiences are arranged here in an order from birth to date. It records the events through which life of human being passed. All the experiences are analysed in the previous phase and then extracted out of such experiences and noted down in this phase. Here men is able to discuss and give an explanatory note of life. This is a phase where every experience of man is documented by himself. So this phase is understood as a phase of interpretation or inference.

(7).Amaking-eet: (61-70yrs) Mind comes to a saturation point. Man at this phase has attained superiority in mind. He becomes an expert who can explain to people all about life. By his creativity and innovative mind he is able to come to a conclusion. It seems as if man reaches a 'discovery' or an "invention" at this phase.

The ability to express the perceptions of the life long persever ance of man is attained at this phase. This is the time when man adds new sacramental rites to the general pattern of livelihood. At this phase man attains spiritual knowledge.

Kotrujuju: When a human exceeds 70 years of age on the earth, he is given a status of *Sonum* (Supreme being/deity). That is a man after seventy years of age is regarded as a supreme being in the

beliefs of Shudha Saoras. It is called *Kotrujuju*.

KNOWLEDGE ON ORAL TRADITIONS

Both the Saora communities have oral lores fundamentally forming a part of their indigenous knowledge. The oral lores are of many types. The myths, legends, tales, songs....etc come under the oral lores. The Saora people give priority to the legends, songs, tales and proverbs...etc. Most of the songs are regarded to be very traditional and nobody would be able to say who composed it, when and how it was composed. Some songs are spot composition and lip-compositions.

The Saora understanding of oral lores is expressed in the terminology '*Katabir*'(which literally means tales or stories). It is an important source of indigenous knowledge of the Saora. *Katabir* gives birth to *Ganalama*. The *Katabir* in Saora perception is the tale, song and their poetic perceptions that is preserved in their traditions. So *Ganalama* and *Katabir* are the sources of indigenous knowledge of both Lanjia and Shudha Saoras. Both *Katabir* and *Ganalama* are multidimensional in nature and approach.

The accumulation of knowledge from *Katabir* and *Ganalama* varies from age group to age group. There are a lot of missing links, manipulation of themes in outwordly ideas. Even among the individuals of the same age group the ideas vary considerably. The new ideologies are incorporated in the gamut of indigenous knowledge. The *Maders* among the Shudha Saoras and Christians among the Lanjias bring about a change in their perceptions and hence the knowledge. Marked changes in this respect is observed during the recent decades. Under the impact of alien religion and the reformative religion the indigenous knowledge is in the process of transformation. Here a question arises how is the oral traditions maintained through ages? What is the tribal perception in transferring the oral knowledge to the hands of others and what are the techniques people followed in getting these knowledge or transferring these knowledge? What are the processes involved in keeping up this traditional knowledge ?

The process of oral transfer of knowledge is explained by the term *Yarna* (means learning or receiving knowledge). Various processes are involved in getting the oral and indigenous knowledge. The oral knowledge in tribal terminology is known by the term *Andangrah* (listening). In this connection another similar term Anjanaba is applicable. Both the terms jointly mean learning through listening. Therefore, these two terms indirectly mean the oral learning and the indigenous knowledge from the ancestors. In this way the oral tradition is handed down from generation to generation. The songs, myths and legends, stories pass on orally from person to person. This process of learning maintains the traditions over the passage of time.

In the second process of tribal understanding is through observation. The term *Agihgiba* means 'to look' *Anjangnaba* refers to learning. Combinedly these two terms

mean learning through the careful observation. Agricultural work, household work, knowledge on music and dance painting, house making, making of wooden artefacts and other material culture are the examples. This knowledge is of great use in practical life. Individuals here observe and see the technical process of doing or making by their seniors or friends.

Knowledge can be transferred from generation to generation, from individual to individual within the same age groups through both observation and experience. Here both the voice and actions are necessary. All the lores and tales only can be expressed in terms of voice. There is no need of actions here. Action here means the physical work or the process of doing work. Shamanism for example is a kind of knowledge transformation. When the newly trained shaman receives oral education and knowledge from his/her teacher shamans through the process of observation and listening and acting accordingly. Knowledge can be transferred through the *Galamar* to *Irgalammar* the person who has no knowledge has to learn. This is done directly or indirectly through the teaching of the *Galammar* to the *Irgalammar*. Here practical orientation is important. Therefore, knowledge can be transferred through teaching and learning processes, so that *Yarna* can be fulfilled or completed after the process is over. The process of *Anjangyamba* and *Anjangnaba* are operated by the *Galammar* and *Irgalammar*. The person who receives the knowledge is known as "*Yangnasi*"(pupil). The expression *Yangsi* gives rise to another term *Nyen Apangga* (which literally means 'tell me or teach me'). The expression of different terminologies is contradictory in its use in different contexts. But are important in understanding the indigenous knowledge. So the traditional songs, myths, tales, proverbs riddles etc. can be better explained by using the terms *Amdangrah* and *Nyen Apungaga* in connection with transmission of indigenous knowledge.

APPROACH TO ORAL LITERATURE

Both the Saora communities speak "*Sora*" language in the communication and conversations. They have no original scripts. Sora language is written in Oriya alphabets with use of Saora dialects.

The Lanjia Saora people do not have their own oral literatures. All the traditional lores are preserved in oral traditions only. In fact, the Saoras did not have their own script. It is not that without a script, on oral literature can not be developed. But in the Saora perceptions the lores can better be sketched and expressed through scripts of their own language. Saora people are aware that outsiders are taking interest in developing in their oral literatures. But they are not quite sure if their oral tradition was exactly sketched in the literatures developed by educated people or missionaries. Therefore they do not take interest in such literatures. Example may be cited here about the Saora Bible- the religious text for Christian converts of Saora community. The Bible

is written in English alphabets with Saora dialects. But all the Saora do not know English alphabets. So all are not able to follow the text. When such texts are read out and explained by the learned people in the religious institutions, other people become aware of the fact. Since the texts are written in Saora dialects, it makes people to understand the themes in their indigenous version. In Lanjia Saora community, Bible is the only literature. But this is only meant for the Christian converts.

The Shudha Saoras are a bit ahead from the Lanjia Saoras as it regards to their oral literatures. The Shudha Saoras have developed their own script. As is mentioned earlier, religion of Shudha Saoras is reformed through their script. It was the year 1936 when the Saora script 'Sorang Sampeng' was discovered and the theme in it was spelt out. With the use of the script, the Shudha Saoras tried to prepare some oral literatures. In fact they have developed some. Some literatures they have developed to educate the illiterate people through their own script. But apart from that many Hindu tales, songs, parables, one act plays, dramas, etc have been translated into Saora language. The literatures are prepared with the use of Saora scripts. *Saora Pandit Mangai Sabar* pioneered the preparation of Saora literatures. The *Mader* group people of Shudha Saora community are the people who brought the script to the lime light. They are also the people who carried on campaigning the links in between the script and the referred religious culture. The orientation of Shudha Saoras towards attaining spiritual knowl-edge is highly expressed in their scripts. Further the *Lord Mattarvnam* or *Aksharabrahma*(the script god) stands as an image of the Shudha Saora spiritual knowledge. The Shudha Saoras have become quite interested now-a-days to develop their oral literature.

Through direct participation and involvement with their socio-cultural events, festivals and ceremonies...etc understanding of their indigenous knowledge and oral literature is somewhat possible. Living with them, participating with their every day life and work help us in understanding their language side by side the oral literature and indigenous traditions. Time factor is very essential because it will take more time to learn their language and to become socialise with them. Interpreters who interpret the tribal language into the local communicative language often fail to explain the tribal versions correctly. So missing links and mis-interpretations, contradictions often arise when a tribal version is interpreted into any other language media. In this circumstance, a direct link can be made in between the investigator and the informant if both understand the tribal language. Hence it is through the tribal language the exact sense of a fact is understood. The tribal terms is heard to be translated literally in any other communicative languages. So whenever attempts are taken to interpret them in communicative language media, many facts remain in oblivion. Hence it is not easy to interpret anything unless the translated facts match with the triabl understanding.

Earlier mention about the Shudha Saora religion makes sense that the people are in an effort to integrate their religion with the Hindu religious systems.

Understanding of language is the first need of the methodological approach for proceeding to gain knowledge about their indigenous traditions. Before knowing the language the researcher has to make friendship with the tribal, gain his confidence and establish a rapport with them. If need be one has to live with them as their family member. To cultivate a friendship one must observe and find out the best medium which would make one popular in the community. The Saora people are impressed and become friendly with a person who partakes of their indigenous food in their house without any hesitation. If one shares meat of animals sacrificed in rituals such as beef, veal, pork with them without hesitation they become very close to him.

Garasal is a place where old persons participate in drinking salap wine(ali) through out the day, morning mid-day, evening and night. *Garasal* is the combination of three terms. *Gagana* refers to eating and drinking '*Ara*' stands for tree and '*Sal*' for wine or juice produced or collected from Sago palm tree(*Caryota urens*). Combinedly the term '*Garasal*' means drinking juice of Sago palm tree at a selected place. There while drinking the participants discuss day to day events share their sorrows and sufferings, personal problems and happening, share secrets, and about important religious events, festivals and ceremonies etc. They also discuss their indigenous lores, stories and sometimes sing while returning to their houses. So this is one of the places for teaching/learning of the Saora. Therefore if one participates in their drinking session it will make him close to the community. After establishing friendship one will be able to understand their language and also learn about their indigenous and oral traditions. The friendship cultivated thus will help him to gain the good-will of the entire community and he can be assured of help and appreciation of the Saoras even when rooming anywhere in their area. Lanjia Saora's build watch huts near their fields of shifting cultivation. During the period of cultivation they sometimes stay there for days together until the work is completed especially during the time of cropping season and when there is heavy load of work in the field. People also stay there for the protection of the crops and crop fields from wild animals. If a researcher stays with the Saora in their watch-hut and participate in their agricultural work full-time the Saora will very much appreciate his gesture. This will erase any bias that the Saora may be having and bring better psychological attachment of the tribals. This method has been adopted by this researcher especially for Lanjia Saora and has helped in exploring their oral lores, myths and their indigenous knowledge. Learning a language perfectly needs time. But in any case there are certain normal communicative and terms has helped one to get the understanding of their indigenous lores and traditional cultures etc. Therefore, learning of language could be helpful is understanding the authenticity of the information in their oral traditions. It will also help in avoiding misinterpretations by the interpreter and the communication gap between the researcher and the interpreter.

Shudha Saoras who are now on the verge of joining the mainstream are acquainted with Oriya language. They understand and speak Oriya., though not very

clearly. But in some interior pockets of the area oriya is not understood at all. Even among the acculturised part of the Shudha Saora's many orthodox and aged persons. who are fully acquainted with the Saora traditional and indigenous knowledge do not understand oriya at all. Shudha Saora's know oriya better than the Lanjia Saoras. Who are also a modernised tribal group. Therefore it is easy to become friendly and popular in the Shudha Saora community in a sort time. But the explanation and clarifications of their indigenous traditions(especially the terminologies) becomes difficult because these terminologies and concepts cannot be explained clearly if translated into oriya language. However, these problems can be avoided to a certain extent by observing their symbolic actions, expressions and examples given by them to clear a meaning of their indigenous culture and concepts.

As it has already been mentioned earlier the Mader religious groups (the reformed group) are regarded as literate by them. They have learnt the Saora language, its scripts and also writing. They have changed some of their traditional indigenous norms, religious practices food habits, settlement patterns and agricultural practices. But they are still bound to their indigenous traditions. They are better aware of their traditional lores, songs etc. Some of them have extended help in interpreting the sayings and practices of the traditional groups when they acted as interpreting. An interesting fact is that the '*Mader*' group have been searching for their indigenous culture and traditions in order to preserve it is written form using their own alphabets. Search is now on for their indigenous lores, stories, songs, legends, myths and many other traditional practices and books are being written on these by their own community.

Learning the Saora language is quite essential in order to explore and analyse the facts more accurately. Both Lanjia and Shudha Saoras have the same language and the problems faced by the researcher with both the communities is the communication gap. One had to cultivate friendship with the Saoras to explore their indigenous tradition.

The tribal people have maintained their emotional unity and integrity. It is their oral literature that gives informations regarding their origin and development. Therefore the oral literature of the tribe consists of all kinds of knowledge, thoughts, feelings perceptions, cultural traditions and myth. Along with oral literature if one observes the different socio-religious processes one could get an idea of both the theoretical and practical knowledge of the tribe and their indigenous knowledge. Their oral literatures have been expressed in many ways and in many forms.

FORMS OF LITERATURES

'*Sora*' is a language spoken by both the Saora communities i.e. Lanjias and Shudhas. Lanjia Saora has no script to help them in writing. So they use the dialects for conversations and communications of their feelings, ideas, thoughts and expressions... etc. Through these dialects Saora people have expressed or narrated their

knowledge of the history of their origin and evolution. their myths. creations of plants and trees. animals. their ideas on the environment, folk songs tales, legends...etc. The only process through which the older generation transfer their knowledge to their successors is oral.

Due to the absence of written symbols and alphabets Saoras depend on two senses in order to preserve their indigenous knowledge- memory and observation. In case of oral knowledge memory is very essential and indispensable. The term 'Oral' may be interpreted as a means through which the elders or resourceful Saoras express their memory for the benefit of the posterity. So the oral knowledge remains not only in the memory of the aged but also in the memory of the successors.- This is precisely what is known as oral literature. The text of the Saora oral literature has a subject contents which gives an idea of the subject matter and different sources and forms of literature. Descriptions regarding their myths, lores, tales, legends, songs etc, have been given in the oral text which are divided into two categories- one is of poetic version viz songs and the religious hymns and the other is in the form of narration like myths, folk tales, legends etc. The basic parts of the oral literature of Saora are of the latter type- in the version of story. Both the Saoras perceived all the story type literatures which comes under the category of "*Katabir*". Even the lyrics of the songs if expressed in a story form called '*Katabir*' by Saora.

Katabir is a term meaning, in the Saora perception, the lores and tales of their indigenous oral literatures and their subject matter associated with them. It mainly involves the myths, tales, stories, legends and all other oral literature which are specifically in spoken or narrative form.

'*Purban Katabir*' contains old and ancient stories, especially the concepts beliefs about their early origin, history of the Saoras, explanation of many natural events in view of the Saoras, perceptions about their environment, origin of plants and animals hills, earth mountains etc. '*Katabir*' directly or indirectly gives meaning to the myths, legends, tales, etc. '*Purban Katabir*' more like the term myths' yet this western term 'myth' is not quite similar to '*Purban Katabir*'. 'Myth' is an oral literature but '*Purban Katabir*' is not only oral literature but also other kinds of practical knowledge of the Saora. The myths of the Saora has describe their world view, the cosmology, environmental perceptions, their social life and beliefs etc. Both the Saoras- the Lanjias and the Shudhas are different. Both have their own myths and oral traditions. "*Kureitung*" is the ancient myth which occupies the important first position in the chronological history of both the communities. Both the tribes believe that '*Kureitung*' is the oldest myth which gives the description of the origin of man, plants, hills, environment, the pattern of livelihood of the past etc. But the themes and descriptions of the '*Kureitung*' is quite different from each other. Lanjia Saoras believe that man was born out of the hollow gourd. By '*Kureitung*' Lanjia Saoras's mean 'hollow

gourd'. '*Kurei*' means gourd and '*tung*' means 'hollow'.

So their perception is that the first man of their community emerged out of a 'hollow gourd'. Hence the story is named "*Kureitung Katabir*". Shudha saoras have different perception of their origin. In their cosmological myth it has been described that the first man was born in the trunk of a tree. '*Kureitung*' to them is the trunk of a tree. Each of them feel that they are the indigenous group due to their separate cosmological myths. Further in the cosmological myths of Lanjia Saora the origin of plants and hills have been mentioned. They believe that when the '*Kureitung*' man wanted to come out in search of space for settlement he saw that everywhere the earth is full of mud. Then the *Kureitung* man directed the kite and the bear to plant *Purpuri*(Doob grass) to avoid mud. The grass was later used as an important item in religious rituals. Therefore, in the cosmological myths of the oral literature *Purpuri* is the first plant which was later used as a sacred object in religious traditions, Lanjias believe that trees and plants had later been created by *Kittung*. According to them the seed of the *Purpuri* was gifted by God. The name of the grass is associated with *Purpur*(worship).

In the *Goar* ceremony it has been observed that the egg of hen is used. In the chapter 'Myths and Legends... of Saora' it is described that after getting the earth with the help of the bear, *Kureitung* man wished to reward the bear. The bear begged for eggs in *Goar*(a ritual which is performed after death)- This practice of offering eggs is till continuing in every *Goar* ceremony of the Lanjia Saora. This is the indigenous knowledge of the sanctions of offering objects in the rituals described in the oral literature of the Lanjia Saoras.

In the cosmogonical myth of Lanjia Saora there is some idea on the agriculture and cultivation practices. The myth gives idea of how the cotton seed was got to the people which they cultivated later on. From the available cotton from cultivation of cotton plants they made loom clothes. This is their history of cultivation to fulfill their bare need. The tribals are of opinion that they could only make the loin clothes in looms. The designs of such loin clothes are known to them with various names like *Uliakap*, *Gatungkap*, etc. The traditional dress pattern in later times became of their cultural identities and the knowledge of weaving the dresses became one part of their indigenous knowledge.

The processes of production of cotton, its processing and weaving in a specific design is one of their skillful traditional knowledge. Through the oral traditions the idea of manufacturing the traditional costumes come to the subsequent generations. As the tribals know, initially the Dom people were making such dresses for the Saoras but later on the knowledge was acquired by Saoras and so they tried to depend on themselves for the same.

Their knowledge on the physical landscape and its geographical conditions

around which they dwell is also from their oral traditions. They know the different types and names of landscapes from oral traditions. Their cosmogonical myth also have contributed partly to their understanding of landscapes in their myth there is description of hills and vegetation, animals and their predation and food relationship. Besides they believe that everything that is on earth today is made by something for some purpose. Mouse(*Kumbool*) had created hills by digging the earth. Hills are important for Saoras. Because they live on hills or hill parts, they practise shifting cultivation there and they fetch their minor and major items needed for their livelihood. Therefore in their worldview they give importance to mouse.

Their knowledge of collection and exploitation of minor forest produces is linked to their livelihood pattern. In the beginning they were depending upon the forests for food materials and other materials that are need for construction of houses and making of other household artifacts. But they did not know the commodity value of minor forest produces. They took interest to collect minor forest produces because the non-tribal people had good interest with such items. They sold such items in the market to fetch money. But those materials are mainly dealt as exchange items. In exchange of these produces they were getting different items from the local traders. Their way of extracting the minor forest produces give an idea about their practical knowledge of resource use. They preserve the trees and plants which are valuable for their produces. While they extract such produces, they apply their intelligence for a better extraction of the produces as well as to maintain the sustainability of the produce(resource). The Saoras hold that all the trees, animals and natural resources are valuable. But they can give details about certain trees with which they are very familiar. It is therefore certain tree species are preserved as very valuable species. As a result the peoples knowledge of ethno-ecology and resources remain confined to certain flora, fauna, landscapes and their inter-relations.

The tribe has a good faith on the metamorphosis of man to animals. This idea probably they have got from their myth. But they believe that this art of metamorphosis of a man to an animal can not be performed by all people. Therefore the act of conversion and metamorphosis is a great professional skill. The people believe that very high order wizards shamans have the ability of performing this art. This belief of conversion or metamorphosis and reconversion gives importance to the witchcraft practitioner(*Tanaimar*). This belief indirectly becomes a preservative of their indigenous religions culture. The people's high faith on this art of *Tanaimar* developed a fear complex in them towards *Tanai*(witchcraft). Generally the people have a great sense of fear to their religion. They believe that if a person violates the principles of religion, then he become subjected to the anger and wrath of the deities. So the deities may send tigers to kill such people. But by order from the deities, the Tanaimar may turn to a tiger and take revenge on the culprit who violated the religious principles. So the people fear the *Tanaimar* and by that they stick to the religious principles.

The knowledge that the *Tanaimar* holds is believed as a divine knowledge. This is a type of professional knowledge which all people can not acquire. Again this is not a knowledge that can be acquired by personal efforts. This knowledge spontaneously comes to a person from the deities. So this knowledge is a god gift or a blessing of the gods. But the gods bless such people who have a positive will for the welfare of the society. Further the practice of witch craft is a high order performance.

The metamorphosis of man to animals has also descriptions in the Shudha Saora cosmogonical myth. The Shudha Saora in reference to their cosmogonical myth believe that after the creation of plants and trees, there came the animals. The animals took birth from the human urges and instincts. For example from a violent motive of human being gave birth to a tiger. Similarly the people compare the characters of various animals with the human behaviors. From this the people arise the conviction that man has animal nature. Certain behavioural characteristics of human being is compared to certain animals. A tiger is wild and a wicked man is compared to a tiger. Similarly a good vocal tune of a person at the time of singing is compared to a cuckoo. In this manner the people express human characteristics by citing examples of animals. This belief very strong in them. Basing on this belief people believe that certain people who did at a premature age by an accident or a mishap becomes converted to violent animals. Their soul mingle with the soul of an animal and the human soul thus becomes wild. A departed soul after entering into an animal may cause harm or do good for the people. Further the people believe that son is one whether it be of animals or human beings. This understanding of them is very much reflected in their religious practices. When a deity causes a fatal disease to a person, then to cure the person an animal is sacrificed. By giving sacrifice of an animal(animal soul) to the deity who caused the disease in the patient, the patient's soul is saved. So animal soul and human soul both are same. This is the secret of sacrifice. A sacrifice of an animal is given to release the life of a human being from the malevolent action of a deity.

As per the myth Shudha Saora believe that the animal sacrifice began after *Lord Jagannath* left for Puri from the Saora land. The *Brahmin Vidyapati* had stolen the *Lord Jagannath* from the Saoras. After that the Saora, driven by anger on *Lord Jagannath* poured blood and wine on the lords head to make him impure. The Saora took a vow that until *Lord Jagannath* returns to the Saoras he will continue sacrificing animals and pouring its blood on the head of the *Lord*. So sacrificing animals to *Lord Jagannath* do not make sense that animal sacrifice is a must in the performance of a religious practice. Here animal sacrifice is considered to be a heinous job.

In reference to their indigenous knowledge depicted in the cosmogonical myth the Shudha Saora develop a self-conviction that the *Lord Jagannath* their master deity. He cannot be satisfied is anybody other than a Saora worship him. So the Shudha Saora believe that the Pandas(priests) in *Jagannath* temple at Puri and *Pahadi*(Hill Saoras). Here the Saora want to justify that their religious practices are linked to the Hindu

religious practices. So they are no less then the Hindus who worship *Lord Jagannath*. With a strong belief that their indigenous knowledge is embedded in their religious practices. they pose themselves as a higher community like the Hindus.

"KINAN" - SONGS

In the oral text of the Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora songs are the important oral tradition. Songs are called *Kinan*. The tribal songs are lip compositions and the author of the songs is unknown. It is the spontaneous overflow of the Saora imagination and observation. The Songs depicts their thoughts, mores, ideas that relate to their way of life in the forest. Composing song is an imaginative skill. Saora people have many songs. They have no specific categorization of the songs. They give different names for different kinds of songs in their indigenous terms. Here the language is given importance. It is because when songs are composed in their language they become lucid and lyrical. For composing this their indigenous language is very important for in other language media they fail to compose anything better than the same in their indigenous languages.

Songs are learnt by the succeeding generations from their traditional heritage, from elders and some they acquire through participation in the events. Regular habits help in better accumulation of the knowledge- especially in their song. The oral literature(songs) is a colourful heritage left by the predecessors for the successors.

Saora people regard songs as a very important part of the entertainment and also very essential in the religious processes. Songs can be categorized into two groups. One is sung and the other is recited. The religious songs especially in the ritual offerings, songs are of the later type. Which is only limited to the shamans as the only singer of this category of song. These are like the hymns or can be called as '*Mantras*'. Tribals have no such specific terms for the category of songs. The only term closer to the literal meaning that may be used is the term *Purpur Kina* which means songs sung during worship. Each worship songs is named by different terms. But this does not fulfill the literal meaning of the songs. So it is clear that songs do not refer to the songs but the offerings or hymns of the shamans of the Saora communities- Lanjia and Shudha. In this category of '*Kinan*' welcome song to the spirits and *sonums*, hosting, inviting, giving farewell, conversations..etc are included. In this category, oral literature of the relationships of the dead spirits with the living beings has been cleared. All the technical processes of the offerings are prescribed. When a new shaman is being trained she/he should hear and observe '*Kinan*' at the spot of the ritual processes. This oral songs are mostly the same always unlike other categories. Only the name of the ancestors are to be included as time passes and people die.

Except this recitation category of religious songs Saora people have many songs which are an important source of their oral literatures reflecting their likes and social customs to a great extent. This category of 'Kinan' are sung either with musical

instruments and dance or without using some are very much associated with their religious festivals, ceremonies, and some are for entertainment only. However, the songs are found in the Saora society are of many types; they are environmental songs, folk songs, ..etc. But in any case (in any song) it depicts the picture of the Saora Society: Lanjia and Shudhas are found to have been mentioned.

(1). ENVIRONMENTAL SONG: Saora people have no such term to describe the environmental song. But they use it in different names e.g. each song has a separate name for Saoras and each song depicts different situations or many forms. Environmental song includes marriage songs, name giving ceremony and its song, watch-hot songs in the shifting cultivation field, family songs i.e. sung at the time of mourning or suffering by the family, song for awakening the persons to be ready to go for work in the agricultural fields, songs with the child after premature death of the husband's of a women...etc.

MARRIAGE SONGS: SINDRUNG KIN:

Marriages are of different types in Saora traditions, though a few among them are approved by the society. The songs sung in marriage ceremony is commonly called as *Sirung kin*. Sirung here stands for marriage. But some times the meaning of the term shows a little variation when it is sung in different forms of marriage existing in the Saora traditions. Each form of marriage songs are named differently. Some of the marriage songs are *Akuikin*, *Abgading* kin...etc. which has been mentioned in their oral literature of environmental songs. There are also other forms of marriage songs which are not very popular marriage songs and so are not preferred by the Saora. The songs are called *Dariboi* kin love songs which has two sub-types-called *Armonaboi* kin, Dariboi kin.

AKUIKIN : (MARRIAGE BY NEGOTIATION SONG)

This is the most preferential form of marriage in Saora society by negotiations. The song sung in this marriage occasion is called '*Akuikin*'. These traditional form of marriage songs include some more types ;which are sung till the end of the process. It was very difficult to understand and remember. It is difficult to find the meaning in exact sense of the term. One of the song of Akui has been found. The song sung by a group from the bride grooms side depicts about the bride being invited to their house. The group comprises of the friends of the bride groom and his father, uncle etc. They start and move towards the bride's house, only the males can sing and form the group. The song is the form of some suggestions to the bride groom group. It goes like this-

We are going to day to bring our daughter-in-law. We will never have my conflicts or disputes with the bride's family. We will never speak argue about anything. That will give us. We are going with the principles(*bate*) that Rama and Bima had established, we have to obey these principles. The bride's family will be happy if we maintain discipline. They will praise us. What ever food they can give we must eat

happily and politely. This relationship must last till the grand sons and great grand son's are born. Some two lines of the songs are given in their language:

"Udengul tungan pasengul tungan
ansasajan bate kan
Udengul sindrungan
Abaullsindrungan illaiboi,
Rama Bima bate kan illai boi".

The song has cleared a fact that Lanjia Saoras are mostly tradition bound. They abide by the principles and social norms prescribed by the society and traditions.

Here is another song associated with *Akuikin*. Before marriage the final negotiation is to be made between both the parties. Just after negotiations between the two parties the bride's father and others drinks wine brought by the groom's party then the negotiation is through and complete. The father of the bride then starts singing a song in which he expresses his inner feelings and about his immatured daughter. The meaning of the song goes shortly like :

Today I drink your wine (sal) for, you have agreed to take my daughter for marriage with your son. It is I who has done this because you came a number of times and begged my daughter to marry. My daughter is immatured and in experienced in doing agricultural, baroon, household- work perfectly. She is not so beautiful. She is very childish. Please take care of her. Don't harm her or create any problems for her otherwise she might feel depressed.

The oral literatures of this song describes that taking wine or accepting wine from the bride groom's side taken as sealing the negotiations. After thus the bride's father is bound to surrender or give marriage to the said groom. Therefore, taking wine near the pounding hole is very strict principles by the Saora- both Lanjia and Shudha. The work pattern of their daily life is mentioned in this literature.

At the time of the commencement of the ceremony the friends and relatives also sing and dance with musical instruments like, *Ragaidang, Ranai, Titpe*..etc. This is the only entertainment song describing the friendly relationship that has been passed since their childhood. Descriptions also are given on jokes and taunts to the bride by the friends. Unhappy atmosphere is created after her departure from the friendly atmosphere and a song is sung which describes her relationship with her friends and foes alike. How she used to go for the collection of minor forest crops and other crops from the Baroon field with her friends have been mentioned in this song of the oral literature.

ABGADINGKIN

This song is mainly associated with the acceptance of a widow by a man as his

wife. Two types of songs are found which are mostly the recitation types. The singers are two persons, one is the shaman and the other is the on behalf of women. through shamans. women for whom Gading is commenced. The conversations of women expressed before the dead husband in a form of shamans recitation.

In view of Lanjia Saora the harm or any evil actions are only caused by the spirits or ancestral spirits. To escape from these dangers this ceremony has been started. especially for the dead husband's spirits. The song sung in this occasion goes like:

You died in your youth, I did not see you in bad light. I have a small child/no child so I beg your permission to get named to your younger brother. If I am blessed with children by him(younger brother) then if a son is born he would perform your *Karja* ceremony. So far the children's sake you don't cause any harm(*angda*). Do not curse(*anagan*) me for this.

The former type of recitation is done the shamans after being in a trance(*Mir*) as a representative of dead spirit of her husband's. At this phase the dead spirits(*Tanakoi*) of the husband sings song expressing all his desires and sorrows before his wife and finally surrenders and allows(*surpilai*) her to marry his younger brother or the person who is willing to marry her.

In this Abganding song the indigenous process of expressions of sorrow and sufferings and fellow feelings through conversations and communication is followed. The Lanjia Saoras and Shudha Saoras believe that if they satisfy the dead souls or spirits they can lead a prosperous life.

ADNIMUNKIN

This is song of name giving ceremony. Two types of songs are found in *Adnimunkin. Adnimun* here means for 'name' and combinedly the term means the song that is sung in the name giving ceremonies. One is like recitation and the other as song. The former types is recited only in the worship processes by the *Kudan/ Kudanboi*. The letter type is only for entertainment purposes with singing and dancing.

TARTARDUMKIN

This is the awakening song sung in early down. When - person is in deep sleep and the time is for going to the *Baroon*. On the way his/her family member's wake up when he sings this song. The song is sung by a husband for his newly married wife, by a brother for his sister, by a wife for her husband, a mother for his son, and daughter etc., a sister for her brother...etc.

A song found here, has the description of a newly married woman singing a song for her husband and vice versa. The meaning of the song from the husband goes like:

Hey *Langi*(Darling) it is already time, do not be late, *Karndrengna*(wild cock) is rowing wake up(*Dinaba*) and prepare yourself, pound the *Sar*(paddy) for *Runku*(rice). Many people are going to *Baroon*(shifting cultivation field) for work please wake up and cook food, bring it with you to *Baroon* field. Work there for our betterment. Nobody will give us unless we work. Therefore, you please wake up , don not sleep any more.

The newly married wife sings for her husband who is in deep asleep. The meaning of the song goes "Hey *Langa*(Darling) please awake. The *Kandrengna*(wild cock) is crowing. So it is already time to go for cultivation". Many people are moving towards *Baroon*(shifting cultivation field).

Many people have already gone to *Arasal*(Salap tree) for drinking and for collection of toddy(Salap juice). So you do not be late, be prepared for cutting of salap and then go to work. Do not sleep any more. Because this is our daily works. Unless we work who will give us food or anything that is required for our livelihood". Hey *Darling*(*Langabir*) please *Dinaba*(wake up)."

The song clearly describes the traditional mode of living or livelihood pattern. Saora people feel that is already time to get ready to moving towards *Baroon* when *Kandrengna*(wild cock) is crowing. The term *Dinaba* here means 'wake'. *Dina* refers to 'day' and aba is meant for 'head of a man or animals' the '*aba*' here means the starting of the day or down is the head of the day if it is compared to a man's body. This is interpreted by Laxman Sabar of *Aredul*(a village). In their song their work schedule is also mentioned especially of Lanjia Saora.

ARALKIN

The song is sung in the watch-hot by the person who watches the shifting cultivation field to protect the crops in its growing and maturing periods, from the wild animals. The watch-hot is situated on the hills. It is of two types. One built on the branch of a free and the other at the side of the cropping field. The man keeps awake night and sings. His song by describes his feelings. How and why he is awake?

The meaning goes like.

"Whether sunny or wintery I have been working through out. I am the only person in my family to provide food my children and family. So the product of my labour is now on the way of reaping and I feel very happy, despite hard labour and the fear of wild animals. I am alone watching my crop land. Without any fear in my mind because I am very happy for the growing and ripping crops which will be harvested soon. Nobody in this place(watch-hot) is my friend. There is no friend here in the place yet, I am getting pleasure from my crop field. If I do not watch, I will have to lose all the crops which will be eaten up by the forest animals. As a consequence my family and my children would remain hungry and die out of starvation. Therefore I do not care for any

climatic danger or attack on me. Becâuse this is winter"

Shifting cultivation on the hill patches is the main source of livelihood of Lanjia Saora and in some cases as the secondary source of Shudha Saora people. The song describes the life of a Saora poor farmer in the watch-hot.

KANUDRANAKIN

This is especially a group song. This is the song sung by a poor man's family who have lost their parents. The meaning of the song may very from group to group, from singer to singer. The family consists of small children-brother and sister's. On losing their parents the family has faced poverty and description. The description of the song goes like the conversation among the children.

We are small, we have lost our parents. We do not know how to work in the *Baroon*(shifting cultivation field) and *Saroba*(paddy field) perfectly. We are helpless. So what can we do ? How can we live ? Who will give us food ? Who will teach us to work ?

In this song it is mentioned that after a person becomes capable of doing agricultural work he/she becomes independent. They do not have to depend on their parents. The dependency is lesser so to say. The expression of fellow feeling in the Saora Community (family) is also marked in this oral song.

EDANANKIN: KARANEE'DAN ASSAN KIN

This is the song of realization and reminiscence. This song is mainly sung at the death of a Saora woman's industrious husband. The woman is crying aloud the good deeds of her husband's. The premature death of the husband makes her cry. The woman has small childrens and the last one is continuing breast feeding. The widow is the singer of this song. The sense of the song goes like :

"You left me alone with small children. They are all incapable of doing any work. The youngest child is still breast-fed. No one among us is able to get food independently. How can I manage all the work ? How can I manage all your property ? What satisfaction(Maainling) I will get in your absence. I am helpless in your absence. It is very difficult on part to do any work with all these children. How can I rear them up(*Abmeaaj*) ? With whom shall I leave them ? This is all about the difficulties in your absence. So what can I do I have no better way. I am in a dilemma and helpless".

MONAKIN/ARMONAKIN

It is a love song. It is meant for the persuasion and motivation directly or indirectly from any side to the other. This song has two parts i.e. the singer are two one is the lover and the other is beloved. Songs sung by the malefolks are called

"*Dariboikin*" for his female partners and '*Darithpkin*" is the song sung by femalefolk for her male partners. Actually this song refers to signing but sometimes he expresses his feelings through *Sarangi* tune and '*Sisingulu*' sound produced by mouth, which Lanjia Saora believe and include under song. *Pesingulu* is another type of tune/sound produced by mouth by malefolks. In most of the cases the *Mona kin* is dominated by male folks. The female folks very rarely sing this song. The male folks sing this song or *Pesingulu* or *Sisingulu* then the girl is moves here and there while working in the *Baroon*(shifting cultivation field). This song is meant for temporary relationship.

Dariboi in actual sense of the Lanjia Saora perception is the temporary relationship a boy with a girl in the matters of sexual gratifications.

The expression of the song goes like :

Hey *Dangdi*(adult girl). Hey *Langi*(beautiful girl). I am sending my greetings to you. Does any one bring wine(*Sal*), And beg you to marry him ? If any body has come please refuse him. I want you ; I do not know what is your opinion in this matter; what is you wish ; I do not understand. Please cherish me and get attract to me(*Magale*). I am playing sarangi, you come and meet me. Come to for collect aba(*Mahua* flowers) regularly and we both can meet there. We can pass some time there in pleasure and sweet conversation and enjoy ourselves.

When a person is playing *Sarangi* he expresses all his feelings by producing the tune in the instruments. Therefore the oral songs has describes the pictures of the love and fellow feelings between the lover and beloved of the Saora adult folk in Saora Societies.

FOLK SONG

Folk songs are lip compositions, a spontaneous creation of a few talented persons, who have no education or literary training worth the name. The authors name is unknown. This is learnt from tradition and skill is acquired in composition through habits. It can only be transmitted from predecessors to successors. In the processes of transfer there is a possibility of change in that oral songs which sometimes lose its real essence. Oral compositions depends on the environment and surroundings.

The folk songs are not much used as the environmental songs and mythical songs in the Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora community. It is also popular and important in the Saoras socio-cultural life and occasions. This song suits the individuals taste when it is composed. Then it comes to the messes. For some days or months/years the composer of the song is known to the contemporaries but after it the name gradually wiped out from the memory. Folk songs in the Lanjia and Shudha Saora society are very few in number. Dance song, song for playing with the sacrificial beings-cock, goat, buffalo,...etc. are of this category. The folk songs in Saora society needs musical and

rythmic expression. Dance song is understood by the term '*Tangseng kinan*'. But *Tangseng* kinans are of many types which are sung in many occasions. The folk songs are mainly group song.

As it has been mentioned earlier in the '*Adninun kin*' after the ritual is finished another song is sung for the entertainment which is accompanied with dance. Common friends and relatives dance to the tune of this type of songs. This song is in accordance to the individuals choice; It includes jokes, mockery etc.

In the marriage ceremony the friends of the bride or groom dance to the tune of the song for pleasure. Predicting the couple is jokingly teased by the group singing song. Both the male and female folks dance to the tune of the song. There is also a counter conversation between the bride and groom parties.

In the common feasts songs are found to be sung. In this song the interpersonal love relations amongs the friends of the group are described. During their rest period from the work in a moon-light this song is mostly sung. Describing the moon light and the pleasure of lover and beloved in the night has also been found in this category of song.

What comes immediately to individuals thought at that particular time of dancing is composed and sung at the spot as an unconscious and spontaneous flow of human mind as well as the minds of the Saora. Some times the direction of the song is misguided and consequently meet at another point or subjects.

Usually the songs are also sung by the *Kudan* or *Kudanboi*, when he/she is offering or giving rice to the cock etc before his sacrifice.

ORAL TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE AS A PHENOMENON

Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora are the two tribal communities of the same group-the Saora. As it is mentioned earlier they had no written literature. They had only used their '*Sora*' dialects in speaking and communicating the ideas, perceptions, experiences...etc. Those who have school education are not able to record their past of oral traditions and oral literatures in any communicable language. Before some 5/6 decades ago Shudha had a slight idea about script; invented in 1936 to communicate with, known as God(*Mattarbnam*) and alphabet. Before that they had no other written alphabet or script. This script of Shudha Saora have some how helped the literate or semiliterate people to note their indigenous tradition or the oral literature into a written literature.

This invention creates or give birth to a religious consciousness and a new religious groups- *Mader* is emerged. Here, these groups have marched in another way. They are some what different from the traditional or indigenous Shudha Saora community. No doubt they are preserving their indigenous knowledge and oral

literatures into a written form- but with modifications. The old dogmas and principles have been slowly eroding not the oral literature but the succeeding practical socio-religious and cultural life. So basing on the tradition they are using the rationality in the changing circumstances. But in any case these groups are less dominant or less in number than the traditional Shudha Saora. Therefore, the oral literature is existing with the old and aged traditional Shudha Saora.

It is being explored by the *Mader* group who are trying to put it into a written form. Though the *Mader* group are performing their rituals with some modifications still when they perform the rituals they immediately recall their past records left by their fore-fathers and ancestors. Therefore, the knowledge of the oral traditions have been transformed in both the process from the predecessor's to the successors. They are learning their own alphabets or language, exploring or watching or observing the predecessor experience and knowledge. In any case, Shudha Saora indigenous traditions/literatures have been still in an oral forms. Shudha Saoras regard their predecessor's who had left of knowledge to their successors.

Lanjia Saora as is mentioned earlier is the oldest and primitive sub-groups of the 'Sora' community. Since 3/4 decades Lanjia Saora have got the new light of the phonetic symbols and alphabet prepared by the Christian missionaries people. But this has moved in another direction with another religious consciousness which is totally different from the tribal or Lanjia Saora religion. This language was introduced first in the form of 'Bible' - the Christian religious text to pull the Lanjia Saora into Christian sections adapting of one God philosophy and rationality. Therefore, it gradually spread over the community. This new religious consciousness could not help in preserving the oral lores and literatures of the traditional Lanjia Saora rather they lost their identity as indigenous Lanjia Saora. They identify themselves as Christian Saora as a separate community with hesitation towards the traditional practices. These groups(converted) are not proud of being called Lanjia Saora or if they are reminded by their indigenous practices. Some of the literate people in this language have now been able to write and preserve the folk songs, and some legends in a written form. But these documents are not the essential parts of their indigenous oral literature. Therefore the indigenous knowledge of the Lanjia Saora is still in a complete oral form among the Hinduised Lanjia Saora community, which has been handed down from generations to generations through various means. But in all the cases the indigenous knowledge is transformed orally. More or less the oral literatures are always shared by all. As it has already been mentioned previously the process of transfer of knowledge is possible only through the participation and involvement in many socio-cultural and religious events. Now the question is why the oral transfer of knowledge becomes the 'phenomenon' for them?

The dictionary meaning of phenomenon is any occurrence that appears to or is perceived by the senses. Or the things that appear to or is perceived by the senses. In

otherwords, the things which appear or are felt by the persons as extra ordinary is the phenomenon. For Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora, the myths, legends, songs, lores, worldview and both cosmology and cosmogonical records are the oral literatures, which is defined as the various forms of their indigenous knowledge. The pictures that are described in the literatures give or reflect their customs socio-religious norms, which are the part of their social life. The oral literatures gives they originality or the ethnic origins as an indigenous group.

The religious culture is an important phenomenon to them. Because in the ritual processes the offerings has always been given to the spirits to satisfy who in term will take care of their welfare. The good will of the spirits(*sonums*) on the Saoras reflects on the social welfare of the persons or Saoras. Therefore, it is very essential or extraordinary in the part of both Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora to satisfy the spirits for better living in the society. That knowledge Saora people get from the ritual processes or religious and lores from the indigenous texts. This knowledge has been transferred or handed down to the successor's who is willing to know the things and channelise the knowledge according to social needs.

A novice *Kudan/Kudanboi* has to be trained to perform the rituals after the death of the shaman. Therefore, a priest is indispensable. He who will perform the rituals should be knowledgeable. The new trainee receives knowledge through participation in different socio-religious and cultural events when he feels important to accept the job-both for personal and social needs.

PHENOMENON APPROACH

To study the oral tradition and the knowledge in oral literatures is a difficult task. Many problems are obviously encountered on the way to collect these oral literatures. The problem of language is a genuine handicap. To interpret in a communicable language sometimes gives rise to a gap in which many facts remain untold. Hearing and recording of the lores also has its limitations. Both Lanjia and Shudha Saoras have acquired their knowledge by participating in the events. No such events have been found where the sharing of knowledge is not done. Therefore the knowledge has been transferred in a sequential manner from generations to generations. Knowledge of all types from the very rudimentary form to the highly specialised form is stored in oral literatures and it is transmitted through oral processes.

Lanjia Saoras are shifting cultivators. They always keep themselves busy, in the work. Therefore, most of the important rituals are organised after the harvesting season. They have no work from the month of December. Saoras get rest during the time till the next rainy season comes. So during this period they arrange many rituals, ceremonies and festivals. In these ceremonies and festivals, Lanjia Saoras relax by entertainment and pleasure. During this period people get ample scope for transmitting

and accepting their knowledge.

Knowledge about song is found by participating in many social events directly. In group song different age groups participate and dance. The expert in the group sings the song and others follow. When the followers make some mistakes the expert(*Kinan Galam mar*) corrects and edits these errors. The songs are also sung in a group . But the experts sing loudly and more clearly. The children of Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saoras do not participate but they have listening and observe the events at the venue. The younger people are given chance to participate and take lead in the song. The regular practice of song strengthen the knowledge of a singer. There are chances of forgetting the oral songs, because it is not in a written form. Therefore the oral literatures are a phenomenon for the Saoras.

Garasal (bar or wine drinking place) is the place where the male folks of the Saora both young and aged resource persons gather. But mostly the aged persons gather. There they discuss about the sorrows and sufferings and happiness of each others life. The discussions about the traditional customs, lores, legends and the origins of man and Saora also take place at that time. Through discussions teachings and learning process at the place, the fundamentals of their indigenous knowledge can been searched out. This is a very important place where the indigenous oral traditions or knowledge on oral literatures are transmitted from aged resource persons to the younger pupils. At the place the discussions on *Kureitung Katabir*, and many other legends like the origins of the village settlement and its name are discussed. In the myths Saora also discuss the origins of man, Saora , customs and about the hills and forests, plants and trees etc. Therefore, oral literature gives the ethnic back ground of the Saoras both Lanjia and Shudhas.

People get knowledge through participating in many rituals as has been mentioned earlier. Here an example of the name giving(*Ad-ni-mon*) ceremonies can be taken into consideration to understand the phenomenon in the oral literatures. When *Kudanboi* comes in *Mir*(trance) she acts as a mediator between the living beings and non-living beings to give or select a name for the new born child. In this occasion the grand father's name is generally given to the male child to keep up his memory directly by the spirits (grand fathers or by others) through *Kudanboi* in trance. This gives the idea of preservation of the indigenous knowledge of Saora. Therefore, the naming ceremonies are essential in Saora social life is the essence of oral literatures.

Wearing *Ulliakap*(male dress) and *Gatungkap*(female dress) is the mythical sanctions of the Lanjia Saora. Therefore these dresses are regarded highly as their traditional dress, by the Lanjia Saoras.

Shamans are the doctor's in both Lanjia and Shudha Saoras society, he only can cure the diseases. Therefore, the Shaman is the only person who can give protection

to the patient by satisfying the evil spirits. The important needs of the society is prescribed in the oral religious legends of the Saoras. For the same purpose Lanjia and Shudha Saoras legends go for shaman, as a doctors differently.

Art painting in the wall or Idital is a very important component of the indigenous knowledge of Lanjia and Shudha Saoras. The Saoras regard it as the house of the Sonums. The only place where all the sonums and spirits live as the home deity. Saora people remember different names of the sonums only by painting icon. Icon reflects the whole religious and social phenomena of the society which is extraordinary in the tribals perceptions and beliefs. The art painting is a transformation of oral observations.

Songs(*Kinan*) give feelings, perception and ideas on oral literatures. The songs are of many types religious songs, environmental songs, folk songs etc. Religious songs and environmental songs are more important than folk songs. But all the songs are important in the socio-cultural life and events of the Saoras is their belief. Therefore, the songs give an important reflection to the pictures of the society.

However, the oral literatures are the main source of their indigenous knowledge. It includes philosophy and thoughts as regards to social events. The same thing when interpreted in a communicable language gives variation to a little extent. Therefore, emphasis is given on the transfer of this oral traditions. The understanding of the transmission of indigenous knowledge of oral literatures has been investigating and recording from many resource persons of indigenous stocks.

CONSERVATION AND DEGENERATION OF ORAL LITERATURE : ATTARTUMBAH AND TARTUMTA

The whole discussions on the indigenous knowledge and oral traditions, oral literatures, its way of transformation, methods of transmitting these knowledge and its importance to the tribals signify or give the idea that Saora people are the conservator of the indigenous knowledge and oral literatures. The indigenous Saoras are really keeping their oral literatures preserved rather than the other converted and non-tribal communities. Therefore, both the Lanjia and Shudha Saoras have realised their responsibilities towards the conservations of oral literatures. Both the communities have no such specific term for the word 'Conservation'. But it is understood by adding the term '*Attartumbah*' with various forms of oral literatures of the 'knowledge' '*Attartumba*' here stands for 'keeping the things safe in the Saora perceptions'.

The term 'degeneration' is understood by the term '*Tartumta*', though it is not the exact term but for understanding of the term degeneration this is used as suffix by the Saoras. '*Tartumta*' refers to the 'diminishing'. '*Apsitbe*' is the term for 'loosing'. When it is said the real knowledge of the song is diminished it meant that the *Kinan Galam* or *Ganalama* '*Tartumta*'. Saora gives the example that when they lose the

things or totally forget a tradition or in practice they use the term *apsitbe*.

Oral literatures may be kept infact or safe through the regular recitation or participation in the socio-cultural events. The indigenous people coming in contact with the researcher's and professionals of the academy and various cultural organisations are some how, able to recall their past or oral literatures. Through the conversations and communication with these people Saora are now able to safeguard or conserve. Their oral literatures. Not all the people of Saora community are well versed in all the forms of oral literatures. Some rare/negligible, percentage of their people have no interest in the oral literature though they have other knowledge.

Out of both the communities Lanjia Saora is the primitive one and is now on the way of acculturisation. The converted religious ideas, modern education and the impact of migration are the important factors which are responsible for the acculturisation and the barriers in the way of oral literatures in their indigenous traditions. Though, after the invention or introduction of phonetic and 'Bible' script the converted groups are able to write some of the songs that were in the original Lanjia Saora oral texts. Therefore, on the one hand the emerging religious belief is responsible for the degeneration of oral literatures. It is because of the mass influences on the traditional religion. On the other hand the oral literatures have been preserved in a written form by these converted groups.

Migration and immigration is another cause for the degeneration of oral literatures. Because their participation in the socio-cultural and religious events or with the communities becoming less. It is due to their business in getting more financial opportunities through the ecological mobility, in searching of the other and better alternatives. Slowly these people are reaching a point where their memories would not be able to recollect their own indigenous knowledge.

Shudha Saoras have another community of emerging religious ideas-*Mader*. But these communities are not so much harmful like the converted group in Lanjia Saora though they have modified some of the practices in their indigenous traditions. These groups are well preserver or conservator of indigenous knowledge of the oral forms into written literatures. The *Mattarbnam* is regarded as the '*Akshara Brahma*' among the Shudha Saora emerging(*Mader*) group. They believe that all the knowledge or oral traditions have been preserved in the said deity in which contains 24 alphabets. In that alphabet, actually their oral knowledge and the indigenous traditions of Shudha Saora is conserved (*attartumbah*) of both the communities, those who are educated or getting modern education outside their settlement have lost contact with their tradition. Therefore, modern education and emerging educated sections are also the barriers on the way of 'conservation' of indigenous knowledge.

Some times in the process of participation and while listening a communication

gap takes place which may another obstacle on the way of conversation of oral literatures. Say for example, the narrating a story or singing a song there occurs some which is not immediately possible for the expert to rectify hence a communication gap arises and the error remains as it is. Therefore, the oral literature lose its beauty and originality.

The oral literatures are not only conserved by the regular participation and involvement in socio-cultural and socio-religious events but also through discussions with friends- keeping the interest in mind. Saora people while moving here and there for the agricultural works or on the way to the guests house with friends or on the way they meets many other persons also and discussed with them. The discussions starting from personal happenings and reaching at oral literatures on socio cultural and religious matters. Through this way of discussions knowledge passes or handed down from *Galammar* (knowledgeable person) to *Irgalammar* (less knowledge or unknown one's). Therefore, by this way knowledge comes to 'Conservation'.

The older generations of the Lanjia Saora community are the main stocks of their indigenous knowledge and oral literatures as mentioned earlier. They do not have feeling that they are scared of loosing the oral literatures and indigenous knowledge. But looking to the younger generations especially those who are Christian converted (Christian Saora) they perceived that converted people are totally different and far from their indigenous traditions and are scared for the indigenous knowledge and oral literatures. The older generations are themselves conscious for the conservation of oral literatures.

Likewise, Shudha Saoras have two groups or sections- one is traditional and the other is *Mader* people. The feelings of the traditional Shudha Saoras on *Mader* people is not so negative. They perceive that the *Mader* people are the convertor of oral literatures. Because of their documentation and writtings on the oral tradition in using the Saora scripts. Some of the teaching centres(schools) has been opening for giving the teachings in Saora language and scripts to the children and other interested folks of Saora. The courses involves in the schools are the study on the oral literatures and traditional cultures of the Shudha Saora society. Therefore, the *Mader* groups are not harmful rather helpful in 'conservation' of oral literatures and indigenous traditions.

Always there have been the existence of multi cultural dogmas with in the boundary of indigenous knowledge and tradition. The conversions to Christianity, migration, modern education, emergence of *Mader* in Shudha Saoras, and the development of rationality, the study on indigenous knowledge and the oral traditions becomes intricated. It is very difficult to give an exact interpretations or predictions on the future state of indigenous knowledge and the oral traditions. Therefore, it is now left for the professionals, academicians and scholars to interpret the things as they like to do or apart from the tribal perceptions, what is happening to the indigenous knowledge in the oral tradition of Saora ?

9

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES, MAGIC AND CONCEPT OF HEALTH OF SAORA

RELIGIOUS LIFE OF SAORA

The Saora religion is much distinct, broad and is the most important aspect of their culture. They believe in supernatural and ancestral spirits and perceive the presence of the spirits in the biotic and abiotic forms. The Lanjias show a primitive culture in regard to their religious practices which comprise of worships and sacrifices to the Sonums (spirits). The Sudha Saoras people on the other hand, are in slow changing process of their religion. They tend to integrate themselves with Hindu religious thoughts and philosophies and to have adopted Hindu method of performances. But this changing culture has its base in the traditional culture and religious practices. Once upon a time both the Lanjia and Sudha Saora had the same type of religious thoughts and philosophies and in course of time modifications in the religious beliefs were marked in their communities. The Sudha Saora pose themselves as superior to Lanjia Saoras, mainly on the ground that they have purified (changed) their religious practices to a great extent, so as to be regarded as Sudha (pure).

The religious belief of the Saora started with 'Kitung' who is regarded as the first known 'god'. Much of the Sudha Saora's belief on Kitung finds mention in their myth. The Lanjia Saora also regarded Kitung. But Kitung is always regarded as their ancestor from whom the communities took birth. Later on their belief about the invisible supernatural spirits developed. The Sudha Saoras know their supernatural spirits as those whom their ancestor Kitung was offering worship. But there is no specific mention about the begining of the Lanjia Saora's religious belief. As per the available information it is known that the Lanjia Saoras first came to know about Lobosum (Earth goddess). They felt a power inherent in

the earth. It is explained by them in their legendary tales. The belief started with killing of an animal by throwing a pellet of earth. This made them to realize that the earth has a greater power and since then they started worshipping the earth.

The Lanjia Saoras regard the Lobosum with the greatest veneration. On the other hand, the Sudha Saoras pose as believers of the Jagannath cult. They believe that Lord Jagannath is their god whom they first worshipped. Lanjia Saoras know lord Jagannath in the name of Lobosum. When the Sudha Saora religious belief is very much associated with Lord Jagannath, that of Lanjia Saoras are connected with the natural phenomena. The Sudha Saoras have twenty four main spirits where as Lanjia Saora people do not clearly have such an enumeration of spirits. But ancestral worship is very much observed in either communities.

Religious practices associated with supernatural spirits is very much observed in the agricultural festivals where the spirits are invoked to bestow their mercy on people particularly in better productivity of crops. Yet in the ancestral spirits worships, or in life cycle rituals the supernatural spirits are given higher importance. In the life cycle processes of Saora they meet various sprits at various intervals of the life cycle. Premature death, destruction of community well-being are supposed to have been caused by the anger and wrath of supernatural entities. Even, general ailments, diseases and death are caused by the ancestral spirits. Therefore, the Saoras express their association with both the supernatural and ancestral spirits.

To preserve the personal well-being and family welfare the Saora people give a place to the ancestral spirits and supernatural spirits in their houses. The seat of the spirits is called *Idital* (Ikon). Idital is an art pointed in most of the Saora houses, alongwith spirits, man, plant, animal, material artifacts, etc. The Idital or Ikon (house art) is one of the most important cultural traits of Saora people. The Painting is done in specific situation. In general the art represents the collective feelings to the invisible spirits with an intention to get rid of the wrath, anger and malevolence of such spirits.

Female shamanship is highly observed in the Lanjia Saora society whereas it is imperciptible in the Sudha Saora society. The women who turn to become Kudanboi (Shaman), have to paint of an Ikon in her house. After that she performs the religious rites. A general account of the art is given later on.

In the process of change of society, the religius belief of the Saoras have also changed a lot. Belief in supernatural spirits is still in them but the changes have taken place in the patterns of worship, performances, thoughts and philosophies. Several factors have contributed to this change in the religious pattern. The Lanjia Saora society has been divided into two sections : one section living with traditional

religion and the other section has adopted christianity. On the otherhand, the Sudha Saoras have also been devided into two groups- one following the traditional pattern and the other group following a newly shaped or reformed religion (*Mader*). When a Lanjia Saora dislikes the traditional pattern he adopts Christianity. But Sudha Saoras in this regard are different. They dislike Christianity and show their inclination towards Hindu religion.

Religious conversion, revolution and renaissance in the either societies have considerably changed the traditional religious dogmas. The conversion to Christianity in Lanjia Saora society is going on at such a pace that after a few generations the traditional religious beliefs will be lost for ever. In the Sudha Saora community the adaptation to Mader is at fast pace disintegrating the indigeneous culture. Therefore, to study the religious life of the Saoras at this moment, poses a great problem. The Sudha Saoras' adaptation of the reformed religions and Lanjias conversion to Christianity alongwith their orientation to modernism turn the issue more complicated.

RELIGIOUS CONVERSION

The Christian community is only limited to the Lanjia Saoras. It is surprising that in Sudha Saora community none has so far been converted to this religion. The conversion and the development of Christianity in the Lanjia Saora community has brought a religious revolution in the area. This revolution is not only among the Christian converts but also among the traditional people who regard them as Hindu Saoras. Those who are converted to the Christianity do not consider themselves as Lanjia Saoras and even some feel ashamed give their identity as Lanjia Saoras. This feeling has made them to pose themselves as completely of a new type. But their identity as a sub-group of the Lanjia Saora is not lost, as they speak the same language. The same language the Sudha Saora people also speak with little difference accent. Further those who are Christian converts pose themselves as a new group with a new culture and new religion. On the otherhand, the traditional Lanjia Saoras regard themselves as Hindus (meaning here as traditional). In this way the whole Lanjia Saora society devided into two sects: Hindu or the traditional Lanjia Saoras and Christian Saoras.

The Christians are divided into further two sections or groups: Baptists and Catholics. Out of these two groups, the Baptist groups are the first to have been converted. After a long time there came in the area the Catholic missions. Catholic groups got some more specialisation in the aspects of helping people at need. Thus the total Lanjia Saora community became divided into three sets: The traditional people, the Baptists and the catholics. Manasi Raika, the previous Sarpanch of Sagad Gram Panchayat had taken lots of pain to propagate the Christian religion in the area.

Manasi Raika, aged 52 indicates that the conversion and the religious revolution for development of Christanity in this area dates back to 1941. In the pre-independence period the Britishers were taking expeditious steps to convert the tribal people to Christianity. This attempt was very much fulfilled and conversion took place through missionaries opened in different tribal areas with a goal to improve or develop the standard of living of the poor tribals. In these area. of our study Christianity spread in the villages around Puttasingi. In the village Karanjasing' a hill top, some people became Christian converts from where the Christinaity spread to other villages. Once a Saora man from Andhra Pradesh came with an English lady, G.Glandingai visited different parts of Paralakhemundi, Gumma, Serango, Ganjam, etc,. Mrs. Glandingai opened a medical aid centre at Serango for the local tribal and non-tribal people. Then there was no hospital near by. The tribal people were depending upon their traditional herbal medicines.

The English lady was a Christian. She halted at Serango for dual purposes- to provide medical aid to the poor tribal people and to compaign and propagate Christianity in the locality. Then in Serango there was no hospital. They were practicing their traditional way of medicinal practice and religious performances to cure the diseases and common ailments. The Lanjias always have a deep sense of faith on the supernatural entities whom they regard to be the cause and cure of a disease. This idea was more intense in the past. So they were depending mostly on the religious processes to cure a patient with high faith on the spirits and deities. For religious process sacrifice is a common practice. The people believe that without a sacrifice the deity will not be satisfied and so the disease will not be cured. This sacrifice of animals, mostly buffalows became common in the traditional Lanjia Saora community. A person falling sick time and again had to conduct sacrifices to get cured. This deteriorated the economic standard of a person when on one hand due to sickness he could not work in his fields and on the other hand, he had to provide animals for sacrifice. This considerably affected their economic standard. Because of the expensive religious practice some people deemed it wise to embrace the new alien religion.

The English lady with Arisen Sima, a Telugu speaking person was visiting the interior areas and making prescriptions with charitable medical facilities. That English lady was a doctor at Serango hospital. She was lustily greeted by the tribal people when she was visiting the interior pockets. Later, Miss Mandru joined Glandingi and was elected as the member of Legislative Assembly. (MLA) in 1946. That year, the Governor of Orissa visited Serango Miss Mandru talked to him in Saora language and became the bilateral link between the Saoras community and the Government.

Miss Mandru took interest in preparing a Saora Bible. Her first attempt came out successful in publishing a magazine 'John Susamachara'. She was invited

by "Gidgidi Sitapati Pantullu Rammurthy" and with their joint effort, the link words of the Saora language was prepared. Jaintly they started preparing the Saora Bible. She thought of making a Saora Bible which would help in spread of Christianity through the Saora language. The Saora Bible thus was prepared.

Next came Ferry Allabi who released the Bible. He released the Bible in 1965 and declared the Bible as new Testament or new principles (Tamna Anasai). When Ferry Allibi edited the Bible he took help of certain people of Saora community. They were : Daman Buya of village Karanjasingi, Manasi Raika of village Sagad, Mathew Lima of Asergarh and Sabuban Pal of Serango. After that the Bible was complete. This Bible regarded as the Tame anemia or the new principles was inaugurated by Dr. David Hayward of Canada in 'Burding' village of Gumma area. The Bible was produced before the Saoras as a concised edition of a great religion carrying new principles of religion in which is embedded the 'anima' of a good and desirable life. On the first page of the book there is a picture of a bow and arrow set together, in a way to express that the religious text is devoted to Saoras who are a forest community his weapon being bow and arrows.

Damana Buya was the first person in this locality to have been converted to Christianity leaving behind all his traditional religious culture. He accepted Baptism in the Baptist Church at Seranga. This happened only because of the charitable medical aid centre at Seranga. When Daman Baya was working in Assam he had developed faith in the western medicines and on his return to his house he sent for the western medicine always and also campaigned about the better efficiency of the western medicine in comparision to traditional religious processes and administration of herbal medecine. Through him, people became aware of the western medicines and the medical aid centre at Serango. This marked the further mass conversion to Christianity.

The economic life of the people deteriorated by continuous purchase of animals for sacrifice to the spirits who were believed to have caused the disease. Therefore, as such the conversion of mass into christinity got better reponse from the poor sections of Saoras. Further the economically sound people of the community who fetched better cash economy from migration to Assam and elsewhere initiated the process. The families of middle class continued to follow their traditional pattern of livelihood.

About the development of Christianity in this area, as Manasi describes, after [illegible] the Catholics came from Italy. Lutheran group came from Denmark and Baptists from Canada. Among all these the Baptists got better response in these areas and its success was well marked with mass conversion. Afterwards, the Baptist missions religious centers came to be known as "Canadian Baptist Christian Church". In this area the conversion started from the village Karanjasing, and

spread to Tarbel, Anjarsing, Angora, Sagad and other villages in course of time. Reason may be cieted as to why the conversion began from Karanjasing. Karanjasing lies on a hill top on the other side of which is the Serango area. Therefore, the alien religion entered from that end. Leter on the adoption of the religion was marked like a flow of a stream from the hill top to the foot hill areas. It's implication in the Society made the Saoras split into two groups-one is the traditional group and the other converts resulting in a change in value system. Coming in contact with the new religion they became more conversant with the market economy. However the religion has been institutionalised. Now there are two sections of the Christians-Baptists with their inclination towards the mother Mary and Catholics showing inclination to the Lord Jesus. The Baptists are more in number than the Catholics.

FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR CONVERSION

As already discussed the traditional religious practice with the sacrifice of animals was an expensive affair on the part of the poor people. Even for minor ailments, the first dose of medicine prescribed by a witch doctor or the Shamans is always a ritual worship to the ancestral spirits and the supernatural spirits with sacrifice of animals and birds. Animals such as pig, buffalo, goat, cow, bullock, sheep, peacock, peahen, fowl etc, are the common types used for a sacrifice. The costly animals like buffaloes are more often sacrificed. The livestock is one of the major sources of economy of Saoras. When a person does not have enough livestock, he has to buy animals from local Doms by mortgaging his land and often by selling the house hold artifact. Through this process the poor became poorer. For the poorer section the western medicine came as a boon and Christianity a Penacea.

Their microcosmic thought was rather limited as they were sticking to the traditional culture and religion. Those who migrated elsewheere brought in new ideas of developed societies : of Hinduism and Christianity and other religious cultures and thought of better and enlightened. This marks the expansion of their general awareness about the outside world exterior to them

It is pertinent to mention that the complicated rituals coupled with huge expenditure kept them engaged most of the time round the year. The cituation rather forced some Saoras to embrace Christianity. The converts had to pay reverence to one god in contrast to their belief in many gods and spirits.

The heaven and hell are well differentiated in the two religions. The Hindu Saoras believe that after death the soul goes to the underworld or hell (kinnaraidesa) and the Christians beleive that after death, a person's soul goes to the heaven (sarga). A life in heaven is far better than a life in the hell - the Christians hold.

It is often noticed that the Saoras are looked down open by the Hindus for their aweful practices. This may also be accounted for their conversion. The Christian Saoras feel elevated and pay attention to their personal prestige and fredom.

People who are conscious about the future of their children, particularly those who are migrant, pay more attention towards their education. They like to be converted to Christianity. By this they get opportunities of missionary education. This makes the parents feel that their sons or doughtiers get the oppeotunity of admissation in residential schools opened by the Christian Missions. Once a child is admitted in a missionary school he gets free food books and proper care.

Mostly the educated Saoras are converted to Christianity. On interviewing some, it was found that the child identifies himself / herself as a Christian with a new name addopted from the Bible. In course of time, they are directed to attained churches, to recite prayers to Lord Jesus. They became aware of the new religion. Some educated people claim that they could be educated in the Christian missionary schools if their parents took fellowship in the church.

The help extended by the Christian churches and missions to the poor, needy people, and also to other people in need dragged much people to become converts. These helps were given in kind (cloth, food) sometimes in cash. Apart from that the Christian notion 'love all and serve all' attracted the people to a great extent. Certain villages are found completely converted and the number of Hindu Saora people in such villages are slowly decreasing.

Apart from these there several other factors responsible for the Saoras conversion to Christianity. Broadly speaking the modern forces change the self perception of the people bringing the tribals to the main stream of Indian culture.

The conversion is going on with such a fast pace that it can be said, after some more years the Christianity will sweep the entire area and convert all the Lanjia Saora into Christians and the Hindus are worried and scared that the identity of Lanjia Saora will be lost for ever and in place of a traditional culture the alien culture will reign. As it seems, in hardly about two/ three generations the Lanjia Saoras identity will be lost in the sea of Christianity.

RECONVERSION TO HINDUISM

Reconversion is not often marked in the Lanjia Saora society. One who takes fellowship under Christian religion does not like to return to his own traditional religion. The situations under which the Christian Saoras like to come back to his traditional society are discussed below.

If a person violates the principles of the Church then the Church strike, out

his membership. The same person is not allowed to participate in the Church activities and suffers from a sort of social isolation. The person is humiliated and ostracized. This factor is responsible for coming back to the original society.

If a person maintains polygamous life after being converted to Christianity, his membership is cancelled by the church. His second wife and he himself are not allowed to participate in the decision of the church. But this does not hamper the status of his first wife as a member of the church, though his other wives are not eligible for membership in the church. They may attend the church but cannot participate in the decisions. This cituation forces a man to come back to Hinduism, so that he can maintain his polygamous life.

The Baptists do not it beef or buffalo meat. But the catholics are beef eaters. But they do not eat beef, or meat of buffalo that is sacrificed in the Hindu religious affairs. In this context, if somebody (convert Saora) likes to keep his food habit of beef and buffalo meat without considering the event where the animal was sacrificed, he is boycotted from the church. He may then opt Hinduism.

It is believed that after conversion sometimes persons are harmed by the traditional spirits. Such spirits do not like the conversion. After conversion one can not perform the death rituals like Karja and Goar. Under such circumstances the ancestral spirits may cause serious harm to the converts out of wrath. The religious heads of the traditional community demand the converted persons to come back to Hinduism, lest the persons may be put to death by the ancestral spirits. This happens to be the most important factor resulting reversion. A case study narrating such an event is given here.

A man named 'Agina Dalbehera' of the village 'Dungdungar' had a daughter suffered from fever. The fever could not be cured for a long time. Agina belongs to the traditional religion and his daughteris a convert. So Agina took interest in traditional religious practices to cure his daughter. He consulted a woman Shaman who after coming to a trance said that the late mother of the girl has attacked her. The late mother who caused her the fever was then converted to a kanisum (Epilepsy-Sonum). The 'Kanisum' demanded that her daughter should become a 'Kudanboi or Idaiboi'. If she does that then only she will be cured. The girl first refused to come back to Hinduism. She took western medicine. But the fever continued. Then her father went to the jungle where he sacrificed a goat in a well-arranged 'Kanisum purpler'. After that he did not allow his daughter to attend church. By doing this the girl was cured. Now the girl returned back to the tradition. She took initiation from a 'Kudanboi' and became a Kudanboi.

There is a regulation in the religious system of Lanjia Saoras that both the husband and wife should belong to one religion. If the husband is Christian and the

wife is Hindu, the wife shall have to be converted to Christianity as both husband and wife should belong to one religion.

But the overall scene of religion in the present society is Christian dominated. The Hindu Saora population is decreasing day by day. The remnant Hindu population who have not been converted to Christianity stick to the traditional processes. They show little interest towards Christians for two reasons 1. they have a great sense of fear of their traditional religion, spirits and deities. The people feel that if they get converted their ancestral spirits will be unhappy and cause harm to them. The second point is very much related to food habit. The Hindu section being very much non-vegetarian mostly depend upon buffalo meat which is cheaply available The younger generation shows their dislike to their tradition and as such embrace Christianity. The younger generation think little about the traditional religion. Further more, the young mass have now developed a conviction that it is better to follow the Christian religion as, it has wide adaptibility. In the Christianity the Baptist section have the larger number of members then the catholics. A comparable statistics of the Baptist and Catholic Christians in the registered church at Sagada is dealt in the table-A of this chapter.

The Baptist Church in Sagada is attended by villagers of the Sagada, Allangda, Marakui, Railpadar, Dangdungar etc. Similarly also the catholic Church is attended by people of the same villages.

Among the Saoras there are people who are almost neutral to religion. They have not adopted christianity nor have inclination towards their traditional religion. A case study of Mohan Gomango of village Dugdungar is given here to show their neutral nature of people towards religion.

Mohan Gomango, aged about seventy lost his wife 40 years ago. He never married for the second time. He had three sons and a daughter who were too small at the time of their mother's death. Mohan reared them alone, whenever his children fell sick he consulted the doctor of the Nuagarh Block Hospitals. But he is never seen to be organizing any worship as, he does not believe in religion. He never attends a traditional rituals festival and also does not go to church. Some people say that Mohan lost his faith in the spirits and deities after his wife's death. To him work is his religion.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES OF LANJIA SAORA

The Lanjia Saora ritual calender is maintained in relation to their agricultural practices. The months are named in accordance with the agricultural practices. Therefore the religious events and the months is which such events occur are discussed below.

PURPURSAL

It is mostly organized in the Gajing gai. The worship is offered to Oiyung sum in the evening. With Oiyung Sum (Sun-Sonum) offerings are also given to the ancestral spirits. The people believe that during the day the spirits keep themselves engaged in agricultural practices and other works like the Lanjia Saoras. So the worship is offered in the evening.

The worship is arranged when an 'Arasal' tree (Sagopalm tree- Caryota urens) suddenly stops yielding toddy. Then the people believe that the cessation of toddy secretion is the action of a malevolent spirit. Therefore the worship is arranged to mitigate the action of the evil spirit over the toddy secretions. This worship is also called Gaimaddalepur (Gai-mad-dale : Sight/eye - toddy-hope/ desire). It is their belief that if somebody develops a desire for toddy and fails to get it, his eye sight turns evil and if he casts a glance at the toddy yelding plants its ceases to secrete. 'Pursal' is a composite word (Purpur + sa + alien : worship + Hidden + toddy) meaning worship offered to the ancestral spirits, so that the tree again starts yielding toddy.

The shaman facing the west starts the ritual when the sun is about to set. All the people who regularly drink toddy from that tree attend the worship. Women are not allowed there. In the worship crab (kinnat) or burnt fish (Ayo) or pig (Kamboon) are offered to the sonums (sun-sonum and ancestral spirits). The shaman requests the spirits to reproduce toddy in the tree, through songs. In the song the spirits in the hills are also requested to reproduce toddy. Then a cock is sacrificed after the song ends. Rice and meat of sacrificed animal is cooked. Dishes for the spirits are served in different leaf cups. If toddy is available, little bit of toddy is also offered to the spirits.

RAGAN ABDUR

The worship is organized in the month - Gazing gai. It is a eating festival of new red gram. The worship is offered to the deities sketched in the Ikon art (Idital). The worship is arranged in such houses where an ikon art is found. So the families who donot have Ikon in their homes send their offerings to be worshipped in the Kudanboi's home. If somebody wants to worship in his/her home, but donot have an Ikon in his/her home arrangement is made to paint an Ikon. After the Ikon is painted, a Kudanboi is invited to worship there.

In the worship, Ragon (red gram), Atung (pumpkin), Bottle Gourd, Rice, Toddy of Sago Palm, liquor of Mahua etc. are required. The Kudanboi has to wear new clothes that must be pure white.

The worship starts early in the morning before the Sonums get up from their

beds. They are invoked and invited to accept the offerings. The Kudanboi worships without coming to a trance. She invites the supernatural spirits, ancestral spirits and spirits of hills and mountains uttering "Ajumba Sabain len", that means 'come and have food together'. Towards the end of the worship, a hen is rosted in fire and distributed among the participant. The worship is also called Bal-bal san.

The women who are menstruating are prohibited to attend the worship. There is a prevailing fear that the person and family who donot organize such worship would be killed by tigers.

KURUAL

The worship is organized in the month - Gajinggai. The worship is offer to the spirits - Lobosum (Earth-Sonum), Mani sum (Hill-Sonum) and Idai sum (Ikon-sonum). The worship is organized in the morning at the Baroon (Swidden plots). The worship is offered before cutting 'Kamboor' (Sorghum).

A cock or preferably a pig is sacrificed. Other materials that are required : rice, toddy and Mahua liquor.

The worship is done by a kudan. It may be organized individually or collectively. In case of collective worships, all the people who share swidden plots on a particular hill contribute to the process. After the worship all the people sit together to eat in a common feast.

The menstruating women are not allowed to go there. If the worship is not organized the sonums send tigers to eat up people. This is the belief held by the people.

IDITAL PURPUR

The worship is organized in the Nibagai. The Ikon (Idital) spirits are worshipped inside the house where an Ikon is sketched. The Shaman sits facing the Ikon painting. The worship begins by midday.

The materials required are - banana, coconut, pumpkin, jackfruit, 'kukuitar' (flower of Bur tree - Cassia fistula) flower of Mahula (Madhuka longifolia), rice, paddy, mango (Mangifera indicia), boiled red gram, cakes, sweets, country cigar, toddy, liquor, agricultural implements etc.

The worship is done in three phases, first it is performed near the Ikon house. Offerings are made to the spirits. Then all the people attend the worship in the shaman's house and take food together. If the worship is organized by the Birinda all the people of the Birinda gather and take food together.

After the first phase performance at the Ikon house, the Shaman and other

people visit the Manduasum to offer worship. They take the above materials to the Manduasum. The Shaman comes to a trance and then starts the performance followed by sacrifice of a goat. Then a collective feast is organized there. The cooked rice and meat are placed on a large plate and all the people attending the ceremony take rice and meat from the plate.

After that the people go to worship the Judisum. With the Shaman, other people put rice at the Judisum and perform Rurusal (pouring liquor on the rice offered to the spirit). Then red grams are worshipped followed by the sacrifice of a cock. Then the meat of the cock is cooked. After the ceremony is over people sing and dance collectively.

Before performing the worship people do not eat redgram. If any body eat red gram before the ceremony the sonums send tiger to eat up the person. New flowers and clothes are offered to the Sonums to appease them. The worship is performed for collective well-being. The event is also called Gaigaisan or Sargai purpler.

MAIMAIZAB PUR

The worship is also called 'Jamal' abdur (new eating of crops). Maimaizab literally means 'mixed seeds'. It is also called as 'Maimaizab gaigaisan abdur'. The worship is offered to Manisum (Hill / mountain spirits). The worship is done in the month of Nibagai.

On the scheduled day of worship, the Kudanboi keeps mixed seeds of sarighum, black gram, green gram, maize, cowpea, red gram, etc, near the Ikon house. In the might she invokes all the ancestral spirits with Lobosum and Manisum and utters "I shall go to broadcast seeds. May it produce better. May it be saved from incests and pests, etc". Then the worship is over.

The next morning she takes the seeds to broadcast in the Swidden plots. No one is invited to this worship. No sacrifice is given. The Kudanboi sows seeds in every field and hoe a patch of land in each Swidden.

SIDANGPUR / TIJABSUM

The worship is offered to Judisum, Sarpalasum and Yuyuboi sum. The event is organized in the Nibagai month. After the Jamal abdur when seeds are taken to be sown in field, on the way a worship is offered to Judisum. All the people in the village invite the Shaman to their houses and give some seeds to them. Then the Shaman invokes the supernatural spirits, ancestral spirits and the spirits living in hills and forests. In the worship the Shaman seeks the good will of the spirits for a good crop that year. After finishing the worship, the shaman again distributes the

seeds among the people. People take such seeds and mix them with other seeds which they have kept to sow. In the worship the shaman requests the spirits to have mercy (limlim) on them, save them from small pox (Sinal), cough (kuku), fever (asu) and look after the well-being of the people`.

A cock is sacrificed. Crabs are also offered to the spirits. The worship is organized in the morning. Then the people go to sow seeds in the fields on that day.

KUDANTUNG / GUNGUPUR

The worship is offered to Lobosum and Oiyung sum. It is done for collective well-being of the people and livestocks. By this time, most of the agricultural practices have been finished. Everybody feels it is time for rest and relaxation. If this worship is done the pain and strain of the people and livestocks are relaxed. The worship is arranged in the cattle shed. Shaman of any sex can perform the worship.

In the morning of the scheduled day of worship the male members of the family with the Shaman gather in the cattleshed where the performance is done. A pig is sacrificed for the male members of the family in the cattleshed. The animal after sacrifice is hung from the roof of the shed so that blood drops on the bullocks and cows. By this the animals get blessings of the spirits. Then the meat of the sacrificial animal is cooked and the male members of the Birinda members eat. Eating pork is a taboo for women. On this occasion the women sacrifice a cock and feast with its meat.

The cattle are given a bath with application of turmeric. After that such animals are given to eat rice mixed with Mahua liquor. At the end of the performance the Shaman addresses the Sonums thus " From today we will take those cattle for other work instead of agricultural work, may they live better by your mercy. May the family members also remain safe from illness".

MADAPUR (MIST - WORSHIP)

The worship is organized in the early winter. The worship is offered to Lobosum. The performance is done to appease the spirits so as to save the crops from mist. A male Shaman performs the worship and the village people collectively organize it. In the worship rice, rice flour, liquor, etc, are required. A cock is sacrificed.

BUBDALPUR

The worship is offered to the Labosum, Oiyung sum and ancestral spirits. The performance is done in paddy fields.

Lanjias believe that at the time of sowing seeds in paddy lands, first

Lobosum and then the ancestral spirits sow the seeds first. Hence a day is fixed when the Labosum and ancestral spirits would sow the seeds. On the scheduled day all the Birinda members collectively go to the spot where performance is held accompanied by the Shaman. When the Shaman comes to a trance people put seeds in the Shaman's hand. The Shaman in trance pose to so seeds onbehalf of the Lobosum. The Shaman sows on small patches of lands on all the plots. The performance continues till the evening.

At the end of the performance, a buffalo is sacrificed. Meat of buffalo is cooked and is then served to all those present at the site. People dance and participate in merry -making after the worship is over.

On this occasion rice, liquor, marrow, sickle, plough, other agricultural implements, new clothes, etc, are worshipped. Paddy and pumpkin are offered.

If the sowing is not done by the Lobosum and other ancestral spirits, it is believed that there will not be a good crop, cast in.

KUB - DA - SING - PUR

The worship is also called Genur pur (Rain-worship). The worship is offered to Lobosum for good rains and better productivity. The worship has no regularity in the yearly ritual calender. If there is a sudden change in climate and rainfall does not occur to the optimal level, people collectively organize this worship. Both the tribal and non tribal people participate. Performances are done in the Baroon (Swidden plots).

Rice, toddy and liquor are required for the worship. Seven pot-full of rice mixed with toddy and liquor are served. Out of the seven cups, the Kudanboi takes three cups, one for her master spirit, one for herself and one for her assistant (Idaiboi). Three cups are offered in the name of Labosum which are divided among the spirits, Lungarsum (çave - spirit) and kambootung (dog of Lobosum). The seventh cup is offered to the Idital (Ikon) spirit established in the Saora houses.

People of the whole village contribute for a cock or goat that is to be sacrificed and offered to the spirits by Kudanboi. It is asserted by the Lanjias that the rainfall occurs after the worship.

LAJJAB

The worship is offered to the Lobosum and ancestral spirits. Like the Bubdalpur here the Lobosum and ancestral spirits are invited to reap the crops. So before reaping the crops the people organize this worship. The performance is done in the paddy lands where crops are in matured stage.

People in the village who have paddy fields in one patch select a day to organize the worship. They contribute proportionately for the materials and expenditures in the performance. They purchase an animal for sacrifice. Buffalo is given preference and if people cannot afford a buffalo, a cock or goat may be sacrificed.

The Kudanboi performs the worship. When she comes to a trance, being possessed by the Lobosum or ancestral spirits she cuts some quantity of paddy from each field. Then the sacrifice is given to the spirits. The meat of the animal is cooked and every participant takes seven leaf cup full of meat. After the Kudanboi (representing ancestral spirits) cuts the paddy, people cut the crops from their respective fields.

ADAPUR

The worship is offered to Lobosum and Kitungsum in the paddy fields. It is done when the paddy plants flower. The worship is offered to appease the spirits so that the paddy flowers do not fall down untimely. The materials required for the worship are rice. Mahua liquor, toddy of sagopalm cakes, sweets, etc.

A platform is made at the spot of worship. A branch of kenduba (Diospyros melanoxylon) designed in a special way is established there. The wood stands as an indication of strength (Danang). It is established there to avoid the anger of the evil spirits on the crops. In fact, they believe that evil spirits do not dare to come there if a wood is planted.

A pig is sacrificed. At the foot of the platform cooked pork is served in leaf cups. At the end of the worship, the earthen pot in which meat was cooked is kept over the wooden pole planted earlier to ensure that the crop will not be affected by evil spirits.

The worship has certain taboos. Women are strictly prohibited to go to the spot of worship. Things offered to the spirits are not brought home. After the worship ends, the kudanboi does not touch the food offered to the spirits.

BURAL, GANAI ABDUR

The worship is offered to the home deity i.e. to Ilda the main spirit of Ikon with the spirits of hills and mountains. The worship is arranged at the Ikon paintings inside the house.

The materials required are seven Lial leaves (Bauhinia vahlii). rice, toddy of sagopalm and liquor of Mahua. Kunda (?) paddy, bitter. discourse (Butogai) and little millet (Buroi).

In the morning of the day of the worship, the kudanboi first gather the materials near the Ikon painting. She invokes the Manisum (Hill-spirit). Idai sum (ancestral spirits) and Ilda sum (Ikon spirit) and requests them to accept the little millet and tubers. The persons who donot have an ikon painted in their houses arrange the worship in front of any of the walls of their house. No sacrifice is given in this worship. After the worship, little millet and bitter grain are eaten.

TINILPUR

The worship is offered to the ancestral spirits. After harvesting of crops from the fields, they are thrashed in the harvest ground. Those crops are kept in the middle of the harvest ground in big bamboo vessels which are offered with worship.

Fishes, crabs and rice are cooked together. The Kudamboi without undergoing a trance invokes the spirits and tell them "we are leaving the harvest ground from today. We extend our thanks for your co-operation". The worship is organized family wise in which family and Birinda members remain present.

1936 : LAND MARK OF RELIGIOUS RENAISSANCE

Sudha Saora people form a major part of the Saora tribe in Orissa. More of this community has been dealt with in previous chapters. Their religious life deserves special mention here. As in other primitive societies the religion of the Shudha Saoras is mainly born out of the fear complex. Religion marks a particular stage of development of the society. Further it describes some of the characteristics of men's creation. The religion makes sets of principles for the pattern life in the society. The fear of the supernatural spirits, the typical landscapes like hills, forests and of the ancestral spirits, etc, force the people to give special attention to them for their well come and for obtaining their favour and blessings. Religion is thus mental faculty created by man and is developed, revised, reformed, from time to time reshaping the standard and patterns in the society. Religion has grown with the growth of mankind.

The Sudha Saora society has its own thoughts regarding religion. They worship ancestral spirits and super natural spirits. They have made their religious life in association with such spirits. Their traditional pattern of religious life was probably not accepted by all in the community. In course of time a group of people demanded a change in the traditional pattern of religion. A group of persons with the new ideas planned to bring about a religious renaissance.

The protagonists who attempted to champion the reformative religion came to be known as MADER.

This 'MADER' group came into being in 1936 under the religious

leadership of late malia Gamango who was dwelling on PITAGUDA hill in the Shudha Saora territorial region, in a village named 'Debirising'. Malia Gamango is known to the Mader people as the person who discovered the Saora script - 'Saora Sompeng'. The base of the refomred religion lies in these Saora scripts. When one section of the 'Maders' advocate that the script was discovered by Malia Gomango others advocate that the discovery of Saora script was by Mangai Gamango. Therefore, there arose two groups one group may be regarded as the Malia supporters and the other group Mangai supporters.

The evolutionary phase of the Shudha Saora script that was discovered on the 18th June 1936 has now been converted to legendary tales. The Malia describes that Mallia Gomango was a black magician. He learnt black magic from an Oriya Brahmin named Narasimha Mishra who was quite an expert in black magic. As the saying goes, Malia Gomango has taken birth twice. He died suddenly. On hearing the news of his death Narashima Mishra appeared there and wanted to bring Malia back to life again. He wanted to resurrect Malia not because he wanted him to live long but because he wanted to talk to Malia something he brought Malia to life. After talking for sometime Malia died again. When Malia was alive, he had cordial relation with Mangai Sabar who was related to Malia as a nephew and also as a son-in-law. As it happened Mangai married to the daughter of Malia Gamongo who was the cousin sister of Mangai. Mangai Sabar was a very good astrologer. The Malia supporters clam that Malia and Mangai were good in magic. People believe that Mangai and Malia used to tauck to each other through magic art. Mangai was living in Marichigada hill and Malia in Pitagada hill - the distance between the two hills was about 4-5 kilometers. But everyday they useed to talk to each other in this manner. Malia Gomango dreamt that on Pitagada hill there is a stone on which their are some inscriptions. He visited the place and found the inscriptions. He brought the scripts to the Marichigada hill. The discovery of the script dates back to the 18th June 1936.

But the supporters of Mangai Sabar have a different tale about the discovery of the script. They hold that Mangai discovered the script. The history associated with Mangai Sabar holds that the grand father of Mangai was originally the inhabitant of SARABADI of Paralakhemundi. His name was Pitambar Gomango. He left Sarabadi and came to Lauguda - a village near Padmapur. Then he sited at Marichigada. Mangai Sabar took birth on 16th June 1916 and died on 19th. July 1980. He had a troubled childhood. He was prosecuting his studies at Gunupur and was staying in a small chamber in the campus of the Laxminarayan temple of Gunupur. He had the opportunity of free meals in the temple. He got the patronage of the then king of Maharaja of Jeypore. Mangai was appointed as a compounder under the health department of Orissa. Malia Gomango came in contact with Mangai and wanted him to be his son-in-law. The greatest event in

Mongais life happened on 18th June 1936. As mentioned earlier Mangai left his house in April 1936 and went for miditation to the Pitaguda hill. While he was in deep meditation once at midnight the previous deity of the Saora came to him and blessed him. The deity directed Mangai to install the stone inscription in Marichiguda hills and to perform regular worship. There were twenty four scripts in the inscription which are regarded as the twenty four incartones, each script representing one deity.

The Mangai supporters describ the sayings of Mangai Sabar about the creation of the Saora sompeng and the Saora scripts which are attributed to the Lord Jagannath - the Darubrahma in the past. The Sabar used to worship the deity with great sacrifices. But the deity did not stay with the Sabar people for longed. The story has been recorded in the chapter "Myths and Legends, of Saoras". The Saora claim that despite their regualr worship their deity left them. This hurt the Saora a lot. The sabar who was worshipping the deity got annoyed with the deity and he took a vow that till the god returns to the Saoras he will worship Him with liquor and blood of animals. The sabar maintained that when the deity will return to their community then only they will worship the deity as they used to do earlier. Since then the Sabar (community) started giving sacrifice of fowl, sheep, buffalo, also human being to the god. But the deity told Mangai that he has returned in the form of the scripts - the inscriptions on the stone. The deity maintained that 'I have returned back to you, I have returned in the shape of 'Aksharabrahma' instead of 'Darubrahma'. Serve me, worship me'. It is maintained that Mangai could discover the scripts through deep meditation.

The conflict starts from here. According to the supporters, Malia was the discoverer of the scripts where as the suppertors of Mangai claim him to be the discoverer. Further the Mangai groups believe that Mangai campaigned for the religion and that Malia was not related to 'Aksharabrahma'.

The twenty four inscriptions on stone later on formed the Saora alphabet. The twenty four alphabets are designed in the shape of the inscriptions found on the stone. The alphabets while joined to make sentences are usually written from left to right. The letters show similarity with Roman alphabets. It has 18 consonants and 9 vowels with one helping letter that help in making combination of letters. The vowels are added to the right of the consonants to make words. The words take help of the 25th letter called 'Mrai'. They use Roman symbols for mathematical use and pause in sentiences. A full stop is called 'Beriyom', a comma as 'Berini', a parentheses as 'Pil', a semicolon(;) as 'Smikola'

The alphabets

The alphabets that developed from the stone inscription are twenty four in

number. Except the helping alphabet, the other twenty four letters stand as twenty four deities which the Saora people worship. Such twenty four deities are : Sungdang sum, Tagar sum, Babu sum, Lobo sum, Na-a sum, War sum, pata sum, Yoyuboi sum, Rangi sum, Hara sum, Kitung sum, Janangio sum, Nyan sum, Ilda sum, Idai sum, Oyyung sum, And sum, Ayar sum, chandi sum, Gada sum, Mundada sum, Danki sum, Angal sum and Mrai sum.

These twenty four deities are associated with the twenty four hours of a day, establishing a relation between each deity and the hour of a day. The Madders believe that the Darubrahma is being worshipped in twenty four different hours of a day in only one name. The above mentioned twenty four deities are the parts of the Darubrahma.When the deities left the Sabar he divided the deity into twenty four parts out of anger and worshipped Him in twenty four different names.

The twenty four deties described above form the complex religious structure of the Shudha Saora. The perception about the above deities have been changed in the Maders beliefs. The Maders include the Hindu deities among them and propitiate them in the same way as the Hindus. The different deities are also represented in the myth. They are also believed to be dwelling around the Shudha Saora living space. The deities associated with the different living space are described in the chapter dealing with legends...of Saora. The traditional Shudha Saoras also worship these twenty four deities but the way of worship is considered substandered by the Maders,. The Maders have come out with new perceptions and feelings about such deities and changed the pattern of worship in the light of the Hindu worships.

The twenty four alphabets are arranged in such a manner that each alphabet represents one deity. Further, those deities are authorities of different functions in the society. Given below is the general understanding of the association of the deities with the alphabets.

TABLE - 11

ALPHABET PRONOUNCED AS	THE DEITY TO WHOM IT REFERS IN SHUDHA SAORA TERM	THE PLACEMENT / REPRESENTATION / FORM OF THE DEITY IN GENERAL UNDERSTANDING
1. 'SA'	SUNGDANG SUM (Mid-pole-spirit/deity)	The deity represents the middle pole (main pole) of the house.

ALPHABET PRONOUNCED AS	THE DEITY TO WHOM IT REFERS IN SHUDHA SAORA TERM	THE PLACEMENT / REPRESENTATION / FORM OF THE DEITY IN GENERAL UNDERSTANDING
2. 'TA'	TANGAR SUM (Road-Spirit/deity)	The deity associated with roads.
3. 'BA'	BABU SUM (Untranslatable-spirit)	Associated with ikon paints and village welfare. He is also worshipped as home deity.
4. 'CHA'	CHANDI SUM (Untransible-sperit)	Associated with village boundary.
5. 'DA'	DANKI SUM (pitcher- sonum)	Home deity, regarded as 'Dharma' devta, represented by an earthen pot having the icon art in the front.
6. 'GA'	GADA - SUM (Jungle-sonum)	Deity of the jangle, causes rain
7. 'MA'	MUNDADA-SUM	the abode of the deity is at the entrance of the village.
8. 'NGA'	ANGAL-SUM (Hedge-sonum)	The deity is associated with in kitchen gardens, (surrounded by hedges).
9. 'LA'	LOBOSUM (Earth-sonum)	Associated with cultivation
10. 'NA'	NA-A SUM (Name-sonum)	Associated with naming of any thing, especially in giving names to settlements/places.
11. 'VA'	WAR-SUM (untranslatable-sonum)	Associated with pregnancy.
12. 'PA'	PATA-SUM (Wood plate-sonum)	Associated with loft where crops are kept after harvest.
13. 'YA'	YOYOBOI-SUM (Grand mother-sonum)	Regarded as 'Thakurani' or village deity.
14. 'RA'	RANGI SUM (wind-deity)	Messenger deity.

ALPHABET PRONOUNCED AS	THE DEITY TO WHOM IT REFERS IN SHUDHA SAORA TERM	THE PLACEMENT / REPRESENTATION / FORM OF THE DEITY IN GENERAL UNDERSTANDING
15. 'HA'	HARA-SUM (Necklace-sonum)	Associated with ornaments, property, money, food, etc
16. 'KA'	KITUNG-SUM (? - Spirits)	Authority of weapons. (represented by an axe).
17. 'JA'	JANANGLO-SUM (? - sonum)	Present in the middle of village in a small wooden house. Worshiped in the harvest ground.
18. 'YAN'	YANANG-SUM (? - sonum)	Associated with water resources.
19. 'AA'	ANGAI-SUM. (Moon-sonum)	Assocated with light and coolness.
20. 'A'	ILDA-SUM (? _ Sonum)	Ikan deity.
21. 'E'	IDAI-SUM (ancestral-sonum)	Associated with all rituals.
22. 'U'	OYYUNG-SUM (Sun-sonum)	Associated with light and heat.
23. 'O'	ANAL-SUM (Pounding hole-sonum)	The communication link between the underworld spirits and the living beings.
24. 'AI'	AIYAAR-SUM OR AIMRANGDA-SUM (Gathering-sonum)	The deity is responsible for integrity, good relation among people. Associated with well being of live-stocks and prevention of epidemics in the village.
25. 'MRAI'	MRAI SUM (Sum (?) - sonum)	Decide village disputes,over all assesses the village well-being.

The maders high religious feelings are exhibited through their religious thoughts that is made with the beliefs associated with these twentyfour deities. Each deitiy is important for the over all well-being of the people though some are associated with certain specific functions. The essence of the religion is expressed in their prayers to the twenty four deities individually and also collectively. Hidden in those prayers is the broadness of the religious thoughts. On the foundation of the ancient system of religious traditions, the Maders have developed a reformative religion in the light of the Hindu religious thoughts.

The total number of alphabets are called 'Mattarvnam' which is known as 'Aksharabrahua' in Oriya. The meaning of Mattarvnam in Saora and Aksharabrahua is Oriya do not express the same meaning literally. The term 'Aksharbrahma' is a Sanskrit word about which Saora have no idea. The term appears explain their inclination to the Sanskrit version of Hindu religion. The term Aksharbrahma is a composite word where 'Akshar' refers to alphabets (s) and 'brahma' (comllex whole of the universe). The Maders explain that the religious ideas of the whole universe is embedded in the understanding of these alphabets which represent the above mention twentyfour gods of their pantheon.

'Mattarvnam' is a composite word made of three units- (Mat + tar + vnam). 'Mat' refers to consciousness, 'tar' refers to enlightened and vnam' refers to a good way. Thus united the three words make sense that 'Mattarvnam' is a way, an elightened way to achieve consciousness and enlightenent. This consciousness here is interpreted in many ways as per the Mader self perception. They believe that Mattarvnam is such power that leads mind to feel the seen in the unseen to feel good in the bad to feel a sense of virtue in the vices. Mattarvnam also enlightens the individual awareness to perceive the macrocosm in the microcosm. This concept to feel the macrocosm through the microcosm has made them to divide the human body into three parts - the head representing the god-Brahma of Hindu religion, the thorax representing Vishnu and the abdomen including the rest of the parts of the body representing Moheswar. Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswar are symbolise the three main parts of the microcosm (human body). In the Mader terminology there is no mention about Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswar regarded as the Trinity and triumvir in Hindu religion. They know the three gods by the names Banam, Bisi and Mayet. Banam and Bisi represent the way for spiritual enlightenment. Mayet stands for the way for proper action. These three understandings together make of the whole body of 'Mattarvnam'. The Maders attribute the brain as the sole centre of knowledge, the heart as the centre of enlightenment and the legs and the sex organs as the way to action. Their understanding of creation is expressed in mythical view. The idea of creation of human being first arose in the mind of Vanam, then Bisi created the magic or illusion. Kaka-Baren the brothers were created together and then the reproduction process was taken up by Mayet.

The implication of the term 'Mattarvnam' gives an idea of a value based religion. The understanding of a value or appropriateness of relation depends upon one's own awareness that is accumulated or acquired by understanding the phenomena of nature. The understanding of the phenomena of nature both in macrocosm and microcosm is manifested in reformation of Brahma and Brahmanda or cosmos. The smaller whole refers to the person itself. The implication of the religion in the social life gives an idea that it attempts to 'purify' the soul and then the cousciousness and awareness about the human life.

Here the alphabets play a major role. The alphabets make words. The words help the ideas to be expressed. The expression develops sets of ideologies and the ideology brings a purity in the pattern of human life. All these united together emanated the religion, Mattarvnam. Here, 'Matter' means the 'opening of eyes' and 'Vnam' means 'growth'. It gives a rather metaphorical meaning to understand the 'self'. As is interpreted by the Shudha Saora after a child opens its eyes it observes nothing but with subsequent growth it is able to understand and perceive the world around This understanding of the world around the 'self' develops knowledge. Mattarvanam thus is conceptualized as the world of knowledge (words made of alphabets). It is always growing, but one cannot observe the growth of intelligence and understanding unless he opens his eyes wide enough. Alphabets form words and words develop knowledge. Words must be taken as the spiritual teacher that teaches the persons to lead a speritual life. This is the secret line hidden in scripts and Mattarvnam.

The twenty four alphabets that are regarded as Aksharbrahma or the Mattarvanam therefore, have many meanings and applications. This campaign of the Mattarvnam attracted many people of the Saora community towards it. In the year 1952 the Mattarvnam was enstaled in a small temple constructed on a small hill in Marichiguda. The temple lies to in the extreme end of the village. This Mattrvnam temple, is constructed in the place where Mangari Sobar was born. Inside the temple the inscribed stone is set in a way which looks like Oriya letter 'Ohm'.

Very concisely the purpose of the Mattarvnam temple is described by the Mader people. The temple is established to campaign for the language of Matarvanam in the memory of Mangari Sabar. The 'Mattarvnam' aims at some changes in the sacramental rites of the culture, building up a better social and culture environment for people and to cultivate awareness among the people and the mass about the 'Mattravanam' (alphabets). The message of every alphabet is concisely defined in the prayer to 'Mattarvanam'. In the prayer the welfare of the community is very aptly described. But the prayer beings with 'ohm' which is the first word

uttered in the Hindu religious performances. It goes like :

"Ohm namoh mattarvnam rida rodenzi, roganji sob risotto
ordain tubule, sar kutanji, sarbigyan sutenji tubule"

In the above prayer, Ohm means the cosmose, matter means opening eyes and 'vnam' stands for growth. The whole recitation means "we salute thee,! oh god (mattervanam) ! do good to people by abolishing ride (loan), rodanji (Roda (singular) - quarrels), roganji (roga - disease), help and make free to sarkutanji (all family), give them Sarbigyan (all knowledge) and sutenji (voice). The prayer thus means a request to the god to bestow well fare to the people of the family (world) and recover them from loans, disease and quarrels by giving them the spiritual illumination through knowledge and voice. The rest of the lines in the prayer describe the significant of each alphabet (associated with a deity). The lines of the prayers are recorded here.

TABLE - 12

'SA'	Sayam- sayu- Tubing / Tublen (sing) (do help all and give a cool atmosphere).
'TA'	Tarin tublen Save - do (collective) (- do save all)
'BA'	Bansa tublen Good do (- do good / for all)
'CHA'	Chanchal tublex Landed property - do (Give plenty of landed property and a better produce to all).
'DA'	ansang tublen Fault - do (Do excuse all the faults and mistake of all)

'GA'	Garing - galan tublen Knowledge do (Do give knowledge to all)
'MA'	Maya modusa marinam tublen. illusion 'Moha' greed do (Do remove illusion, Moha and greed from all)
'NGA'	Anganga bartanji tublex Good relation - for all times - do (Do maintain good relation with all for all the times)
'LA'	Laranam tilen Lesar tubing (- Do give place to live and show the right path)
'NA'	'Ernanji narrani' (Give names to those who donot have a name)
'Va'	Vale varanting Good food (Give as good food to eat)
'PA'	Pasen paling tublen Children - maintain - do (Do maintain your children (people) prop erly)
'YA'	like mother (- Do show the illuminated path driving away the ignorance by acting like mother)
'RA'	Rida, rode, roga ling siling robsang tublen (loan-Quarrel, disease and show the right path to follow).
'Ha'	Haranji iting Food give (Give us food to live)
'KA'	Karanji Kisale erkaranji karam tublen (Remove the wicked knowledge from all and give true knowledge and work).

'JA'	Jalen jugajugalino jiunji ranglen jan jiting (save our life for years together by providing fruits, roots and crops, etc.
'ENE'	Enriyanji niyarana jiting (Turned the untrodden way trodden, un known way the known and let us step up that path which is never known)
'AA'	Almarle almo amsem tubing / tublex (Give me deep insight so that I can remove the darkness and can serve all)
'A'	Elne namji lingengan ting (Give me enlightend knowledge like you)
'E'	Irsingji erer tublex erma krama tublen (Excuse all my/our mistakes and show us the right way to dive into the spectum of Knowledge).
'U'	Eramang omang tublen (Give me/us patience and courage)
'O'	Anglen Ampal Paling tubing Keep my family safe and help me to main tain my family property.
'I'	I ergari tubing (Do give me more knowledge).

The above are the prayers that the followers of this reformative religion recite during a process or worship at the 'Mattarvram' temple. This is also the recitation that the priest as so recites this during the everyday worship at the temple. The lessons that are highly emphasized in the prayer has considerable moulded the followers.

The term 'Mader' yet has another meaning that refers to the priest who worships the Mattarvanam. The priests in the transitional religious patterns are known as the kudans and the priestesses as kudamboi. But in the new religious pattern usually the males are given importance as priests but not the females. The main priests are called the 'Mader' or the priests of lord 'Mattarvnam'. Later on all those who worshipped the lord Mattarvnam by establishing the god in their houses become known as the Maders. Thus a new section in the society emerged out of the religious revolution.

MADER - MULTIPLICITY OF THE TERM

It has been discussed earlier that the priest and then the general folk who keep faith on Mattarvanam are known as Maders. But the term MADER has a deep meaning embedded in it. The term is synthesized from three sub terms. 'Ma' for 'mati' (Earth / soil), 'da' for water and 'Ra' for wind (Rangi - wind). 'Mader' thus means 'life'. The earth, water and air are three basic components that sustain life or are the important needs for a life. The 'Mader' people hold that the attempted changes mainly highlight three things to motivate general folks to feel the things, to realise the things and to find those things which are associated with the human lives.

Further 'Ma' of 'Mader' is linked to another term - 'Maratana'. The explanation of the term 'Maratana' is given as 'Mani' (Gem) which is metaphorically used to explain the source of light, cousciousness and awareness, etc. The Mader people link the Oiyung (sun) with this 'Maratana', who stands as the source of light and awareness. Its implication is that, all the people living in the world have life. For the life, there is the need of light which develops the insight, intuition, modifies the intention, cultivates the inquisitiveness and shows the life a right path. Based on the explanation the 'Mader' refers that it is a collection of light, water and air which are the needs of life. The term 'Mader' in relation to the term 'Mattarvnam' relates that it begins from the first sub-term in the later (mat - consciousness) and thus means that the 'Mader' is a part of the understanding of Mattarvanam.

Mader is derived from Madu sum (deadbody - Sonum) that refers to Lord Jagannath. In the chapter 'myths, legends...of Saora' the description of Madu sum gives the idea that the present day Maders are followers of Lord Jagannath. Mader in this context means that the believers or followers of the 'Madu sum' are the 'Maders'. This has several sets of understandings that, the Lord Jagannath came first as kitung - the first god of Shudha Saora community, then the same god became 'Madusum' and remained in oblivion. But when the 'Madusum' was taken away by the king Indradyumna of Puri, the Lord returned to the Shudha Saora community in the name of 'Mattarvnam'. Murder thus become a new section which is linked with the present 'Mattarvanam' - a form of Lord Jagannath.

After the term 'Mader' came into being, the section of Shudha Saora who took to worship 'Mattarvnam' became known as 'Maders'. But all the followers are not regarded as 'Maders' in regard to the spiritual consciousness of the people. There arose a classification of the society and the form of the intrinsic knowledge and spiritual consciousness was given importance here as the main criterion of the classification. On this criterion the section is divided in to five groups viz :

1. SABAR	People having little knowledge. (Knowledge in terms of spiritual consciousness)
2. SARBARAM	People having moderate knowledge.
3. BARAM	People having cosmic (brahma) knowledge.
4. MATBRAM	People having divine knowledge and awareness.
5. MADER	People having the whole Knowledge.

Based on the above philosophy of classification of people with regards to their spiritual knowledge, importance is given to 'knowledge' as a whole. 'Knowledge' which is possible to be inscribed in words by using the alphabets. The alphabets 'Sorang sompen' is 'Mattarvnam' which is knowledge and so knowledge is god.

The Maders are bound by certain disciplines and regulations. those descriptions and regulations have prepared a set of principles which every mader has to abide. These principles are also linked to their notion of good life. They feel that :

-Without knowledge life of a human being is meaningless.

- Intellectual development lies embedded in giving up liquor, non-vegetarian food and superstitions. Knowledge is the only source that can bring about the necessary changes. Knowledge can convert people in many ways with orientation towards virtues.

- Knowledge makes a difference between human beings and animals. The Mader self perception goes that they have scripts (knowledge) and so they are well differentiated from animals.

- knowledge (Mattarvnam) is the source of good life, happiness, property and possessions, etc. Hence the path that the Mattarvram shows is the path to total well-being.

- They feel that it is their scripst through which they transmit their ideas, values and philosophies to other people.

- The language preserves the indigenous culture. The language also transmits the new changes in the cultural patterns. Hence language (Soran sompeng) should be known by all.

- The way of life that should be for each person is described by the principles of the religion, that are summarized below.

1. Jimburan : A negation to theft
Jumgaran : A negation to begging.
Jumrajan : A negation to a loney life.
(Jimburan - Jumgaran - Jumrajan)

2. An attempt to achieve well-being by avoiding
Rodi : Quarrels, disputes, conflicts
Rida : Loans
Roga : Disease
[Rodi - Rida - Roga - tublen (do better)]

3. Instructions to avoid
Isata : idleness
Isanga : Cheat and hypocrisy.
Itinaya : Hatred.
(Isata - Isanga - Itinaya)

- The new culture attempts to accomplish the total well-being and good life by

: Giving up liquor, sacrifices in worships and lies in any case.

: Enlightenment through knowledge and giving up faith in superstitions.

: Developing likeness towards vegetatarion food pattern and give up violent mentality towards animals.

: Giving value to conducting performances without sacrificing animals.

: Giving up witch-worships to cure diseases and an increase in awarness towards hospitals and western medicines.

: Maintaining a disciplined life with reverence to Mattarvnam and regular prayers to the god for well-being of all.

: Keeping the sex desires to the minimum and being restricted to one sex partner.

: Giving respect to god through education for betterment of society, food (non-violence with animals) and health (giving up addiction that hampers knowledge).

The Mader people thus have brought many changes in the society. This is an attempt to integrate their culture with the traditional Hindu system. In their religious system, they worship the same deities that are worshipped by the traditional Sudha Saora community. But their perception has changed a lot. They give priority to education, food pattern and health and want to shape such things in a way to maintain good life.

The pace at which this new religion is marching ahead with popularity, it may be assumed that after some years the total Shudha Saora community would become 'Maders'.

The Maders worship Hindu god Ganesh whom they refer are 'Gayadam' and the Hindu goddess 'Saraswati' by the name 'Sarangboi' along with 'Brahma', 'Vishnu' and 'Maheswar' (Banam - Bisi - Mayet) followed by the names of other twenty four deities associated with the alphabets of 'Sorang sompeng'.

The major festivals and worships that are organized by the Maders at the Mattarvnam temple are : Akshay Tritia or Chandan Jatra, Kartik Purnami and Magha Saptami, etc. Besides, the birth day of the god that falls on 18th June every year is organized with pomp and grandeur.

The Mader people have opened their community centers in the name of 'Mattarvanam Bigyan Pracher Ashram' at various places which mainly attempt to propagate the new religion. Education is being imparted to people at such centers. Useful books in Oriya language are being translated and produced in the Saora language, written in Saora script.

RELIGIOUS PROCESSES OF SHUDHA SAORA

Yearly calender of worships / rituals and festivals.

Saora name of month	English equivalent	Ritual / Festival	Worships offered to (main deity)
1. TANG	March	Rodopur Tangorban Dagapur	Analsum (Pounding hole-sonum) Tangarsum (Road - Sonum) Uyung sum (sun - sonum)
2. NYU	April	Rangipur Yuyuboi pur Abdur	Rangisum (wind - sonum) Yuyuboi sum (Grand mother - sonum) Idital deities and Lobosum (Ikon and Earth - Sonum)

Saora name of month	English equivalent	Ritual / Festival	Worships offered to (main deity)
		Jadapur	Ajorasum (Stream - Sonum)
3. NANG	May	Jananglo pur	Jananglosum (Harvest ground - Sonum)
		Babupur	Babusum (Untranslatable - sonum)
4. GENING	June	Patapur	Patasum (Untranslatable - sonum)
		Gagapur	Gangtang sum (cattle - bullock -sonum)
5. GERING	July	Gangsumpur	Chandi sum (Untranslatable - sonum)
6. NARANG	August	Tamepur	Kitung sum (Untransable - Sonum)
		Lobopur	Lobosum At-da-kalbudu (Earth - Sonum) - do - and others.
7. NIRONG	September	Durga-pur	Durga sum (Hindu deity - spirit)
8. TOBING	October	Kurual	Lobo sum (Earth sonum)
		Harpur	(Untranslable - sonum) compared to Hindu god dess Laxmi.
9. LANG	November	Meria	Kitung sum.
10. SAM	December	Gaisang karja	Kitung sum ancestral spirits
11. SAMAR	January	Tinilpur	
12. LEYANG	February	Tamejum	

IMPORTANT RELIGIOUS PROCESS OF SHUDHA SAORA

RODOPUR OR ANAL PUR

Organized in the month of March (Tang) on a Monday. The worship is offered to Anal-sum (pounding hole-Sonum) who is believed to be present in the rice pounding hole found near the front door of the house. The rice pounding hole is regarded as navel of the house compared to the navel of human body. It is a grand festival and celebrated for seven days continuously. from Monday to Monday. The worship is offered to 'Angang sin' as the 'Istadevta' of Hindus the god is invited to the house. He is also called Angangsumpur.

In this event the old pestle with which rice was pounded is removed from the house. This is done after the Shaman comes to a trance. At that time the house must have been neawly thatched. All the old earthen pots are taken out and replaced by new ones. Everybody wears new clothes.

In the process, the kudarbois or kudans continuously sing the traditional songs about the creation of the cosmos and living beings for seven days at the site of worship. The persons who can afford, organize the worship and the performance is done in any one's house. In this ritual the Shamans make bilateral communication with the dead ancestors and their living kins. The ancestral spirits are requested to act for the welfare of the people in the society. On the eighth day of the ritual the invoked spirits are bade a farewell (Irda) and after that all the materials used in the worship are thrown into water (Ajang = Immersion).

There are certain taboos and restrictions associated with this worship. For seven days all the members of the family (in whose house the worship is arranged) take one meal (lunch) in the whole day. They wear new or washed clothes. Everybody takes bath properly and maintains a sacred atmosphere in the house. For eight days they are to obey the Shamans orders strictly.

The materials used in the worship are Purpler grass(Cynodon dateline), kulpadal leaves (Aegle marmoles), Engerl i.e. twig of (Emblica officinalis), toddy of sago palm (caryota urns), liquor of Mahua called 'Abasal' and molasses. The offering to Barangdev (Brahma) consists of cow milk. To Korangulu (Vishnu) they offer molasses water and to Sisitamroga (Maheswar), Abasal or toddy (Arasal) and country cigar, tabacco leaves, etc.

The Kudarboi visits all the houses carrying a pestle. She puts some rice in every pounding hole and gives two three thrashes to the rice with the pestle. In every pounding hole she puts some quantity of liquor, milk etc.

A cock or a goat is usually sacrificed in the worship. They believe that if

the ritual and sacrifices are not given, the ancestral spirits and the Analsum would cause harms to people, livestocks and the crops.

The Mader people conduct the Analsumpur as one main ritual. The worship is organized in the same way as the traditional people do. But no sacrifice is given. Instead of Kudanboi, a Mader conducts the worship. In this ritual one of the ancestral spirits is installedin the Anal. The offerings given usually comprise of fruits, coconuts ...., etc, but no liquor. On the last day all the crops kept in the house are pound with a new pestle.

The Shudha Saora people regard this ritual as most important as it is done after the harvesting season. In this worship the ancestral spirits good will is sought for good cultivation.

In the death rites, the Anal is given due importance. Before taking the dead body to the cremation ground a 'Anguite' is organised. In the 'abguite', the dead body is kept over the 'Anal'. After burning the body, ash is collected and put in the 'Anal' with liquor. On the day before the Gour a ritual called 'Garalamna' is organised liquor is poured on 'Anol' with invocation to the ancestral spirits. The anol has also much importance on the occasions like KARJA, marriage, festival etc.

YUYUBOI PUR

Yuyuboi pur is organized many times in a year to cure diseases. But in the month of 'Nyu' (April) it is organized ceremonially. Before the day of the performance, a small thatched hut is made for the yuyuboi where the worship is organized. On the scheduled day of worship the Kudonboi invokes the deity alongwith many other ancestral spirits. Black colored bangles, black colored beads and midi colored beads, comb, lamp, agarbatti, knife. Turmeric, rice, 'Muan' (a preparation with fried paddy and molasses), etc. are used as offerings.

On the day of the worship the Kudanboi keeps fast. But she may take milk, molasses water, toddy of sago palm, liquor of Mahuli, etc. No woman in her menstrual period is allowed to go to the site of worship.

The yuyuboi causes headache, fever, wounds, etc. So the people have a great fear complex associated with the spirit. After recovery from prolonged sickness, they go to the ritual spot in a procession with orchestra. Such people bathe with turmeric water and take turmeric to offer to the spirit.

RANGIPUR

The worship is given to Rangisum (wind - sonum). This can be organized anywhere but a solitary place under a big tree in preferred. In this ritual a pigeon

is sacrificed. Other animals may be sacrificed but pigeon is preferred by the spirit. The people attending the worship must not have made any in their clothes or hair. The spirit is worshipped and requested to come quickly. The god is propitiated not to cause a cyclone.

JADAPUR

The worship to Jada sum (Ajora sum - stream sonum) is specially offered for the welfare of pregnant women. After three months of pregnancy the worship is offered lest there is difficulty during pregnancy is assured. Those women who suffer from continuous abortion, worship the deity. On getting a child they organize Jadapur. The worship is organized near a canal or on the side of a canal embankment. In the worship a banana leaf is kept. On the leaf many types of flowers are kept. In the worship a mirror, agarbatti, lamp, rice, turmeric, vermillion, black, etc, are required. Mostly the kudanboi performs the worship.

In the worship, there is no restriction about a sacrifice. If the spirit has not demanded any particular animal people sacrifice animals according to their capacity. The Jadapur is associated with an interesting legend.

BADUPUR

Worship is offered to Babusum in the month of May. Particularly on a Saturday or Sunday or Wednesday which are regarded as the days of Rangisum i.e. wind sonum. People believe that wind carries all the toxic diseases from them. Further, Sunday is regarded as the sun's day which is indirectly associated with wind. The belief is the wind blows because of the sun's heat. This is the reason why they chose those days for the worshipped. The spirit is worship to avoid any major problem like an accident on the way. Fear of harm to livestocks, fear of harm to the family members by the wrath of the spirit compel the people to worship the spirit with reverence.

Pupuri (Cynodon dactylon) grass, Bel leaves (Aegle marmelos), agarbatti, 'Leya' (a preparation of field paddy and molasses) etc. are offered. Cock or goat is sacrificed. The offerings are served to the deity on Sargia (Shorea robusta) leaf. If it is not available leaves of kinte (banana - Musa paradisaca), Lial (Siali - Bauhinia vahlii), kanrungda (Teak - Tectona gradis), padsa (Inck fruit - Artocarpus heterohyllux) etc, may be used. The worship is done at a road junction in the village and at a place in the middle of the village. The worship is conducted by a Kudanboi with or without assistants. Mostly the worship is organized at the junction of the village road and the main road. At the worship spot a stone is erected in the memory of the spirit. Whenever people go through that way to the weekly market or to any other place they put something edible, as an offering to the Babu-sum. By that a

safe journey is forecast. Babusum is the main deity in Idithal (Ikon) paintings.

The religious belief of Maders associated with Babusum describes the spirit as the main security of the village. The spirit controls all evil effects of other spirits. Being installed in the middle of the village, it stands as witness to social justice against disputes. On the occasions of Ganggang mar or atang mar, the dummy peafowl is kept near the Babusum. If the villagers have sound economy, they establish two Babusums, one in the middle of the village and the other at the village-road junction. The day before yuyu boi is worshiped the kudanboi dances in a trance symbolising her communication with Babusum.

JANANGLO PUR

It is a collective worship to Jananglopur. It is done before seeds are sown in the field. The worship is organized at a Jananglo (harvest ground of crops). All the seeds are taken there. The kudanboi invokes the Jananglosum and the ancestral spirits to the site of the ritual. A sacrifice of cock and goat is given. The spirits are requested to extend their blessings and good wills for a better production from seeds (Jamal), that are to be sown.

PATAPUR

Worship is offered to Patasum. It is an one day worship on Sunday or Monday or Saturday. The worship is offered to the Kitungsum. On the day of worship, people ensure that the day should be a day which is favorable for worshipping the wind spirit. for, wind carries message to such spirits. The worship is organized to avoid damage of crops, epidemics mass death of livestocks, premature death of people, etc. Materials that are used in the worship are purpuri (Cynodon dactylon) grass, bel leaves, sacrificial animals like cock or pig. Mostly middle aged people participate in the worship. The meat of sacrificed animals are not taken into house nor children are allowed to eat prasad.

Maders describe Patasum as a security spirit. The priest worships it under any of the trees among Neem (Azadirachta indica) Kendu (Diospyras melanoxylon), Gabar - Ficus benghalensis), Anjar (peepal - Ficus religious), Sargia (sal -shorea robusta). Sindi (date palm - Phoenix sylvestris), karanj (Pongamia pinnata), Bel (Angle narmelos), Uda (Mango - Mangifera indica), etc. The worship is offered to get good wills of the sperits for a good cropping, to avoid the diseases in the crops, to avoid diseases of cattle etc. The worship is organized in a solitary place.

The taboos associated with the worship are : People are prohibited from damaging the vegetation nearby the place where the spirit worshiped or is being worshipped. The food that is offered to the spirits are never given to the children below ten years of age.

GANGAPUR

Worship is offered to Gangtangsum in June. For. the worship, a place in the south-east corner of the village is selected. On that day the cattle sheds are cleaned properly and turmeric water is sprinkled inside the cattle sheds with broken bamboo baskets, a chariot like thing is made in which the spirit sits after invocation . In that bamboo chariot knife, cooked rice are placed on leaf plates. A thin cloth, is fixed at to the top of the chariot. The flag must be immersed black and a rope made of bark of Bauhinia vahlii in tied to the chariot.

The worship is organized on Sunday in a solitary place. Kudanboi preforms the worship. It is believed that the spirit saves the cattle from diseases and people from diarrhoea. The worship is done in the morning. A horse play among the youngmass takes place in which the young people throw mud and termeric water on each other. After that people pick up grass from the kitchen gardens. But the horseplay before the end of the worship is regarded as a taboo.

GANGSUM

The worship is offered to Gangsum or Chandisum in the month of July. For the worship a solitary place in the western or southern corner of the village is selected. The worship is organized in the evening. The Kudanboi beats brasspots like drums when she comes to a trance. In the trance she drives away all the ghosts and spirits from the village. The kudanboi draws three lines in the village boundary and gives offerings to the spirits on the outer edge of the lines. A male pig or a cock is sacrificed. But the meat of the sacrificed animals are not eaten. Only middle aged and elder people can participate in this function. Then the kudanboi fixes a twig of a plant - Asparagus recemosus (Satavari in Oriya) in every bodys house to ensure full safety of the members from the attack of malevolent spirits.

Chandisum (the female spirit) is the spirit of the village border. She is the authority of ghasts and other malevolent spirits like kulba, pisachi, kurbanji, etc. For the worship, a wooden chariot is made. Wooden swords are kept in the chariot and then it is taken to all the houses in the village and from every house offerings are given to the spirit. After the chariot had moved around the village, a pig is sacrificed.

While worshipping the Kudanboi does not cross the boundry line of her village. The Kudarboi is possessed by Ilda (ikon spirit). So there breaksa fight between the Ilda (Posed in kudanboi) and the ghosts and malevolent spirits. The malevolent spirits always try to drag the shaman to the otherside of the boundary so that they can kill her. In trance while moves towards the other border, people hold her back. But there arises many assumptions that may drag Kudanboi towards the other boundry. The assumptions are as follows :

An Ilda is a powerful spirit drawn in the Ikon. Ildas are many and dwell in the underworld. Ildas are ancestral spirits and have a graduation of power. The power of an Ilda is considered on the basis of the accumulated power in the earthly living. For example, a person who was a Gomango in his earthly living became an Ilda after death. In the underworld he is treated as a Gomango. Several such Ildas may be found in the underworld. But a Gomango Ilda is always more powerful than the Dalbehera Ilda (as it refers to the social startification of Saora). Accordingly their also appears different Gomango Ildas who posses different degrees of power. There are also inter - Ilda interactions as it is emphasized always by our informants. Ilda of one village may have good relation with an Ilda of another village. Likewise they may be having enmity among themselves. During the worship of Chandisum, kudanboi usually gets possessed by an Ilda of her village who must be an ancestral spirit of any of the village folks. Chandisum worship is organized to exorcize the evil spirits (Kulbanji) from the village. The evil spirits Kulbanji here are the ghosts or such entities who occupy a space above the Saora living space. Those spirits are the transformed human soul who had certain earthly desires remained unfulfilled when they died. Such spirits never feel contented until they are appeased with offerings of uch things. Persons who die in accidents, prematurely and death at during pregnancy turn to be kulbanji. Because of their unfulfilled desires they cause harm to living people. They keep tabs on the people awaiting a chance to get their desiresfulfilled. In the performance, Kudanboi after being possessed by an Ilda attempts to drive away the evil spirits from the village.

The evil spirits try to drag the kudanboi out of her village boundary. Collectively they try to push the kudanboi to the other boundary (to the clutches of other Kulbanji).

1. If the Kulbanji are more powerful than the Ilda then drags her beyond her village boundery.

2. If the Kulbanji fails in her attempt the Ilda (in Kudanboi) becomes powerful. The Ilda the other boundary helps in mitigating the action of the Kulbanji. In Such cases Ilda of the villages are invoked to enter into an amicable settlement.

3. If the Ilda in Kudamboi has developed enemity with the Ilda of the other village then the latter try to drag the Kudamboi towards his boundary and thus helps kulbanji.

4. With references to point-1 (above), if the Ilda in Kudamboi is powerful than Kulbanji then it helps the kudamboi to stop at the place where Chaudisum is established. So that Kulbanji can't torture the Kudanboi by dragging her towards their boundary.

5. If the Ilda in Kudarboi is not enough powerful, or if other Ilda do not extend help to the Ilda in Kudanboi and if Ilda is less powerful than Kulbanji in these

conditions people of the village for the betterment of whom the worship is organized hold the Kudamboi and stop her at the site of worship lest she crosses the boundary and gets tortured by the evil spirits at the other side of the boundary.

TAMEPUR

It is one type of new eating festival (Tabru : new eating). The festival is organized at a place in the north-east direction of the village. The worship is offered to Kitung sum. Before the event paddy must has to be harvested but before the worship nobody eats it. In fact, no definite spirit is invoked. But in the villages where Babus is installed in the middle of the village with Kitung sum, the worship is organized there and so the place is called Kitungba. On the day of the festival everybody gathers there at the Kitungba. After the worship is done at the Kitungba, by the Kudanboi, people may organize it individually. In every household, people fetch water in new earthen pots for their dead ancestors. A mixed item of rice with other vegetables is cooked and offered to the ancestral spirits.

In the occasion, the materials required for worship are rice, coin (Preferably copper), turmeric purpuri (cynodon daclylon), Bel (Aegle marmoles), Amla targ (Emblica officinais), etc.

The worship is organized on Sunday or Saturday or Wednesday. Before the worship some of the seasonal vegetables are not eaten. If anybody eats such products before a worship, he/she may be taken away by the tiger.

LOBOPUR

Worship is offered to Lobosum (Earth - sonum) on Tuesday or Wednesday during day time. Lobo-boi- the feminine earth sonum is invoked in the worship under a Aba tree (Mowra - butter tree - Madhuka longifolia).

On the day of the event, all agricultural works are stopped. Fowl, goat, buffalo, pig, cow, etc. are sacrificed. A garland made of the feathers of a foul is given to the spirit it is believed that the spirit likes to be adorned with fowl feather. Other materials that are required are : Rice, vermillion, turmeric, black bangle, black beads, Purpuri grass, Bael leaves, hoe, axe, digging rod and other agricultural implements and other tools - implements used in digging and cutting the earth are required in the worship. The worship is organized in August or at the time of Dasahara festival.

If the worship is not organized at the right time, people fear that the productivity of crops will decreas that year and they may be physically harmed by the deity spirite. The monde people also perform the ritual but instead of a sacrifice, they offer coconut.

AT - DA - KALBUDU

The worship is offered to the earth sonum (feminine) and other associated spirits like Siriboi (compared to goddess Laxmi), Kamaboi (compared to goddess Kamala), Gangaboi (water sonum feminine) etc. The worship is offered to them for a better growth of paddy plants. The worship is organized on a 'Amavasya' (no moon light) with a belief that the paddy plants will be as dark as the Amavasya night. It is a collective festival. A person offers a fixed number of packets of offerings which indicate the number of plots under his possession.

The Kudanboi performs worship at the Soredang - where pitchers are kept in house, Kitungba - where the Babusum is installed in the middle of village, Dangda - Stagnant water places, Paruagir - where pigeons are sacrificed. Then the offerings are cooked and distributed among people present there. After the food is finished, the person who offered such offerings takes the earthen pot and places it on a piece of kendu stump and buries it in his fields. The inverted earthen pot on the kendu stump (Diospyros melanoxylon) protects the crops from evil eyes.

The materials required for the worship are a piece of Kendubalunga (stump of Diospyros melanoxylon), turmeric, rice, vermillion, leaf of Gadaloi (semicarpus anacardium) etc. The packets for offering contain turmeric, rice and vermillion. With the above Purpuri grass, Bel leaves, Mahua liquor, Molasses water, dust resin, lamp, etc. are required.

Children up to ten years of age are not allowed to go to the worship spot. If any children are seen there the whole worship becomes fruitless. If the worship is not organized the spirits would cause disease to crops or damage the crops by jungle beasts.

DURGAPUR

The worship is offered to Durgaboi sum. Who may be compared to the Hindu goddess Durga. The worship is arranged in the month of September - October. The spirit is worshipped inside the house and in the jungle. There is no fixed time of worship but it is always performed facing North-East direction When it is organized in the house it is done near the ikon art. The Gomango people install the deity in the forest and worship there.

The spirit is regarded as the authority of tools, implements and other weapons. They believe that if they use such implements and other weapons without offering a worship to the spirit, they will get injury by such weapons. Therefore, on the day of the worship all the agricultural implements and weapons are worshipped. The spirit is said to be living at places like 'Jaugada' (hilly fields)

'Majhigairama' (a hill) and 'Brahmani donger' (a hill). The spirit is also known by the names of 'Jhaliayang', 'Manikeswari', etc.

The worship is organized at night if it is done in the forest. On the occasion, materials like Doob grass, twig of Amla, twig of Ber (Zyzyphus jujuba), rice, bangles, vermillion, beads, etc, are used. People may sacrifice animals starting from cock to buffalo, as per their capacity. A kudanboi performs the worship asking the participants to sit in meditation. Sneezing, coughing are strictly prohibited at the worship. If somebody does so, the Kudanboi faces trouble in dealing with the spirit.

KURUAL

The worship is mainly offered to the Labosum (earth spirit) in the month of October. The worship is organized in the agricultural fields. It is done in the day time. The Gangisum (water source spirit) is worshipped along with Lobosum. In the worship, black bangles, black beads, vermillion, wooden comb, rice, turmeric molasses water, Doob grass, Bael leaves, eggs etc, are required. Chicken and Pigeon are sacrificed. Even buffaloes are sacrificed if the person organizing the worship is economically sound.

A kudan or Kudanboi perform the worship. If the worship is not performed at the right time, the spirit causes a total failure of crops. Both the earth spirit and the water spirit are associated with the worship and so people regard them as two main deities of the agriculture. Besides, the spirits may send the animals to damage the crop.

HARAPUR

The worship is offered to Harasum. The spirit here is a female. She is regarded as the spirit of ornaments, properties, food and well-being. Basically the spirit is considered to be the authority of food. The worship is organized in the harvest ground. It is also organized in the house. When it is done in houses, a number of paddy baskets are usually kept at the worship spot. On this occasion sacrifice of a cock, goat, pigeon, cow and buffalo is given. THe worship is done to appease the deity so that the people can fetch a better production from the cultivation.

On the occasion the spirit is offered with baked cakes made with rice flour or raga flour. But the offerings are served on a banana leaf.

All people except menstruating women and those who have not taken bath are allowed to attend the worship. The menstruating women are strictly prohibited to touch any of the materials used in the worship. If anybody dies in a family its members do not participate or organize the worship.

MERIHA

The worship is organized in the month ofNovember. It is the largest festival ofthe Sudha Saora community. The worship is offered to Kitung sum - a male spirit. Besides the Jujungsum is also held as important in this function. Jujungsum refers to the 'god of the axe'. In the event axe is given importance which is tied to a big tree trunk under which the worship is organized. The trees under which this worship is organized are mainly 'Abarneb' (Banyan tree- Ficus Bemghalensis), 'Limneb' (Neem tree Azadirachta indica) and 'Udaneb' (Mango - Mangifera indica) and sargia (sal - shorea robusta) are the trees under which worship is organised.

The worship continues for three days. It starts on Sunday and continues till Tuesday. The worship begins at 8 o'clock in the night when the axe is brought from the tree to which it was tied earlier. This is regarded as inviting the axe (Tangi sum/Jujungsum) which is then carried to the village in a procession. A worship is offered to the axe before it is brought down from the tree. Only five people consisting of the chief shaman and the village chief go in a group to bring the ceremonial axe. The person who brings it down must climb tree bare bodied.

The worship in the village starts after the axe is brought into the village. It continues till the late night ofTuesday. In the event the materials used are : Solarum (rice and paise), Doob grass, red gram, kulpadal (Aegle marmoles) leaf, new cloth, turmeric, vermillion, axe, gold bracelet, silver bracelet and anklet, etc. Sacrifice of cock, goat, buffalo, etc, are given according to the capacity of people. When animals are sacrificed, the golden and silver bracelet are fixed to the shaft ofthe axe and then with the axe the animal is sacrificed. In the past human sacrifice was given on the occasion of Meria, but now it is substituted with other animals. The axe is also pictured in an Ikon representing the Kitung sum. The Mader people donot offer sacrifices and instead they worship with coconut and other market fruits.

On the occasion of the Meria festival the new eating festival of red gram (Ragan abdur) is organized. In all new eating festivals the Tangisum is worshipped but in the Meria festival the Tangisum is mainly worshipped collectively by the people.

The worship is organized in the middle of the village. In other new eating festivals the axe (Tangi) is not invited physically but worship is offered to the Tangisum at the Jananglo (harvest grounds). In the collective worship where the physical presence of the spirit is felt children are not allowed to go there. The tangi tied to a pole.

After the worship is over people take the Tangi from the site of worship and

tie it again to the original place in the tree from where it was brought. This is regarded as the farewell to Tangisum. At the time of bidding farewell nobody wears a turban.

The worship is organized for the well-being of people. The people who are cured from prolonged sickness take maximum interest in the worship. On the day of worship hand weapons are not used.

GAISANGPUR

Organized in the month of December. in honour of the Kitungsum. The worship is done on a Sunday or Wednesday in the evening at 'Janauglo'. On that day participants do not take food but take liquor. Fried red gram and a sacrifice are offered to the Kitung sum. Sacrifice of a cock or goat or buffalo is given. The meat of the sacrificed animals is cooked the next day of the worship when everybody partakes it.

The worship is organized for personal and community well-being. At the time of worship sneezing is regarded as inauspicious. If any such thing happens people fear of being attacked by diseases later on.

Gaisang is very much associated with karja ceremony. Gaisang is done after the Karja ceremony ends. The Tangi sum that was invited in the Meria festival is further invited for the Karja. After the final day of karja, the Gaisangpur is organized and Tangisum is bade a farewell.

TINILPUR

The worship is offered to Harasum on monday or wednesday or thursday. This worship is arranged in the harvest ground where the un thrashed paddy is piled. Cakes with rice flour are prepared and are kept hidden at various places in the pile of paddy for the goddess of property. The Shaman worships facing the east.

In the worship, black bangles, black beads, different types of cakes (segeipu, Usaipu) and sacrificial animals like cock, goat, etc, are required. This is offered by individual families or collectively with a hope to get better harvest that year.

TAMEJUM

The worship is offered to the Kitung and Radab (charecters in Cosmological myth). It is organized on a full moon night (punia) and sometimes on 'Amavasya' (uansa) no moonnight. For, such days indicate the end of a fortnight. Shaman of any sex can perform the worship. A cock or a goat is sacrificed. All the

edible products of the forest are offered to the spirits requesting the well-being of people.

ICON ART IN THE CONTEXT OF SAORA RELIGION

The Saora people are aware of various spirits in their respective abodes. Hill spirits, stream spirits, spirits dwelling in sun, moon, sky, agriculture fields are very much known to the Saora people as supernatural beings. The ancestral spirits on the other hand, are dead ancestors and tutelaries who live in the underground. The spirits always have specific needs and demands over the Saora people. They fulfill such needs and demands of the spirits through rituals, festivals and worships in which offerings and sacrifices are given to appease them. By doing this the Saora people by to ensure well-being. It is believed by them that if the spirits are appeased by regular offerings and sacrifices or whenever their demands the things required by them are fulfilled, they (spirit) become benevolent and extend their mercy to the people. The spirits sometimes like to be with Saora people in the living world. The Saoras believe that the spirits maintain a social life like that of the Saoras in the living world. So the spirits are given a seat in their houses. This seat for spirits in the a house is the Idital (Icon). Idital is painted on several occasions. Whenever the occasion comes the spirit instructs in a dream to a person to arrange the painting of an Idital art, so that the spirit can live with the family members where icon is drawn.

The Icon art is very much linked with the shamanism of Saora religion. When a person falls sick for long days paerticularly suffers from a bad headache and continuous fever, a shaman is invited to diagnose the disease and prescribe for the cure. The Shaman first detects the malevolent spirits which are supposed to have caused the ailment and then the shaman asks the spirit his need to be satisfied and take away the ailment from the patient. At that time the spirit demands a seat in the house in the form of an Icon. If the patient ignores his request the sickness continues. So the person arranges for the icon painting and invites the painter. The Idimar paints the idital on the wall.

On this occasion the Idimar keeps fast. He takes food only after the sun-set. During the day time he only liquor and boiled red gram. In the morning the female members of the house make arrangements for drawing of Idital. They spray water and give the wall a very good backgroud for drawing. Usually they polish it with red-ochre. They powder the rice and make a paste for painting. The modern Saoras add colours for painting. Black, Blue, Red are specific colours used for painting. They donot use any other colours as they believe that the spirits have a dislike for this. A case in Dungdungar village has observed in this regard. There the Idimar used blue colour instead of black. Because they did not get colour at that

time. When the spirit possessed the kudanbai (female shaman), she supervised the house made for him and complained that the blue colour is not suit him at all. He demanded black colour. The Idimar and other members convinced him not to be rigid on his (spirit's) decision. Because it is very hard to draw an Icon. After sketch of an Icon, the Idimar hesitatse a lot to redraw it. So he tried to convince the spirit. At last he succeeded at the cost of a cock which was sacrificed in the name of the spirit. So while drawing an Icon, the Idimar as well as the Shaman take utmost care. It takes maximum three days to complete an Idital. Up to that period the Idimar keep fasting but not the Shaman. While the Idimar remains busy in drawing Idital, the shaman remains busy in the arrangement of worship of idital. Mohua liquor is the main item for the worship of Idital. Other materials used are Rice, Paddy, new clothes, Kitchen items etc.

After finishing the Idital, next morning the Kudanbai invites other kudanbais. With those senior Kudanbois, the Junior one takes seat before Idital and chants lines alongwith the seniors. Through encantations they invite the deities represent-ed in Icon. Elephant, Horse, Monkey, Snake, Porcupine, Pigeon, etc. On that day the senior shamans along with the junior keep on fasting. This puja is performed in three phases. One just after completion of the Idital, the last phase after the sacrificial animal is cooked. When the idimar draws Icon, he starts it, after offering a worship to the spirits saying "I am going to draw Idital, but I do not know whether you will like it or not, mistakes will be there, but please guide me and help me to draw an Icon which will suit you". He makes a brush from the twig of a tree, and starts painting. First he draws the outline of the Icon and then the picture of deities. Then animals, birds, insects liquors and spirits etc. are drawn. During the field investigation, the Shamans stated that the contents depicted in the Icon are by drawn under the direction of the deities. In most cases the shamans dreamt the contents of Icon. It was also said that the, Idimar also sometimes dreams the contents of Icon.

The spirits related to iditals are Ilda, Idaisum and their servants. The chief deity of the idital is Ildasum. Ildasum was never a living beings but the child of Raudes, who married female Shamans of living world. The underworld spirits select the living beings of opposite sex to marry and they are supposed to have children in the under world (Kinnarai desha). And the whole thing (conjugal life and birth of children) happens in dream.

The female shamans sometimes dream of more than one spirits. It she marries more than one underworld spirits, she will have to paint more than one icons in her house. The number of icons painted in a kudambai's house represent the number of times she is married to the underworld spirits. This Icon painting in the Kudanbois house has a symbolic meaning that the under world spirit whom the Kudanboi married, is believed to be the master of the Kudanboi. She is always

directed by the main spirit in the icon, which is most probably known as Ildasum, benevolent spirit and they help the living beings whenever they are asked they acts as a middle man between the living being and the spirits through Kudanboi. Ildasum is also regarded as the home deity of the Kudanboi. In each abdur festival the shaman first worships the icon deities and later the others. The occasions under which icons are worshiped is mentioned earlier in this chapter.

For various purposes various types of Icons are drawn. The Icon art is of two types.

1. Sometimes the Icons are made in the outside wall of the houses, for decoration of the house. It is mostly found in Sudha Saora area.

2. The Icons which are not connected with rituals, is decorative and no worship is required for it. But when it is in connection with rituals, several purposes may be assigned to it. Varrier Elwin in his book 'Religion of an Indian tribe' has given stress on purposes for which icons were drawn. He collected seven major types of icons which are as follows :

1. Icons desired to promote or preserve the fertility of the crops. (with six case studies).
2. Icons dedicated to gods to avert diseases. (with 18 case studies)
3. Icons made to assist child birth (with 2 case studies)..
4. Icons which represent shrines / hills (with 7 case studies)
5. Icons made in houses of tutelaries (with 8 case studies)
6. Icons made in honour of dead (with 5 case studies)
7. Icons made for those who have been abroad (with 4 case studies)

According to Behera and Dash 1994 the following new findings are supplemented to Elwin's version.

They showed 22 other purposes for which the Saoras draw icons. These are :

i) In certain festivals like Jammolpur, osanadur etc. deities like Labosum and a few others including Jemra kitung, Sidibiradi alongwith the ancestral spirits are drawn in the icons. They are propitiated for a better fertility.

ii) Kitung and few other deities, when in need of a servant or maid servant, cause illness and demand icon with the liquor for a servant.

iii) Same deities or ancestral spirits do not like isolation or loneliness. They demand an icon-house inside the house of somebody. They inform about their

desires in dreams and in case of refusal, serve illness.

iv) When somebody utilises the natural resources without the permission of the concerned deity, (In Gadalpur when grass is cut without the permission of Gadalsum, plucking of spinach without the permission of Ganjusum, clearings are done without the permission of Lobosum etc.) illness is caused.

v) In some cases, when somebody neglects his ritual responsibility under the pressure of liquor the deities get annoyed and cause illness which can be averted only by drawing an icon in their honour.

vi) In a few other cases, it is also noticed that some deities get tired while passing by the village and want to halt there. They cause fever to some one in the village and demand an icon-house for them.

vii) When somebody does not offer tobacco to the forest deity (Bena sum) while carrying on forest activities, the deity feels insulted and causes illness and one has to draw the icon for cure.

viii) When a son does not continue the father's shamanistic tradition, due to which the concerned deties are not worshipped, the spirit of the father as well as the deities become unhappy. They cause illness and demand an Icon for the cure.

ix) In another case, one of the two brothers was found to possess Icon while the other one did not have. The deities also wished to stay in the later's house and demanded an icon, for them.

x) When somebody neglects his ancestral spirits, they cause illness to him and demand an icon for cure.

xi) Some deity (like Kondusum) came with a girl who was returning home after dancing and desired to stay in her house.

xii) The deity Jaliyasum wanted to have his marriage ceremony depicted in the icon and caused illness for the fulfillment of his desire.

xiii) For reason of common welfare, icons for sahibsum, mamosum, Jammolsum, n, Barongsum etc. are drawn on the wall of the living room.

xiv) For the purpose of smooth child delivery, the concerned household heads draw icons Darammaboi and Gadeiangboi.

xv) When mother's breast becomes dry and the child suffers, icon for Tali yumsum (For mothers nipple) and Uraliunqsur is drawn.

xvi) For collective cure icon of vyunqrum is drawn.

xvii) When some body does not care for Kannosum, after the death of his father, the deity causes and instructs to continue the propillication through icon.

xviii) On the occasion when somebody meets Karnosum and his companions and do not pay respect, they cause illness and demand an icon.

xix) In two separate cases, two Oriya deities like Gosain Mahaprabhu (of Gumma) and Orissa Manjorsum have been found to cause afflictions and they inform (through dreams) to be depicted in Saura icons.

xx) Basing on the relationship between Shaman and his female or the shamanin and her female tutelary, many of icons also found to be drawn.

a) In some cases, the shaman is troubled by marrying two tutelaries and therefore has to draw separate icons for each of them.

b) In some cases, the tutelary may also demand icon for his/her relatives.

c) In other cases, the spiritual husband of the female tutelary also demands a separate icon as well as food.

xxi) Spirits of some ancestors are not satisfied with any Guar (secondary mutuary rite) ceremony and thus demand icons for them.

xxii) In some cases, when an ancestral spirit is placed in the icon, his spiritual friend, also demands a place in the same icon.

In addition to the above mentioned purposes some numbers of icons were found for different purposes during are field investigation. These are as follows :-

In chapter society and culture-1, one case study of village *Dungdungar* has been mentioned regarding the reversion of Saora culture.

1. Icons related to reversion
(Christian Saora to Lanjia Saora)

Kanisum's Soul entered the body of her daughter Agina and she had fever. Kanisum demanded that Agina's daughter should revert back to their traditional culture and continue the tradition of shamanism. The daughter hesitated and the fever continued. So at last one day the daughter agreed to the Sonum's demand and onbehalf of her,,her father sacrificed a goat and gave her the words that his daughter will continue the shamanistic tradition. Surprisingly, the daughter got well on the very next day of the worship.

2. Icons related to socially-isolated people.

When some body commits Ersee, then the society members disapprove him/her socially. So they suffer from a social-isolation. When kanja was being held in that village some socially-isolated members brought sacrificial animals and expressed their desire to re-unite with the village members at that time the shaman up the village demanded in icon showing the purificatory ceremony.

3. Icons drawn in name-giving ceremony

Icons are drawn in naming ceremony and the function is depicted in the icon. This is to oppease ancestral spirits.

The reasons which Varrier Elwin, Das and Behura have mentioned for making Idital, states that there is a close interaction between the living Saoras and the dead ancesters /supernatural entities. The Saoras believe that the diseases are caused due to the wrath of the deities. So by depicting an icon in their house they satisfy the deity and save themselves from the deities' wrath. The icons are drawn mostly in the dark corner of the house, where interference of the people is less. They are very particular about the words they speak in the house. Because there is a chance of offending the deity through words which is a taboo for them. They consider the icon as the deities' house and they believe that from there the deity keeps an eye on the household members. The icon deities are responsible for the wellbeing of the respective familys where it is drawn.

Idital is the word which means (*id*-to write *talan* - on walls) to write on the wall and the person who does it is known as *Idimar*. The Saora also believe that the deity or *Ildasum* is a literate deity and they connect the work- *Id* for this. The deity Ildasum is an educated deity. Shudha Saoras namely it as *Babusum* and believe that Babusum is connected with the clerical jobs. Infront of the idital 3/4 pots, umbrella etc, are hanged from the roof. The pots are full of rice, Bidi etc. while they worship the Idital they change the rice and it is only eaten by the Shaman or else they throw it. They believe that the rice may became tastless after it is offered to the Sonum.

The Sonums designed on the icon mostly anthropomorphic. From the figure it is very difficult to identify the sex of the beings. The male and female can be identified with their work patterns. Females are shown carrying water in pitchers and male with axes etc. The other pictures depicted in the icon are

Monkey, Sun Moon, Peacock, Banana, Snake, Modern equipments, Vehicle, Axe, Bow and Arrow, Percupliue, Elephant, etc. In addition to the table antents what push and Behura have mentioned is given here -

In addition to the above materials now new modern equipments like watch, radio etc. are found. In village Mahul Bania one Idimar named Indanga when being question as to why he has drawn wall clock in the 'Idital', repared now-a-days the Sonums also have realised the value of time. So they want to utilise time properly. The answer drives here a point that not only the Lanjias but also their sonums are on the process of acculturisation. It also proves to some extent that the Idital which the Idimars weere drawing earlier are completely from their imagination. The more

broader out look of the Idimar helps him to draw more modern technological equipments in Idital. The young Idimar also omits some items i.e. porcupine, some trees etc. this in all probability is due to deforestation. In the absence of jungle animals and wildtrees the Saoras are likely to forget these things slowly.

Acculturisation and Christianity put a great impact on Saora Idital. Drawing Idital is an expensive item. The anti-sacrifice teams or reformative parties are Maders, and Christians stopped drawing Idital in their houses. Because Idital deity always demands sacrifice, which is a taboo for reformative groups. In place as Idital the maders are drawing in the picture of "Akhsar Brahma" and they consider it as their Idital. There fore it will not be justified if we say that Idital is totally on the verge of extinction in Saora society. Rather, we can say the contents of the traditional Idital which used to represent their indigineous world view and culture is now on the verge of extinction.

TABLE - 13

PICTURE DEPICTED IN THE ICON

Sl. No.	Item of Icon	Most frequently found		Less frequently found	
		Name	Meaning	Name	Meaning
1.	Image of deities	Yuyngsum	She has given birth to all Saora being (Lanjia Saora believe)	Other deities like Ancestral Spirits, Lobosum, Gungisum, Kittung, Karnosum, Jalliyanem etc.	The reasons are mentioned in this chapter. (about purposes)
		Angaisum (Moon deity)	Friend of Sun deity		
2.	Human Images	Dancing troops	Dead ancestral spirits or servants of Ildasum.	King's palace and court playing of musical instruments, Men carrying Yoke, Men preparing Liquor, drinking liquor, hunting troop etc.	Servants and courtiers of Ildasum.
		A person sitting on chair.	Ildasum		
		Shaman curing the patient	Shaman himself / herself		
3.	Animal	Monkeys	The kin of ancestral spirit evolved from Kureitung	Percuppine	Responsible for watershed management (for Ilda)

TABLE - 13

PICTURE DEPICTED IN THE ICON

Sl. No.	Item of Icon	Most frequently found		Less frequently found	
		Name	Meaning	Name	Meaning
		Dog	(Kambutung) Symbol of Ratu'dsum	Frog	Responsible for rain
		Tigers	(Kinlan) Metamorphosis of man to tiger, symbol of manisum	Horse	Vehicle of Ildasum
				Fish, Crab etc.	------
		Elephant	Vehicle of Ildasum	Lizard, Snake	Servant of Uyungsum
4.	Birds	Peacock	Symbol of royality	Hen, Cock & others (unknown ones)	Favourite birds of Ildasum
5.	Trees	Banana	Favourite tree of Raudasum & also symbol of A'dur	Bees in a tree	Symbol of Lobosum (Earth - deity)
6.	Vehicles	Bus, Bi-cycle	Vehicles of spirits who are from abroad	Aeroplane, Train etc.	Vehicles of abroad spirits
7.	Crops	Crops	Bumper harvest	------	-------
8.	Weapons	Bow and arrow	Weapons of Ilda & Idaisum	Swords, Guns etc.	Weapons of Ildasum.

10

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE OF SHIFTING CULTIVATION OF THE SAORA

Tribal communities living amidst hills and forests maintain different modes of earning livelihood. The earning of a livelihood as is observed among hill tribes and communities is mostly acquired from their immediate resource base : the forests and hills. The primitive tribal communities usually depend upon forests and hills and collect minor forest produces, continue hunting animals and gathering food materials from the forests. Primitive communities were depending upon a hunter, gatherer mode of economy and livelihood. With advancement and progressive development of primitive societies, a settled life style became common to most of the forest living tribal and non-tribal communities. Settled life style started with a stable supply of income and economy from lands and forests around the settlement. This stable supply of economy indicates a settled agriculture. So settled life style started with settled agriculture and hence agriculture is the first culture. Because agriculture assures a regular source of subsistence economy. This settled agriculture, in the beginning, started in the available plain lands. But plain lands are not found everywhere adequately, especially in forest and hilly areas. Consequently the quest for more lands to cultivate and produce more led the primitive man to cultivate on the hill lands.

This hill land cultivation is not common to all primitive tribal communities, though most of the tribal communities continue the same method of livelihood. In the southern part of Orissa many tribal communities inhabit. Shifting cultivation is a method of slash and burn cultivation, called swiddening in anthropological terminology. It is also called shifting cultivation as the plots are continuously changed, often the change of plots are done every year and changing the plots after two years of cultivation in the same plot is also not uncommon. With the changing

af plots for hill land cultivation, people also shift from one place to another which is not common now-a-days. Besides the above terms, the practice is known in local terms as *podu chasa* or *podu* or *Donagra chasa* or *Jhum chasa*...etc. But all the terminologies refer to the same practice and mean slashing the vegetation followed by burning the same to clear a patch of forest or hill to undertake shifting cultivation.

Here we are concerned with two sections of the Saora community Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora. The Lanjia Saoras are mostly the hill land cultivators whereas Shudha Saora do it rarely. Both the Lanjia and Shudha Saoras are common in one respect as they are two sub-types of the main community. The Lanjia Saoras are also regarded as hill Saoras and the Shudha Saora are known as plain Saoras. This makes a geographical distribution of the Saora community. Besides it gives an idea about the environment of their habit to. Both the sections admit that they, in very ancient days were maintaining a mode of livelihood from hunting, gathering of food, collection of minor forest produces and after-wards they turned to be settled people and practised settled cultivation. Therefore, there are two main methods of subsistence found in those two sections of the Saora, the plain land cultivation and hill land cultivation. The Shudha Saora being plain land people are more subjected to plain land cultivation whereas the Lanjia Saora have comparatively few plain lands for cultivation. They being the hill inhabitants perform their different modes of cultivation viz: shifting cultivation, terrace cultivation and plain land cultivation. Lanjia Saoras are accustomed to agricultural practices on hill lands and terraces. The Shudha Saora people are rarely seen cultivating on hill lands and terraces in which Lanjia Saora people have a good expertise.

The shifting cultivation is not a recent calling of Lanjia Saora people. Since ages they are continuing in the practice of this slash and burn type of cultivation. It is quite an important cultivation on the hill slopes. Lanjia Saoras call it 'Barooh loom' (which literally means hill works). But it refers to the shifting cultivation. It is so, because work on hill lands or hill slopes is nothing but the practice of shifting cultivation. The hill slopes are called 'Manengbur'. Manengbur has further two more terms associated with regard to the shape of the hill slopes. If the hill is parabolic in shape, with its slopes being too wide, then the slopes are called 'Dungdungbur'. If the hill is too high with very steep slopes, sharply ascending towards the top, it is called 'Adungdangbur' Thus 'Dungdungbur' refers to wide hill slopes and Adungdungbur refers to narrow and steep slopes on the hills. In either of the terms, the suffix 'Burr or Burh' refers to the hills.

Vertically the hills are divided into three parts viz : Amutti, that defines the top of the hill, 'Trangdi' the middle region and 'Baseng' the base of the hill. Further, the different parts of the hills are also given names. The Baseng is often known as Ajing burh which refers to foot hill and the Trangdi region is known as Aba burh

that refers to the hill summit. But the terminology for the hill top changes depending upon the condition of landscape and vegetation. In consideration, the 'Amutti' is known as 'Aagari' if the hill top is a plain levelled land, like a plateau. A plateau has little of vegetation, sometimes only grass.

Further the size of hills also varies in shape and height. If a hill is too high or like a mountain it is called 'Lanka burh'. Correspondingly, the top of the mountain is called 'Lanka burh amutti'. If the 'Lankaburr amutti' is more or less like a plateau, it is 'Lanka amutti agari' or 'amutti aagari burh,. But 'amutti' is always associated with 'burh' for a plateau on hill top. Besides, there are small hills or hillocks which are called 'Mundi burh'. Therefore there is a distinction between different sizes of hills in terms of their shapes and sizes. Thus three types of hills are known to Lanjia Saora people viz : the large hills ('Lanka burh'), medium hills ('Burh') and hillocks ('Mundiburh').

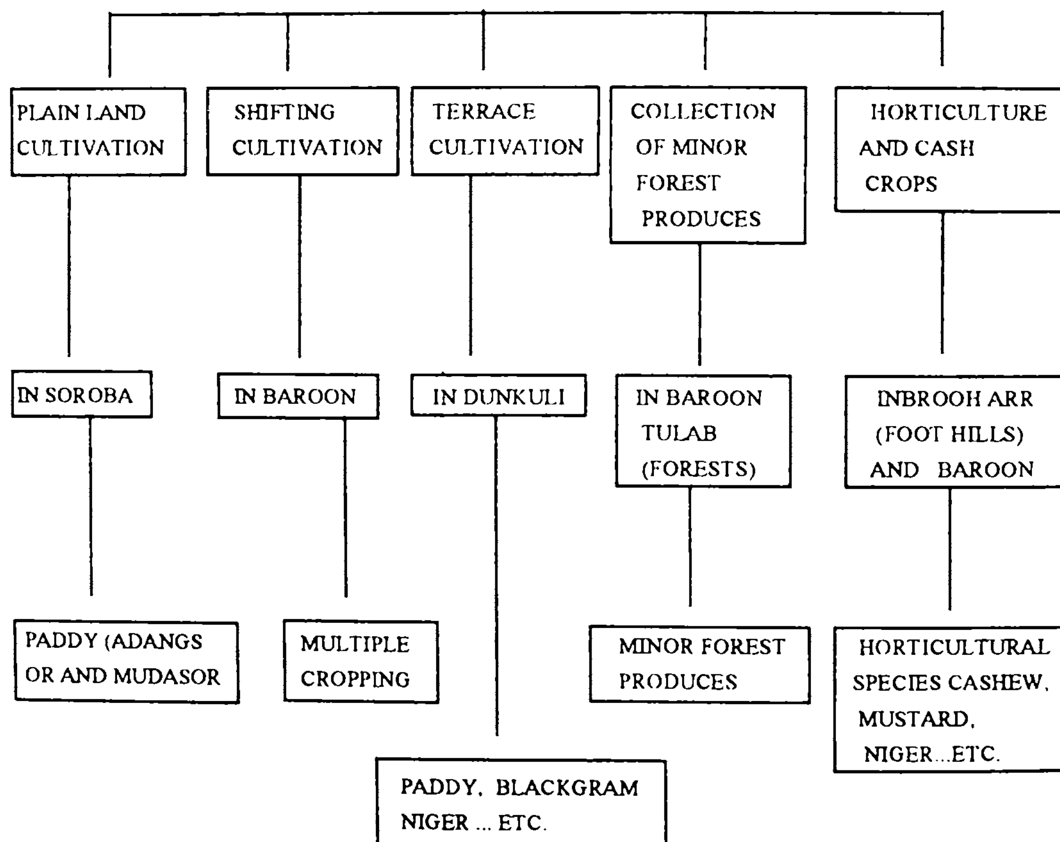
In terms of the practice of shifting cultivation, a hill is divided into four parts. The 'Baseng' is the foot hill, ascending upwards is the 'Barron'. The Baroon continues with the terminal part of the hill. The region between the 'Baroon' and Amutti is called Kamada. Kamada is understood as no-working zone. Sloping downwards from Baseng is 'Dunkuli'. Which is the area at the foot hill where terrace cultivation is done. But Dunkuli refers to small embankments patches of land irregularly shaped and surrounded by stone embarkments where paddy cultivation is practised. Downwards the Dunkuli are plain lands ('Soroba'). Baseng is the foot hill, slightly levelled land where seasonal crops are cultivated. 'Baroon' is the place where shifting cultivation is done. Shifting cultivation is not only confined to the Baroon, but also it may ascend and descend towards the hill top or the hill base. As per the general understanding of different parts of hills 'Baroon' comes under the middle part of the hill ('Trangdi'). Baseng and Dunkuli are at the foot hill. The region regarded as no work place called kamada comes under the 'Amutti'.

In fact, Baroon is the place where shifting cultivation is usually organized. In Dunkuli, wet or terrace cultivation is done and at foot hills the cash crops like Mustard, Niger is cultivated.

Lanjia Saoras mode of cultivation produces two types of economy viz : subsistence economy and cash economy (that is derived from the cash crops that are sold in market). Horticulture is however one more additional practice of earning a livelihood and cash with which the Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saoras, both are taking interest. Livestock is given least priority for earning cash. To discuss about the various aspects of agriculture and horticulture, it will be better to start with a graphical representation of their mode of maintaining a livelihood.

TABLE

METHODS OF MAINTAINING A LIVELIHOOD



Given above are five most important type of resources from which the Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saoras are deriving their livelihood. But by now the Shudha Saoras being the plain inhabitants are only limited to plainland cultivation with few of terrace cultivation and very rarely shifting cultivation. But they do not like shifting cultivation. All these five methods of earning subsistence economy and cash economy are observed in case of Lanjia Saoras.

TERRACE CULTIVATION

Terrace cultivation is commonly seen at the foot hills. The foot hill sometimes continue to sources of perennial streams. The wide terraces are made

on hill slopes. On the wide slopes, the Lanjia Saoras make stone embarkments and convert them into plain lands. These stone embarkments are called 'Tinniradang' or 'Tumarpal'. But the term 'Tumarpal' is used widely. Those plain lands are perfectly levelled (which is known as Dunkuli). The boundary (Yayaar) of the patch decides if it can be made into a Soraba i.e.plain field or Dunkuli. The entire hill slope is made like steps with stone embarkments around. Going downwards from the top towards the water source a number of terraces are made. The first terrace keeps the second terrace at a level of one foot or two feet below the first terrace. The stone wall, cemented with mud separates the first and second terrace (is called 'Banda'). From a hill downwards many a number of terrace field is seen. If the terrace fields are large patches of plain fields, they are used for paddy cultivation.

The terraced field cultivation is a rainfed cultivation. Rain water from hill tops are harnessed in the terraced fields. The stone embarkments of the first terrace collects water. There are small outlets at the base of the stone embarkment (called 'Tannida') through which rain water from the first terrace passes down to the second terrace. In this manner the rain water flows downwards from one terrace to another till water reaches the last terrace after which it flows into the streams.

Lanjia are expert in terrace making. The way they make stone embarkments gives them the identity as the experts in making stone embarkments. They set the stones in such a manner that the wall takes a good setting and it becomes hard to break the embarkments with even a heavy push. The embarkments cemented with mud makes it impreguable to water. Therefore with each embarkments (Tannidi i.e.) outlets are kept through which water passes from one field to another.

In setting the stones to make embarkments and terraces women have better expertise. Of course, a small child of Lanjia Saora community also knows making embarkments. But mostly women are seen doing it and the male folks help them. Male folks usually work to gather heavy and huge stones at the site of work. They set the heavy rocks. The stones are made available in hill slopes. They are collected and gathered. In cases where huge stones are available in the land these are broken down into smaller pieces. The Lanjia Saora people use their indigenous method in breaking down large stones. That they set fire under such large stones. The stones get cracked by fire. Then the stones are hammered cracks are made wide with digging rods. Those stones are used for making embarkments.

This practice of terrace making and stone embarkments prevent soil erosion from the fields. This also gives the fields a good shape. This is a practice in which stones and rocks are gathered at one place and the fields become rock free. This gives an additional advantage for ploughing such lands.

On the terraces paddy is cultivated. Usually two types of paddy are

cultivated. One is called Adangsar or Ambadhana and the other a Mudasar or Sanadhana. The Adangsar is cultivated by January/February at place where there is provision for irrigation and harvested by May-June. Because the paddy is reaped by the time of mango maturing, it is called Ambadhana. Ambadhara is not commonly cultivated on hill terraces for, there is no adequate provision for irrigation to the crops. The other type of paddy called Mudasar is cropped during the season and reaped by November-December. Mudasur is mostly cultivated on the hill terraces.

The entire agricultural work is done in a routine manner. These people follow an agricultural calender which guides them for timely agricultural operations. For the field operations and working pattern they do not follow calenders as the developed society. They have denomination of months in accordance with the agricultural practices, but not in accordance with lunar phases and climatic conditions. The calender for other rituals and festivals are also followed according to the said mouthy. The agricultural operations, and harvesting of crops at different interval give an account of the nature and criterion for denominating the months with such names. A number of rituals and festivals are also associated with agricultural operations.

Assessing the climatic conditions the Lanjia Saora people know three seasons named Dagagai for summer season, Ganur gai for rainy season and Rangagai for winter season. The term Daga refers to the hard sunny days, Ganur refers to rain and Ranga refers to colder days.

The term 'Gae' is used as suffix to name a season. 'Gae' actually refers to month. In case of seasons it refers to month. 'Gae' is derived from 'Angai' that means the moon. Though there is no direct evidence to say that 'Gae' is related to 'Angai' or 'Gae' is a derivative term of 'Angai', yet it seems so from the explanation of Lanjia Saora people, relating 'Gae to Angai'.

The Saora know their month by agricultural practices. They depend upon the climatic conditions for field operations and agricultural cycle. With a delay in the favourable climatic conditions, agricultural practice is also delayed. Therefore, agricultural practices are a function of climatic conditions and in otherwords climatic conditions determine the cropping cycle and other agricultural operations. The months are not denominated in accordance with the to climatic conditions. As the denomination of months is based on the agricultural operations, the Saora agricultural months sometimes vary (with the corresponding English and Oriya equivalent months). Further, sometimes a month becomes a period of fifteen days rather than being thirty days, depending upon the finishing of agricultural oprations.

The yearly calender of agricultural operations given in the table - 1 of this

chapter is very general and the operations are not arranged in accordance with the specific agricultural lands. Here it means that specific types of crops are cultivated in specific type of lands. For example, paddy can be cultivated in terraces and plain lands. Therefore to put all the practices of agriculture as is done in different kinds of fields could not be put in the agricultural calender.

SWIDDENING

For Lanjia Saora people shifting cultivation is a major avenue for earning a livelihood. This system of cultivation needs detailed discussion.

SWIDDEN PLOTS

In Lanjia Saora society, swidden plots are individually owned or the lands are under personal possession. This would mean that the swidden plots have become more or less settled plots for them. Every family or every household possesses a limited number of plots around the village. This personal possession is hereditary. Ultimately the father's plot is divided among the sons. Traditionally, the swidden plots are distributed Birinda wise (Patnaik N 1989).

"Traditionally the hills are distributed on the basis of Birinda or extended families. Members of a particular Birinda used to have swiddens exclusively on a hill and no outsider was allowed to share the hill for shifting cultivation. An individual who has been cultivating a particular plot continues to own it as long as he is capable of cultivating it. Thus individual ownership of swiddens on hereditary basis is in vogue among the Saoras".

This individual ownership of land is continuing since long. The way all those lands came to be personal possessions, has become a matter of legend. The possession of a land depends much on labour force. In this consideration, the person, in the past, who had more of man powers to put for clearing forests and convert them into swidden plots, was able to acquire more of hill lands. Therefore, personal possession of lands is a function of labour input. When more area on the hills was available in the past, a family could go on adding new plots to their family possession. But now, after the hill lands are limited and restricted there is no chance of acquiring more lands. There are several factors interwined with this personal possession of land and its transfer to others on hereditary basis.

In the past, the forests were not protected. The Lanjias used to clear the available forested patches on hills near to their settlement. These fields were very much limited then. But with increase in population, the able bodied persons in families increased. They could clear more of hilly forests, convert them into swidden plots and bring them under personal possession. This is the history of swidden plots of Lanjia Saoras. When forests were protected and the peoples'

accessibility was restricted, people could not go for more lands on hills. Though the population is increasing, yet the land remains constant, so the people were confined to limited patches of lands which acquired by their father or forefathers. The swidden plots are very much rationed. The land to man ratio which was then optimal, has now decreased to a great extent after the forests were declared protected and prohibited. The increase in population also adds to the decrease in land to man ratio.

In the context of the shifting cultivation, a land can not be continuously cultivated, lest the fertility of the soil goes down. Again all their plots are not confined to one place or on one hill close to their village. They have also swidden plots on hills at a great distance from the settlement. According to the Lanjia Saoras, in past people were shifting from one place to another for swiddening. Though their village settlement remained unchanged, they used to go to distant places for agricultural operations in swiddens and stay there in watch huts. Therefore, all the swidden plots under the possession of one Birinda are not confined to one place, rather are found here and there.

According to the traditional practice, a swidden plot is cultivated at an interval of three to four years. This interval is the resting period of the swidden plots. This is called as 'Sala dabur', which refers to the regeneration of vegetation in the cultivated plots. People under personal possession had four sets. When one set of plot was cultivated, the other three sets were left for 'Saladabur'. Further, different swidden plots had different fertility levels from which the yield was calculated.

Since last three-four generations, it has not been possible for them to add a new swidden plot. This is due to the restriction imposed on their accessibility by the forest authorities. The best site for shifting cultivation was regarded as Baroon. But with the increase population and limited swidden plots, Lanjia Saora families are experiencing a crisis. People are going on clearing the hills till the top to add more lands to their previously possessed swidden plots. The previously owned swidden plots did not need much labour. But now with the increase in labour input in Birinda, accessibility into the forests has decreased.

Besides the swidden plots, the terraced fields and plain land are also limited. There is no chance for the growing population to convert more areas into terraced plain lands. The terraced and plain lands are revenue lands and the swidden plots which the tribal people posses personally are authorized on lease basis. Besides, the kitchen gardens and other areas near the houses are under encroachment of the household. These are also the revenue lands under personal possession. The land holding capacity of all Saoras are not equal. In consideration to land holding, they have different orders of farmers starting from very marginalised to big farmers.

In contrast to Lanjia Saora, the Shudha Saoras do not have swidden plots under their personal possession. For, thy are not shifting cultivators and whatever land they own are plain lands or slopy lands at the foothill, all of which are revenue lands. Shudha Saora possess land revenue records. They do not have terraced lands even. Their land owning pattern also goes on hereditary basis.

SELECTION OF SITE FOR SWIDDENING

Swidden plots are usually prepared on the hill slopes. The selection of a site for swiddening mainly depends upon two main factors viz : the vegetation and soil. Black soil are very much preferred for swiddening. For, black soil is known to be very much fertile from where a good yield of crops can be obtained. The dense vegetation, a great number of timber trees is not preferred for, it will demand more utilization of man power to clear the vegetation. Therefore, a fertile land, not too much of a rocky surface and a less thick forest is cut and cleared for swidden plots.

In the past when Lanjia Saoras needed more lands, first of all they located and decided to clear a new patch of forest or hill slope for swiddening. Then they decided about the man power to be provided for the purpose and estimated the area that could be cleared with the limited man power. During selection of a site keeping in view to the vegetation and the soil condition, attention was given to the total land available in that area and availability of perennial source of water. If vast rack of land was available and there was a good source of permanent water supply, the area was chosen without any hegitation. The group of people who went to clear the forests there decided to stay there temporarily for field preparation as well as for further cropping. This may have also led to a permanent settlement in such place. People also make terraced lands and shape the available plane lands for paddy cultivation. A larger area of land to be cultivated demands the permanent settlement of people at such places. This is the cause why people of one Birinda get scattered.

Further, if a permanent settlement is thought of, other conditions for living are considered. These conditions are the availability of fruit yielding trees nearby, a perennial water stream, available plain land to be used for Kitchen gardens etc.

Besides fertility and the labour to clear the patches of forests, the per capita share of lands are given priority. Further, the destruction of crops by the jungle beasts is also taken into concideration. The distance of the swiddens from the villages is also considered. If it is too far from the village there are problems in cropping, maintaining the crops, harvesting and carrying the produce to the village. If a family does not have plain lands or swiddens near the village settlement, the whole family was also shifts to the new place to work and safeguard the crops.

During site selection hill slopes are also considered to be a important factor for. If the slopes are very wide, they are preserved for terrace making. Before

making them into terraces, clearing and one or two phases of multiple cropping are done there. With the multiple cropping in the proposed terrace areas, the land is levelled by removing the stones and uprooting the entire vegetation, stumps and roots. If the hill slope is not too wide, or narrow they are chosen for multiple cropping and are regarded as Baroon in Saora dialect and Bagad in Oriya. Too narrow slopes are not considered for Bagad, but they are not left completely. They are left with the natural vegetation for the time being and when the Baroon becomes inadequate to cater to the needs of the cultivator, he cultivates at a greater height than the Baroon and on the narrow slope where no Barron was made earlier. Therefore the narrow slopes are not given priority in the beginning, rather they are preserved for future use. When the time demands more lands for more productivity, such slopes are used. Instances are also not uncommon about cultivating the whole hill slope upto the hill top. Hill top of the smaller hills usually barren or a plateau is also cultivated. The hill tops ('Manjungur') which are very much narrow and pointed are never cultivated as the terrain is too hard for doing agricultural practices. In this way most of the hills have completely been converted into cultivable lands where little of the hill slopes and larger hills are uninterfered with this agricultural processes and practices.

FALLOW PERIOD

The resting period is in between two successive agricultural operations on one land. Traditionally, the Lanjia Saoras used to leave patch of land uncultivated for three to four years. This gap of three to four years was kept for 'Sala dabur' (i.e. for regeneration and growth from the root bases and stumps of vegetation). After the first set of land is cultivated, people shift to the second set of land thus allowing the first set one year resting period. In this way by the time they cultivate the fourth set of land, the first set of land gets three years resting period, the second set for two years and the third set gets one year resting period. If there is a fifth set of land, the people cultivate it and do not return to the first set of land. Otherwise they return to the first set of land which by that time hase availed a three years of resting period. It is observed that there are maximum four sets of lands. Possessing a fifth set of land is not very common and those who have it indicate that in past their family members were more. In the chronological order, the fifth set of land is possessed by the individual is usually located at a great distance.

Traditionally, when people first cleamed patches of forests and hills, near their village settlement, they divided the available area into four sets of lands. Basing on their idea of fallow period known in their language as 'Saladabur' they divided the entire patch into four sets. For, they did not like to exhaust the nearby areas with continuous cultivation. Further, shifting to the second set of plots that is far from the village would indicate the total shifting of people from the villages to the second plot. Hence, by dividing the available nearby patches in four sets, they

could easily cultivate the lands by staying at one place and changing the fields. The area around the village is one factor that is responsible for keeping people settled in one place. This farsighted ideas of possessing four sets of lands in the village locality, further fallowing the patches for regeneration helps them in continuing agricultural practices with comparatively less labour input, and if such plots are at a long distance from village, it would demand more labour input in work.

The division of swidden plots into four sets gives an idea that the fallow period left to a patch of land was three years. This three year fallowing of lands was maintained in past. The old Lanjia Saoras hold that in past the three year fallowing or resting of swidden plots was enough for a good regeneration of natural vegetation. So Lanjia Saoras were traditionally maintaining three years fallow period and in rare cases four years if they possessed a fifth set of plot.

Now the method of sweddening is changing fast. Fallow period has decreased with time. Population explosion is the major factor in decreasing the fallow period of shifting cultivation. Due to increase in population dependence on shifting cultivation became more and more. This resulted in decrease of production. Though there was no decrease in yield from fields with which fallow period was maintained properly yet, the demand for household consumption with increased population could not be met from such limited patches of forests. Further, with limited accessibility into forests, no more land could be added to the swidden plots. Under the circumstances Lanjia Saoras found no immediate alternative for their household consumption. The situation led them to return to the plots after two years of fallowing. The two years resting period further decreased to one year. A time came, as is at present when fallowing the swidden plots became out of question. At present people cultivate one plot for two consequitive years with no change in the crops that were grown in the first year. In the past, after one year cropping the swidden plot was being abandoned. At present, a swidden plot is being cultivated for three consequitive years after which one year fAllow period is allowed. This is not common to all families. The marginaliged families continue to cultivate the fields continuously. For, they possess very little land on hereditary basis. Population is increasing but loud remains fixed. So they have to cultivate continuously. Thus , all the four sets of land are being cultivated at a time. Where one set is cultivated for three consequitive years the other set is left for resting.

Further, the fallow period largely depends upon the size of holding. If one has enough of terraced and plain lands from where economy for his household consumption is derived substantially he can leave the swidden plots for fallowing. Those who do not possess enough of plain and terraced fields continue to cultivate the swidden plots continuously without abandoning for fallowing. The decrease in fallow periods from three years to zero has become both a social and an

environmental malady. But since there is no immediate alternative it is the only way out.

Decrease in fallow period, as the Lanjia Saoras point out leads to many crisis. The first is its impact over the natural vegetation. Continuous cropping confined to a particular place leaves no gap period for the natural regeneration of vegetation there. The young shoots that come out at the end of the cropping cycle are further slashed during the field preparation for next cropping.Gradually the plants and trees which stand there as the natural vegetation loses their capacity to regenerate and the field looks desolate. On continous practice, as seen now-a-days the green vegetation has completely disappeared and whatever looks green is the standing crop after cultivation.

Added to it, the extensive practice has caused sever soil erosion from the hill slopes. The stone embankments that outline the boundary of crop lands con not prevent the soil erosion and soil from hill slopes is continuously washed away to the foot hills. This causes a severe ill effect on the soil productivity. In place of a good soil rocks come out and the fields become rocky. The rocks that come out with soil erosion are taken out of the fields to make stone embankments, terraces as well as for fencing the swidden plots. When the stone fences increase in height, ground the earth floor decreases in level. Correspondingly, the extensive soil erosion made people to think that the hills are decreasing in height. In continuation to that the practice of shifting cultivation in the region towards the hill top becomes a factor for washing of the soil from the hill tops which result in uprooting big trees. In this way the vegetation from certain patches of forests and hills is replaced with only huge stones. Lanjia Saoras are aware that the soil erosion is prevented by natural vegetation which holds the soil with its roots and soil gives anchorage to the vegetation. Knowing fully the situation they continue their unfriendly practice for deriving subsistence economy. The subsistence economy is regarded more important than the forest wealth on the ground of maintaining a marginalised livelihood.

The excessive soil erosion as well as the loss in the ability to regenerate natural vegetation turn the soil infortile. Adding to that the forest floor becomes bereft of natural vegetation and turns into a desert. The dry and almost deserted forest floor bring out new vegetation like Sindi i.e. date palm and other such plants in place of evergreen and deciduous plants and trees.

In the past, a multiple cropping consisting of about fifteen -twenty crops were grown on the swidden plots. But the decrease in fallow period, excessive soil erosion, deforestation..etc. decreased the soil fertility to a great extent. For this reason, certain crops lost their ability to produce the desired quantity. This lead the people to observe which crops produce better and which crop has lost their ability

to produce effectively and substantially. Ultimately people chosen certain crops to cultivate on hill lands and such crops were those which did not cease to produce on a rocky and dry surface. Therefore, in the place of a multiple cropping only limited crops are being cultivated now-a-days. Such crops have also decreased their productivity, yet such crops are given priority. Those crops are like sorghum, cow-pea, Pigeon pea and Maizc. Besides, finger millet that were being cultivated in the hill slopes or swidden plots, is now-a-days confined to the foot hills where the soil erosion is minimum. Therefore, at present no multiple cropping in its real sense is practised, rather some very known crops are being cultivated. A decrease in number of varieties of crops in swidden plots is thus marked.

All the causes are responsible in endangering the environment, erosion in indigenous knowledge and culture. All those crisis have resulted in failure of crops threatening the traditional economy.

About this decrease in fallow period and its consequent environmental and social erosion and crisis, David spurgeon (1982) writes -

"This practice annually destroys ten million hectares of high forests and causes a steady decline in the fertility of land .... In the past the soil's fertility returned to abandoned areas over a period of 25-30 years as a result of natural processes. But as population pressures increased the cultivators returned to their abandoned sites much sooner, and the period of natural bush fallow was progressively shortened".

This attribute of David Spurgeon holds good in the overall picture of shifting cultivation and the consequences thereto. But in the context of Lanjia Saora people, who did not have a practice of long fallowing in ancient times, the loss of environment and the crisis manifested can be early predicted. In a natural process, as per David Spurgeon, the soil's fertility returned to the abandoned areas over a period of 25-30 years. But Lanjia Saora in past were giving three years, at best four or five years resting to the abandoned sites and at present fallowing have become more or less like a myth or legend. From this standpoint the crisis can be easily accounted for and estimated. However, the Lanjia Saora's perception about this crisis and the action against preventing the crisis is described later in this text.

SHARING OF PERSONALLY OWNED SWIDDEN PLOTS

Lanjia Saora community has a different social status which has ordered its hierarchical system. The Birindas is ordered in terms of status which is on account of land holding capacity and property ownership. The land possession and property ownership status includes all their property viz : the swidden plots, terraced fields, plain lands; horticultural crops..etc. From this they derive much of their subsistence crops and there is surplus for the market. The stock is sold in market after household

consumption. Those people who have larger property took more interest in terraced and plain lands for cultivation of paddy. They take least interest in the swidden plots. Sometimes those people who hold much of swidden plots and have less man power to utilize in cultivating, give the plots to others on share cropping basis, particularly those from their Birinda. Instances are also there when the swidden plots are given to other Birinda people of the same village, or to people of other village. When the land holder faces problem in cultivating his swidden plots, he allows people of the village, to cultivate. Some Doms have been allowed to cultivate the swidden plots of Lanjia Saoras.

Before a swidden plot is given for share cropping, the sharing of crops is fixed. The share value of the land owner and the land cultivator are mutually decided. This is done after the harvest. But when the crops show less production, the share is not fixed. Thus a share depends upon the condition of crops in terms of productivity after which share is fixed.

Share values are mostly given in kinds of agriculture produces. If the land owner observes that there is a good cropping in his plots cultivated by the share holder, he demands his land share in kind such as pigeon pea or Sorghum. Pigeon pea and Sarghun are two important crops which have good market value and importance in the tribal food pattern. For an average production of 10-15 mana of pigeon pea from the swidden plots, the land share demanded by the land owner is about 5 mana. Mana measures approximately two and half kilograms. If the production is more than proportionate the land owner's share is more. The maximum land share goes upto 10 manas of pigeon pea for a swidden plot of about one acre. In substitute of pigeon pea, if Sorghum is given as land share, the cultivator gives double the quantity of the pigeon pea fixed earlier by the land owner and cultivator mutually. Thus 5 mana of pigeon pea is equivalent to 10 manas of Sorghum. The market price of pigeon pea remains double, of Sorghum. Besides pigeon pea and Sorghum no other crop is given importance in the mutual sharing. Cow-peas are not given much value. The Pigeon pea and the Sorghum are thus found to be the major crops preferred by Lanjia Saora communities to be cultivated on the swidden plots. The Lanjia Saoras also prefer these two crops in their food pattern.

The land owner may sometimes give the cultivator a relation or concession in the shares. It the land holder and the cultivator are having good formal or informal relations and the cultivator in found out to be poor in comparison to the land holder in such cases this concession giving is observed. But this is never a common accuracy.

Sometimes land holders who have swidden plots in a distant village which they find difficult to cultivate, the land value is fixed in terms of money. In such

cases the land holder does not take interest in cultivating the plots and also takes least interest in estimating the crop production. If 5 manas of pigeon pea is the land share, the cultivator pays about rupees two hundred. In this case the money value is about the double of the crop value in the market, because here 5 mana of pigeon pea is taken to be equivalent to two hundred rupees. Examples are also not uncommon where swidden plots are given away on three/four years contract to the cultivator for rupees five to six hundred to be paid at one time.

In Sagad area, share of the cultivator and the land owner is proportionately equal. The land holder gives his land to a person who is interested to cultivate. The cultivator gives all types of inputs for the agricultural production. The inputs include labour, watching, seeds, manures and all agricultural impliments. After the crops are harvested they are equally divided between the land holder and the cultivator. All the substise crops are divided on the spot or in the crop collection ground. The cash crops are sold in the market by the cultivator and then he pays half of the total cost to the land owner. The cash crops here refer to turmeric, ginger, etc. The concession may be given to the cultivator if he has good relation with the land holder.

INHERITANCE OF SWIDDEN PLOTS AND CROPLANDS

Landed property is transfered from person to person on heridetary basis. The landed property generaly goes to his sons after his death. The properties are equally devided among the sons. No property is recorded or registered or leased in the name of women. Daughters are never given shares of landed properties. If the daughter goes to a poor family after marriage then her father of may give some of his landed properties to his daughter. Generally, daughters are given with the mothers ornaments. Some trees like Tamarind, Jackfruit, Mahua are given if her in-laws family do not have enough of such trees or are marginal families who don't have enough income from other sources. With this the lands which are added to a sons property by his own effort after the devision of the fathers property, other brothers do not demand a share from it. If a person has no sons, he may give his property to his nephews or brother or to whom he likes. The property transfered by the father to the sons before his death, or is mutually shared by his sons after the father's death. If however any conflict arises among the brothers in the division of the property after the father's death, then the village head man called Gomango decides the case in the presence of elder birinda members.

In the property distribution, sometimes unmarried daughters share equally with the sons. This distribution of property is done in the presence of the Gamango. The married daughters have no demands over their fathers property, But the father and brothers may give some properties to her out of love and affection. After the marriage of the daughters, they may directly involve themselves in managin their

properties in association with their brothers. A daughter can inherit all her father's property if she is the only child of her father. A woman also becames the owner of land after her husband's death. If she feels incapable of cultivating the total land she may ask for help from the neighbours or may give the properties on share basis.

CLEARING THE FOREST PATCHES

Clearing of forest patches is the first step to start shifting cultivation. The bushes, trees, climbers ..etc. are cut and cleared first. The clearing starts immediately after the harvesting of crops. Side by side with debushing, people start collecting stones from the swidden plots and put them on one side or use the stones in making stone embankments around the plot. Sometimes larger stones appear in the swidden plots which occupy a greater space in the plots. Such stones are not possible to remove. If it is felt that the stone is lightly set on the plot and none of the parts of the stone is deep rooted then the people think to remove it by blasting or adding fire to the stone. This practice of breaking huge stones into small pieces have been described earlier. After removing the stones, little more area is available for cropping.

The clearance of a forest is especially men's job. But men usually work when a new forest is cut and cleaned for cultivation. Men cut big trees with axe, fell them and cut them into pieces. If their are big trees these are sliced on the spot by saw. The logs are then carried by male folks. It the field that is being prepared for cultivation is not too bushy or has little of vegetation then the work is left to women to clear the patch for vegetation.

Very large trees are not usually cut and felled during the slashing operations. For, cutting large trees is a labour consuming work as well as economically important. The swidden plots are individually owned and hence their is no fear of other people cutting the big trees from the plot which does not belong to them. Therefore the large trees are not cut down and is preserved for future use in construction of houses and wooden artefacts. Besides, some trees like Mango *(Mangitera indica)*, Tamarind (*Tamarinds indica)*, Mahua (*Madhuka longitolia)*, Sal (*Sherea robusta)*, Semul (*Bombax ceiba)*, Sago palm (*Caryota urens)*, Marking nut (*Semecarpus anacardium)*, Myrobalns (*Terminalia chebula, Terminalia belerica officinalis)*, Custard apple (*Annona squamosa)*, etc. are never cut, as a lot of minor forest produces are derived from such trees.

During the cleaning process, People leave the village very early in the morning and get engaged in the field. Useful branches of trees, twigs are separated out from the slashes. The slashes are collected in the middle of the plot for burning after the slashes are completely sun dried.

MONTH WISE AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES

ARSARGI

The forest cleaning starts by November. The month is known to the Saora people as Arasargai or Aduinsargai. Months are named according to the agricultural practice during that period. Arasargai is understood as the paddy flowering time (Ara + Sar + Gai = Flower+Paddy+Month). The Aduinsargai is understood as Advi + Dinn + Sar + Gai which refers to short + day + paddy + month i.e. the time when the short duration paddy crops mature. This is an indication to start forest cleaning work. The paddy is usually grown in plain lands or terraces and the paddy is named as Mudasur. The forest cleaning operation also depends harvesting from such plots. This cleaning operation is called Gajeng, (meaning cutting bushes respectively). Thus Gajeng refers to the cutting of vegetation, bushes, weeds, etc. from the forest floor. Tinjeng refers to cutting big trees.

The bushes and small trees are cut and kept for firewood. But the people do not carry them home immediately after cutting. They make lofts on the branches of big trees and kept as fire wood. The lofts on the trees are called 'Amdajeng'. The slashes that are not good to be used as fuel wood are collected at a place and piled. This is called Rakuangal.

By that time paddy mat was in terraced and plain lands. People engaged in repairing and harvesting paddy start the forest clearing works a little late.

From the swidden fields cow peas (kanrum or Saremoi) are plucked and harvested. Little millets (kangu) (*Panicum miliare)* are collected. In the kitchen garden (Kutta) varieties of vegetables are produced.

On the plots at Baseng, by this time crops like Rase (*sesamum orientate)*, Alasi i.e. Niger (*N ? n)*, Mustard (*Brassica campestris)* etc, mature. The ripe and matured crops are harvested. This is called 'Gandruur' (cutting the ripe crops). The sorghum plants in swidden plots by this time are almost matured and hence are harvested. Khala puja is arranged during this month after harvesting. The area where crop is thrushed is called Tanilan (in Oriya khala). The plot is perfectly polished with cow dung and earth, preferably red earth.

GAGAGAI : PADDY HARVESTING MONTH : DECEMBER

The Gagagai is the paddy harvesting month. 'Gaga' refers to cutting literally and 'gai' is the month. Here it refers to reaping of paddy from paddy fields. (kuramsar).

In the swidden plots, the forest cleaning process is abandoned. People go

to collect thatching grass 'Alanque' (*Themda arundinacea)* from the forests. The small variety of Sorghum ('Kuroma kamboor') is cut during this period. With sorghum, Ghantia or Jada i.e. castor (*Recinus communi)* and Raga or Kandula i.e. pigeon pea (*cajanus cajas)* are matured.

When in the Saroba (paddy fields) paddy attains full maturity people get themselves engaged in reaping it. Both male and female leave their village early in the morning to go to field with sickles (*kadati*). Paddy is cut after leaving about half foot from the base. Mostly women are seen in the paddy fields reaping the crops. The paddy is cut and made into bundles and females usually carry the bundles to the collection ground i.e. nilan. Women play the major role in reaping and collecting the colops in nilan..

In the kutta (kitchen gardens) Ganugai or sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas and Aragai i.e. cassava or Tapioca (Manihot esculentus)* nature dug by this time. In the baseng i.e. foot hill dry lands , mustard, niger, sesamun have attain full maturity and hence are reaped.

Pigeon pea and sunsunab, (called in Oriya as khata pallang) i.e. Red sorrel (*Hibiscus sabdariffa)* mature by this time. The red sorrel are cut and its petals are collected for household consumption. The fruits are left for drying in the 'Tanilan' After drying the seeds are collected sold in the market.

Since pigeon pea called Raga by Lanjia Saora mature by this time, the Ragan abdur ritual is organized. This is the new eating ritual of pigeon pea. Mainly, the ritual is organized in the priests house. In this ritual, worship is offered to village and the forest deity. The first worship is offered to Mundadasum who is the village deity and the next is offered to the Kannisum i.e. the forest deity. The worship offered to kannisum is called Kurrupur. There is a legend associated with this ritual. That is the past a person who did not offer worship, to the deities before eating pigeon pea, was killed by a tiger. Therefore the deity is worshipped by the priests with a sacrifice of cock before harvesting pigeon pea.

Since paddy is also reaped in this month and gathered in Tanilan, another ritual called 'Tanilan / Tinil purpur' associated with worshipping Tanilan is organized. The Tanilan pur is done before the paddy is threshed. The worship is offered to the deity of property associated with Tanilan and the crops. In the ritual a cock or a pig is sacrificed. Blood of the sacrificed animal is smeared on the paddy bundles and sprayed on the Tanilan. This ritual is organized to assure the avoidance of evil eyes of malevolent spirits and to ensure a good production of paddy.

GALAMAL GAI

Galamal Gai refers to the month of January. Galamal refers to 'bring seeds

and throw others. Galamal also refers to cutting and felling plants (Sorghum). Raisangai is another name of this month when pigion pea is collected.

Immediately after Ragan abdur in December, people continue to collect pigeon pea from the swidden plots. At the same time they cut the Sorghum plants from base and fell them and only collect the stalks carrying Sorghum grains. The grains are not collected immediately after feling. They keep the plants in the swidden plots for three to four days for complete sun drying after which the grains are collected. Towards the end of this month digging out turmeric (Sangsang) starts. Collection of Sorghum and turmeric is especially a women's job. On the other hand, men keep themselves engaged in clearing forest patches from swidden plots which were abandoned for resting.

In the Saroba people do not have any job to do as paddy is already harvested and collected in Tanilan. In the Tanilan the paddy is threshed by hand or by trodding of cattles.

In the Baseng,Adai, (in Oriya known as kolatha i.e. horse gram (*Dolichos biflorus)* attains maturity. The crop is cut from the base and brought to Tanilan. The horse gram is the last crop in Baseng and with the harvesting of this there is no work left in Baseng.

In the paddy lands where source for irrigation is available, people sow paddy. The Ambadhana or Adingsar is sown usually. Sometimes the sownis of paddy for seedlings is finished in December.

GAJING GAI

Gajing Gai refers to February. Gajing is a synthesis of three terms i.e. Ga + Ajing which means cutting weeds and bushes. Ajeng literally means grass. By this time bushes, trees and creepers from the forest floor are cleared by the process of slashing. The remnant vegetation on the ground floor is in is the form of grass and small bushes. These are left in the swidden plots for sundrying.

On the otherside when the seedlings of Udasar or Adangsar attain optimum height they can be uprooted and transplanted in paddy fields where irrigation facility is available. Transplanting is taken as in January. People are comparatively free by this month. Those who have irrigated paddy lands are only seen to work in their paddy fields.

During this month pox disease spreads. To prevent the disease and for community welfare, Gangasum pur is organized. Gangasum is the deity who drives away the disease. It holds that the ritual is organized to drive away the disease by

worshipping Gangasum who has the ability of eradicating those diseases. Associated with Gangasum, Yu Yu boi deity is also worshipped.

In the group the priest (Shaman) thrrns some witch medicine in every house of the village and enters every house to detect the presence of the evil spirit that has caused the disease. When he is possessed by the deity he comes to a trance (Mir), and declares that he has caught the diease. Other people believe that the disease is arrested by the Shaman. The people give the shaman a good thrash and drags him to the site of worship where the other Shamans perform certain functions and with the help of Gangasum and Yu Yu boi they drive away the disease.

When the shaman is possessed by the spirit he is thrashed vigorously and sometimes his condition becomes serious after the thrashing. The Gangapur assures the eradication of the disease from the village.

NIBAGAI

The month refers to March. The denomination of the month is from the terms Ni+Aba i.e. picking up Mahula. Therefore the month refers to the time. When Mahula is collected. The second half of the month is also named as Dulbagai where Dulba refers to half burnt stock of slashes. The main practice of shifting cultivation usually starts from this period.

Towards the middle of this month slashes are burnt. By the end of the month all the slashes are burnt. The ashes of slashes are sprayed over the plot. With the slashes of natural vegetation, remnont parts of the sorghum are burnt. Burning the slashes are called 'Saiajeng'. All the slashes are burnt by the end of the month and the of rain is awaited. Thus the field preparation in the swidden plots ends.

Since, the month is the time when Mahula flowers blossom, people are mostly seen engaged in collection of Mahla flowers. This is also the period when house construction, repairing work are done. People go to collect other minor forest produces like broomgrass, myrobolous etc. Which are at the maturity phase by this time. In the village people remain comparatively free from agricultural work. This is the period when the greatest death ritual KARJA is organized in the villages. Details of the Karja process are dealt in separate chapter.

The Nibagai ends with a ritual called Tijabsumpur. In the worship, Tijabsumpur is done with sacrifice to Tijabsum and offering of seeds. The deity whom the seeds are offered is Surapalasum. The deity lives in the village boundary. . The whole village people take their seeds to the site of worship which is organized more or less on the village boundary. Shaman is invited to perform the ritual. A cock or pig is sacrificed. The Shaman prays the deity to extend his good will for full germination of seeds, for a better growth of crops and protection of the crops from

the wild beasts. The Shaman also begs the deity blessings for a better yield. .

LALAGAI (APRIL)

The month of April is known by two names by the Saoras. The first half of the month is called Dulbagai or Saijing gai. During this period burning the half burnt slashes is done. Saijinggai derives its meaning from saijing (i.e. burning the half burnt or slashes). The unburnt second half of the month is known as Lalagai. Lala literally refers to hoeing and sowing. Hence the cropping starts from this month in swidden plots.

After the first shower of rain the hoeing called Gubla is done. This is a hand hoe with a long shaft and a flat and sharp iron piece at one end used for hoeing and digging. After hoeing a shower of rain is awaited. After a shower of rain seeds are sown. If the first shower of the rain is a heavy, people wait for sometime.

After the second shower of rain, pigeon-pea, castor seeds, are put in the dibbled holes, sesama is sown. Budbud sowing other seeds like sorghum, low-pea, beans, little millet, finger millet is taken up it the rain continues (Gugu), small pigeon pea, cow-pea (small), pumpkin, Lau, Cucumber, sweet melon, Tapioca...etc. are cropped. Ploughing is not done in swidden plots. Everyday they dibble patches of lands and put seeds there. Sowing is done after hoeing otherwise birds may pick up seeds.

Agricultural practice in Soroba (paddy lands) and Baseng (foot hill) also starts simultaneously in swidden plots. In the saroba. Asengong i.e. cow dung is put in pits or spread directly. If the people have compost pits of their own they take cow-dung manure from the pits and put them in Saroba , Cow-dung manure is called Ajelusal. After that the paddy lands are properly ploughed.

In the Baseng, cotton seeds are sown. In some places kundadhana or kundensar is also sown Seasamum is sown in Baseng. During Lalagai, no ritual associated with agricultural practices is marked.

AR - RAR GAI : (MAY)

In this month paddy cultivation is taken up in irrigated and non-irrigated paddy lands. 'Arr' means ploughing.

Sowing of seeds in the swidden lands gets over by this time. Bullocks and buffaloes are the working animals. Use of cows for ploughing is not uncommon. Then paddy seeds are broadcast for seedlings. (Bisuta sar). The Seedlings that are grown earlier are not transplanted by this time and people wait for further heavy showers of rain in June. For this only paddy is sown for seedlings.

But before paddy is sown in the fields a ritual is called 'Biddal purpur is organized. The worship is observed in paddy fields. Biddal derives its meaning from Birdied the former refers to sowing or broadcasting and the later refers to lands. Therefore the ritual is understood as the performance before seeds are sown in paddy lands. So the sowing is done after the Biddal purpur.

In the Biddal purpur worship is offered to the ancestral spirits. Such spirits are invoked who are dead but when they were alive they were regarded as the chief of the family. Also if the family chief is living and anybody who was a good worker is dead, worship is offered to its spirit. The ritual is organized for the whole village at one time or done Birding wise whichever is prefered by the villagers. In the normal scene Biddal purpur is organized by different groups of cultivators who may or may not belong to one Birinda. Such Grouping are made with people who have lands at one place.

On the ritual spot, the shaman invokes the ancestral spirits, of the last three generations. In his chantings he praises the spirits recalling and appreciating their contribution in providing lands and providing food.

The shaman continuous with invocation to spirits and appreciating their deeds and all of a sudden he comes to a trance (Mir) being possesed by the spirits. At this stage the shaman broadcast winnow full of paddy. The broadcasting of paddy by the Shaman when he is in a trance is taken as the spirits broadcasting the seeds. For, when the spirit is possesed in the shaman's body, the shaman becomes a spirit by nature. The spirits of dead women are not invoked for sowing paddy. While in trance the shaman utters "I am sowing the seeds which will assure a good production at the end". Sometimes sacrifice of a cock is offered. The worship can also be carried on sans sacrifice.

In the available lands in kitchen garden and foot hills or in the Dunkuli lands Sarghum is sown. Maize (Jana) is also cropped during this time.

PUJING GAI (JUNE)

It is the month of June. Pujing derives its meaning from 'pu'(uprooting) and 'Jeng' refers to (weeds and grass). Therefore the month is known as a weeding month.

In the swidden plot crops grows upto about three quarters of a foot, some also grow to one foot in height with the crops, the weeds also come up which interferes with the growth of the juvenile crops. So weeding is done. The herbaceous weeds are uprooted by hand or by using kudaladung or the hand hoes. Kudaladang is a long shaft and its one end carries an iron plate called 'Buru' and

at the other end, another stick is attached to the main shaft like a cross. Pikud is a similar implement but its shaft is curved at one end. The cross or the curve helps to have a better and firmer grip on the implements at the time of weeding. The shoots that have regenerated from cut stumps of natural vegetation are cut with axe (Enjung). The uprooted weeds are collected at one place and left there for sun drying. Towards the end of the month weeding from swidden plots is finished.

But, before the weeding starts, a ritual is organized in everybody's house, called 'Absukadumnapur'. This is organized for the well-being of the family members and the domestic animals. Working continuously in swidden plots paddy and other fields people as well as animals get extremely tired. So they retire and relax for sometime from agricultural. But the rainy season comes with a number of diseases particularly fever. To get ride of diseases Absukadumnapur is organized. It is Ab + Suka + Dum + Na + Pur that implies All + Healthy + Self + Give + worship. The worship is organized to get the blessings from the spirits who would give good health to all the family members.

Shaman is invited to perform the ritual. He invokes the spirits, both ancestral and experienced to come to the spot and bless them for good health and wellbeing. After the invocation of the Shaman, people kill cock or a pig by beating the animal vigorously keeping it on the back of the cattle. With the meat of the sacrificed animal the family members with the shaman enjoy a good feast. The worship is performed inside cattle sheds. The ritual is arranged on individual interest. The worship is a preventive measure for fever and other diseases that occur due to contaminated water in the rainy season. All the families in the village usually take much interest in this ritual. The worship continues for about a week or more in the village. After finishing this ritual, people go for weeding work in the swidden fields.

In the kitchen gardens (Kutta) vegetables like ladies finger, Lau (gourd), chilly, Ribbed gourd...etc. are cropped towards the end of this month.

GUSARGAI (JULY)

It is the month of July. It is also called Bubud Gai. Gusar means transplanting and Bubud is sowing. (Gu + Sar = Transplanting + Paddy). Thus the month is known as the paddy transplanting period. The beginning of the month is called 'Gusarau asunusu among' i.e. the beginning of paddy transplanting.

By this month, the seedlings of the paddy sown earlier reach the transplanting height. They are uprooted and made into bundles. Too high seedlings are not transplanted for they dry up soon after transplanting.

Before uprooting the seedlings the paddy fields are processed. The manure

added soil by this time is fully saturated with rain water. The field is kneaded by bullocks, buffaloes and men. When the field is completely moody and becomes soft transplanting of paddy is done. Transplanting is especially a women job. This is done in rows so that it will be easy to reap at maturity.

In the swidden plots, little millets, cucumber, pumpkin and yam mature but they do not attain such a stage when it could be harvested. In the kitchen garden i.e. kutta, sesamun, green gram, etc, are sown for which the month is also called Bubudgai.

Before the transplanting is done in paddy fields, a ritual called lobopur is organized. Popularly the ritual is called 'Gusuran asunusu. Lobopur is offered to Lobosum, the earth deity. Therefore transplanting is done after worshipping Labosum.

The worship is organized near paddy fields. In the worship the shaman invokes the earth deity to the worship site. Alongwith Labosum, ancestral spirits are also invoked. The worship is offered for the well-being of crops and people. Since the people work in the fields after showers of rain, the Lobosum and other ancestral spirits are requested to be kind to them and to save them from diseases Labosum is requested to bless the people with a good production of paddy. A pig or a cock is sacrificed in the name ofLabosum. Immediately after the worship ends, transplanting is done. Transplanting may start from the middle of the month if seedlings have come up to the desired size. Otherwise people wait for 10 to 15 days more for the seedlings to grow up.

PISARGAI

It is the month of August. *Pisar* refers to uprooting of paddy seedlings. Many people also know the month as *Gusargai* where *Pisar* refers to transplanting of paddy.

In the paddy fields, transplanting is done after uprooting the seedlings. It continues till the end of the month. The fields that are cropped earlier demand weeding. In the kitchen gardens and plain lands available near the houses be finger millets are grown.

In the meantime weeding continue in the swidden plots. Maize and little millets that are harvested during this period. Vegetables like pumpkin, cucumber Red sorrels come to a good growth. The leaves can be used as spinach. Swidden plots start producing. Yams are dug out from Swidden plots.

In the kutta, the vegetables starts producing. Particularly the ribbed gourd, ladies finger, spinach ...etc. are produced to their peak.

Towards the end of the month. *Ganayan abdur* is performed if the *Cassava* or *Tapioca* have matured by that time. Otherwise the *abdur* is organized the next month.

TISAR GAI AND BUROI GAI

The monthe of September is known as *Tisargai*. This month is sometimes divided into two parts, the first half being known as Tisargai and the second half as 'Buroi gai'. Tisar refers to weeding from paddy fields (Ti + Sar = Grass + Pady + month) and Buroi gai is harvesting of little millet (Panicum Miliare) from swidden plots. Therefore the whole month is invested for weeding from paddy fields and harvesting of little millet from swidden plots.

In Soroba the weeding is of two types. One type of paddy is directly sown and the seedlings are not transplanted. The other type of paddy is the transplanted type. Weeds grow maximum in transplanted paddy fields. Mostly the weeds on the boundaries of the lands are cut by sickle (Saipal). Some people also call it *Saipal gai*. For transplanted paddy sometimes wooden fork harrow is used. But in the non-transplanted fields manual weeding is done. Weeding is mostly the women's job.

In the swidden fields weeding is done mannually. Weeds from the crops like Sesamum, pigeon-pea, cow-pea, sorghum and Maize are removed. Little millets from the swidden plots are reaped and carried home by women. The swidden plots became little thinner with the reaping of little millet. With little millet, pumpkin, cucumber, Tapioca, sweet potatoes are also partly harvested. Finger millets from the swidden plots as well as from Basing are reaped.

The only ritual marked in this month is Ganayan abdur. It is the new eating ritual of Tapioca (Ganayan). The ritual is organized in the shaman's house. Before this ritual, eating Tapioca is held as a taboo. The Shaman invokes the ancestral spirits to be present at the worship spot and accept the tapioca offer grown in their (Ancestors') fields.

Maize produced is also kept with Tapioca in the ritual. But specific ritual for new-eating of maize is done.

PUJANG GAI AND TUMUN GAI

It refers to the month of October. Pujanggai also means to weeding month. Pujang is synonymous with Gasan and Gadapal (Gada + Pal = weeding + crop boundary or embankment) i.e. weeding from the boundaries of the crop lands.

In Soroba paddy flowers bloom in such large numbers that it is difficult to enter the paddy bushes for weeding. Again interference into paddy crops may

hamper the flowering. So in this month ·weeding is done on the boundry of the crops. The grass weeds that look like paddy crops '*Baladingsar*' are uprooted. The pujanggai is usually finished by the middle of the month.

In the swidden plots or in Baseng, blackgram matures and hence is reaped. Then the crop is thrâshed to get the black grams. This reaping of the black gram period is known as 'Tumungai'. Which may be substituted with Raisan gai. Raisan is cowpea and Tumun is black gram. Thus the denomination ofthe month mentions harvesting of cowpea and black gram. Red sorrels also show a better growth during this period.

By the middle of the month *Janna abdur* is done. It is performed in the similar way like other abdurs i.e. new eating ceremony. This ritual is done in honour of the Manduasum.

CROPS GIVEN IMPORTANCE IN SWIDDENS

Importance is given to their stapple food. Lanjia Saoras' food mainly consist of rice and Sorghum. Rice they get from the paddy lands and Sorghum from the swiddens, kitchen gardens and foot hills. Often it is seen that people cultivate Sorghum on the top of the hill. Maize does not get that much of importance like sorghum and pigeon-pea. Vegetables are rarely cultivated in swiddens except pumpkin, yam, Tapioca and carpet lequme ...etc. In a swidden plot, Sorghum, cow pea, pigeon pea and miner millets, the red Sorrel are grown. Leaves of red sorrels are used as spinach as well as dried leaves powder is preferred in rice and sorghum gruel. Further, the whole plant of red sorrel including its flower and fruits are used. From its seeds edible oil is also extracted out.

Though the swidden is used for multiple cropping, there is no definite arrangement of crops. Seeds are usually broadcast at random. Maximum four to five crops are given importance in swiddening. These are decided after estimating the desired yield and fertility of soil. Much of the crops like green gram, black gram, sesamum, Mustard, Niger, Ragi etc. are grown in the foot hill lands.

Paddy, maize, sorghum, red sorrel, millets, cow-pea and pigeon-pea are mostly taken as subsistence economy. The cow pea, pigeon pea, black gram, green gram, mustard, niger, chilly, sesamum, etc, are regarded as cash crops. The families which have much of paddy and terraced lands produce paddy for the whole year's household consumption. If the produce is adequate give importance to the cash crops. But marginalised families usually give emphasis on subsistence cultivate in swiddens.

Ginger and turmeric are two important additional cash crops for both Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora. Those crops are cultivated on the swiddens as well

as in plain lands. Ginger is harvested every year whereas turmeric is mostly left for two years to be harvested. Turmeric does not interfere antagonitically with any other crops, So it is left for two years harvesting. Turmeric and ginger do not grow well in rocky soil. Therefore, they are cultivated in such places where the soil is comparatively soft, fertile and sufficiently losened afafter continuous hoeing.

A new swidden plot or long abandoned swidden plot gives a good harvest of all crops. Since the swidden plots are cultivated continuously for three years, the first year is meant for a mixed cropping. Cropping in the second and the third years is different. In the first year pigeon-pea is cultivated. In the second year sorghum is grown. In the third year, importance is given to little millets, finger millets, turmeric which can grow better in dry soil with limited rainfall. The proportion of crops grown in the swidden plots varies every year. Generally cow pea, pigeon pea, sorghum, red sorrel and to some consideration Maize are the common most crops grown in swidden plots every year. Yam, Tapioca, etc. are also cultivated.

WORKS OF MEN AND WOMEN ON SWIDDENING

To start with (Boserup.E.1910), in her study on the involvement of women in food production and processing in tribal areas of Orissa, she concluded that the concept of "lazy African men" that is common among the Europeans is derived from the fact that men have comparatively lighter and less work than women in the tribal economy. Boserup has on the basis of her observation, chosen to give the statement a sex bias. However, what is important is the main point she makes : that traditionally the most important production activities are the domain of women (Fernandes, W. and Geeta Menon 1987). This attribute of Baserup and Fernandes and Menon rightly justifies that women burdens great number of responsibilities as far as traditional pattern of production process is concerned. Further, the daily routine work schedule of tribal women in general is the only and the best testimony in this regard. The work load, however heavy, it is the women who burdens it.

In the present context the Saora woman burdens almost all activities of production process. She is skillful in the practice of swiddening, plain land cultivation, and raising crops in the kitchen garden. Boserup's definition (ibid) is this reference to shifting cultivation, which was the only from of agriculture in the tribal areas in the past, as "female farming" system though is an apt one, ate also suits to the condition of Saora women. The Saora system of agriculture including swiddening, terracing and terrace cultivation, plain land cultivation, everything mostly depends upon women for which Boserup's term "female farming" holds good in this respect.

In a swiddening practice, the first phase work is forest clearing. In the Saora

area. forest cleaning is taken to be a women's job as they are continuously found to be doing the same. The participation of men in this work is optional and whenever they participate, the work is not done to that extent as it should have. The men are required to cut and fell big trees and it seems this is not impossible for women has been seen doing the same work. Men are required to remove huge stones from the fields. Ofcourse blasting huge stone, or breaking them into pieces by *Saayer Pallor* method (adding fire to the base of huge stones to make the stones crack). At the place of cracking, hard strokes by heavy hammer is given to break the stone into pieces. It is observed that women are not able to do it. But after the huge stone is broken, the women carry the small stones on head to the site where they are used embankments. Men hardly work for slashing bushy forests which is women's job. The slashes are chopped down by women for use as fuel wood. They also carry them home after the slashes dry up. If they are stocked on tree branches, men help the women. The slashes are burnt by men or women.

Before sowing the seeds, the hill land need to be hoed. This is women's job. Men very often assist women, if the work is delayed. If there is plenty of time fot the rain to come, men do not interfere with the work of women. During the work at swideen plots, if men are busy with the work, women carry food for them and assist the men. So before going to Bagada, women finish household chores ...etc, and leave for the field. Men in Lanjia Saora society only relax the whole day while their wives are seen working in fields. The Lanjia Saora society is polygamous and so people like to have more than one wife, for, they can cultivate the lands. By marrying more than once the Lanjia's feel that they have brought home more labourers. This gives an account of men's interest in marrying more than one woman. When a man has more than one wife, he distributes the plots among his wives to these women who are held responsible for doing the agricultural practices in right time.

After hoeing of the swiddens, if in then the time for sowing. Ploughing is not done on hill lands. So to put seeds of Pigeon pea, castor and vegetables, holes are made by women on earth by dibbling. For yams and tapioca pits are dug which the men do or men help women in doing it. Sowing is mostly done by men for it is an easy job. In the hoed area seeds are planted by hand in each pit. When crops grow in rain, women mainly work for weeding and other mid term practices. It is seen that a woman takes two to three days, for weeding a plpot of land. Men rarely do it. Weeding is very important to grow crops on hilly lands. Weeds compete with the crops at early stage of their growth. Therefore weeding work is done in a very timely manner. The Saora women keep a track of time so that the productivity cycle of the crops are not delayed. During weeding, some of the weeds, mainly of the varieties of *Amaranthus* are collected as spinach and other weeds are collected at one place to decompose. The Saora women keep regular watch over the growth

of crops and maintain the agricultural practices regularly.

For protecting the crops in swidden fields small watch huts are made. The watch huts have stone walls and thatched roof. The stone walls are not cemented, but irregularly placed in lines. The thatching is done by men. Women get thatching grass from forests and men thatch it. Women guard the crops by staying most of the time in the watch huts and at night men guard there to protect the crops from wild beasts, pigs and cattle. In the Lanjia Saora area watch huts are not seen on the hill slopes. Most of the watch huts are made at the foot hill lands. For, there is least fear of wild beasts who could destroy the crops. The forests around do not have enough of wild beasts and porcupine is the only animal that is feared but their population is also negligible. The watch huts are mostly made on the foot hill lands where possibility of destruction of crops is there by cattle and goats. The watch huts are called *Ansing*. Boys girls, children and sometimes the whole family members including elders share the duty of watching the crops.

At the time of harvesting the crops, women cut the crops from their base and collect the grains. Mostly remnants of sorghum plants after collection of their seeds are left on the fields. Women usually collect the crop produces from the swidden plots. Harvesting crops, carrying them to the thrashing floor and rest of the work concerning crops are done by women.

Similarly also the women have good deal of participation in plain land cultivation. Except ploughing, women are seen to be taking up all other work relating to plain land agriculture. Starting from broadcasting paddy for seedlings, the uprooting of seedlings, transplanting them, field preparation, weeding, watching and finally reaping and carrying the crops to thrashing floor are done by women or no help from the men. Carrying head loads of cow-dung manures from villages to distant paddy lands is also done by women. The very tiring work of transplanting of paddy, is done by women by bending their body from the waist. In Shudha Saora area men and women proportionately divide the agricultural work, particularly of plain land agriculture as they are not seen doing continuing shifting cultivation.

CROPS GROWN IN SWIDDEN PLOTS

Crops grown by Saora : Lanjia Saora and Sudha Saora are mainly of two types : Kharif and Ravi in which come all the crop varieties like cereals, pulses, oil seeds, vegetables, tubers etc. The Kharif cropping is done at the onset of rainy season in Bagad and plain land whereas the Ravi crops at the on set of winter in foot hills and homestead lands and in plain lands. Kharif crops cultivated in Bagad are of many varieties where as Ravi crops are a few.

The kharif crop consists of multicolored pulses, tubers and oilseeds. With

them are added some varities of vegetables and spinach. The crops in Bagad are mainly Sorghum (Sorghum vulgaris), Little millet (*Panicum milliard)*, Maize (*Zea meys)*, Pigeon pea (*Cajanus cajan)*, cow pea, Burbudi (a type of bean), red sorrel (*Hibiscus sabdariffa, (Pennisetum typhoides)*, Finger millet (*Eleusine coracana)*, turmeric (*Curcuma longa) etc.*

Among the tubers, cassava (*Manihot esculenta)*, yam (*Dioscorea species)*, sweet potato (*Ipomoca batalas), etc.* are grown. Among the vegetables, pumpkin (*Cucurbita maxima)*, Sweet melon (*Cucumis melo)*, cucumber (*Cucumis sativas)*, carpet legume (*Lablab purpurens)*, Momordica (*Momardica charantia)*, are chiefly grown.

In the paddy lands `Mudasar' paddy is grown. In the kitchen gardens and homestead lands, vegetables like brinjal *(Solanum melangina)*, ladies finger (*Hibiscus esculentus)*, Ribbed gourd (*Luffa acutangula)*, Pumpkin, Lau (*Lagenaria vulgaris)*, Tapioca, sweet potato, chilly (*Capsicum annum)* with types of beans and ginger (*Zingiber officinalis)* are grown. In the foot hill slopy lands, black gram (*Phaseolus mungo)*, green gram (*Phaseolus aureus)*, Rasi (*Sesamum orientale)*, cotton (*Gossipium herbaccem)* are the main crops.

Above mentioned crops are known as khariff crops. In the domestic lands and Baseng, cash crops like mustard (*Brassica campestris)*, niger (*Guizotia abyssinica)* are cultivated. In the paddy lands Ambadhana called Udansar is cultivated in the late winter season.

The Shudha Saora people are better vegetable cultivators than the Lanjia Saoras. This is for two reasons. Shudha Saoras have made great changes in their food pattern whereas Lanjias have not changed their food habit so far. The second reason is, the Shudha Saoras possess plain lands where they can cultivate all types of crops. During rainy and winter seasons the Shudha Saoras cultivate varieties of vegetables that fetch them a good amount. In the winter, alongwith oil seeds cultivation Shudha Saora people cultivate cabbage (*Brassica oleracea, var.capitata)*, cauliflower (*Brassica oleracea var. botrytis)*, Ola Kobi (*Brassica oleracca)*, etc with types of spinach, mainly Kosila (*Amaranthus oleraccous)* and onion (*Allium cepa)*.

Shudha Saora people are good cultivators of cotton (*Gossypium herbaceum)* in the foot hill slopy lands. The crop grows well with good rainfall in the rainy season. By the middle of the winter season, the fruits mature. Cotton plants are planted in rows with good ridges at the base of the plants. This is a good economic crop of Shudha Saora people. According to them the cotton crop thrives better the climate and in soil.

DESIGN OF CROPS IN BAGAD

No specific design of cropping is maintained by Lanjia Saora people.The whole plot looks like a mixture of crops distributed at random. Sorghum and maize are the major crops. Alongwith these are grown the cow pea, other climber and tendril climber crops. Sorghums grow very fast and hides the red sorrel and pigeon pea. Among the shrubby crops pigeon pea, Tapioca and castors are seen. Castors are planted on the boundary of the plot and in many plots it is not given any definite place. Same is the case with pigeon pea and red sorrel. Tubers are grown where soil is soft. They put the tuber seeds in holes where tuber was planted earlier. From such holes they know about the presence of rocks and stones under the earth. Earlier digging of tubers from such places give them the idea of the condition of soil there.

In the foot hill lands and paddy lands monoculture is done. In the foot hill lands seeds are broadcast and in the paddy fields seedlings are transplanted in lines. In the homestead lands and kitchen lands crops are arranged in specific patterns, so that one crop does not interfere with the other. In Lanjia Saora kitchen garens, place for Sorghum, maize and red sorrel are differentiated from the plots where brinjal, chilly and other vegetables are grown. The climber plants e.g. bottle gourd, bitter gourd, ridged gourd, pumpkin, cucumber, are grown separately. In some places the climber crops are led up to house roof. But it is not good to extend the climber shoots to the thatched roof as the thatched roof gets damaged.

The cotton cultivation done by Shudha Saora is an important cash crop. Crops are planted in rows. In between the rows a definite spacing is maintained for better growth of the cotton shoots. They are bushy plants for which about 5 feet into 5 feet spacing is given. They are cropped on slopes so that they will not be water logged during heavy showers of rain. And crops on slopes could be protected from floods. Likewise, Shudha Saora people while making vegetable gardens in rainy season cultivate on slopes to prevent the water logging and when they cultivate winter vegetables, they do it on plain lands, preferably in the area having a proper irrigation provision.

In the swiddening practice of Lanjia Saora, varieties of crops are intercroped Sorghum plants are cropped in high lands most of the time thus remaining at a higher level than other crops. At the base of Sorghum plants, creeper crops are planted for, the creepers can grow better on the Sorghum plants. Castor sometimes makes the outline boundary of the cropped land. But those people make very good stone fences around the swidden plots that demarcate their area. Therefore they do not plant a particular crop around the swidden plots. On very high hills or hill tops, only Sorghum is cropped sometimes with red sorrels. On a very high level no other crops are cultivated. In some swidden plots, adjacent to the owner's house, coconut

plants and other horticultural species are planted

HORTICULTURE

Horticulture in these areas have been given top priority under the developmental programmes launched by the Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA), Lanjia Saora Development Agency and District Rural Development Agency, and several non government organizations. All their attempts are mainly aimed at dissuading the Lanjia Saoras from their shifting cultivation. Horticultural crops have being cultivated on available patches ofland which have almost become barren due to the continuous practice of shifting cultivation. The problem is more acute with the Lanjia Saoras than the Shudhas.

Among many horticultural crops, emphasis is being given on the economic crops which would help the Lanjia Saoras to have a better earning and maintain a crises free livelihood. Earlier, they were not taking interest in horticulture when better productive swidden plots were with them. Further, varieties of mangoes and jackfruits, tamarind, Mahula were greatly helped them in their livelihood.

Time and again Lanjia Saora families were cultivated particular patches of swidden plots continuously. They claim such lands as their own. Now the swidden plots are under personal possession and they are quite determined not to let go such lands from their clutches and in under no curmustances he would allow the government to snatch such lands from their hand. Therefore, the agencies of the Government who are functioning full speed to remove the Lanjia Saora from shifting cultivation started to motivate people to grow horticultural species in their own lands, in harvested lands and swidden plots. By doing that a permanent standing crop can be grown in the swiden plots which would help the hill slopes from further erosion. The soil conservation department also finds it to be the only solution for the present.

Adding to this, the Integrated Tribal Development Agencies located at Gunupur covers a vast area under its jurisdiction. It has been found that the Dongria Kondhs are better horticulturists. The climate being the same the ITDA decide to start the horticultural programmes in Lanjia Saora area so that the people can be made economically betterof.

In the beginning of the horticultural programmes in the area there was good response from the Lanjia Saoras. But later on they took it otherwise and found them not to be much beneficial. There are some reasons behind the acceptance and non acceptance of horticultural programmes. First of all they had no idea about those crops. So they could not grow them properl. Secondly, they felt that in future no more hill slope would be available to them for swiddening. With the improve-

ment ofhorticultural crops they would lose their subsistence crops for ever and they would not be able to maintain their livelihood fro the horticultural produce.

In contrast to the Lanjia Saoras horticultural programmes have not been introduced in the Shudha Saora area though they so interest in this. They have shown interest in horticultural species as they get benefit by selling the produces. They are purchasing sapplings of horticultural species and planting in the area available under personal possession. So the acceptance of horticultral species in their areas is not a problem.

In the Lanjia Saora area the first intervention of horticultural programme started with cashew nut (*Anacardium occidentale)* locally known as Bhalia. Those plants were given to Lanjia Saoras to crop in their swiddens. The motivation was that cashewnut will produce within three to four years and the people will be highly benefited by planting this. This motivation got very good response from those who possess enough of paddy lands, swidden plots, foot hill lands and harvested lands. This also attracted people who used to give their swidden plots to others for ashare cropping. But the cashew plantation could not motivate people enough to these who have very little of swiddens, paddy and foot hill lands. They felt that by planting the cashew nuts in their swiddens they would definitely lose their subsistence crops for ever. So they were reluctant to undertake cashew plantation in their lands. Those who have left their home to work outside, particularly in Arunachal Pradesh and Assam took much interest in this cashew plantation, as their swiddens remain uncultivated or in share cropping.

The cashew plantation, stopped the share cropping system to a great extent. This stood on the way of socio-economic status of marginal families. They lost their subsistence from share cropping and the little bit of swidden plots they possess is not enough to fulfil their family consumption. This led to such a condition that the well-to-do farmers grew richer and the marginal farmers became poorer. This condition led them to migrate to Arunchal Pradesh and Assam or work as landless labourers in the nearby areas. However they cropped the cashew nuts in their swiddens first and then migrated. Thus cashew slowly and slowly got spread over the Lanjia Saora area. Many young men and women migrated out of these areas. Thus, cashew nut became a blessing to some and a curse to many.

IMPACT OF CASHEW PLANTATION ON SWIDDENING

Many people are of opinion that in the Swidden where cashewnuts are planted, the yield of crops showed a drastic decrease. In the swiddens cashed nuts are cropped regular space in between the cows. The first year cashew plants do not hamper the multiple cropping in swiddens. In the cashew planted swidden multiple cropping is possible. Because by then the cashew crops are of very small

size so it do not pose a problem for agricultural practices. In the second year also there is not much problem caused due to cashew plants. But in the subsequent years cashew plants grow luxurianity crop production. In the following years cultivation becomes completely impossible and the swidden plots are abandoned for cashew plants. About the decrease in crop production, a case study is given here.

The case study is with Parring Sober, a well-to-do man in the village Sagada. He holds the job of compounder in Puttasingi medical centre. He possesses a number of swidden plots in and around Sagada, he also has some hectares of paddy lands some area of which is irrigated. He is the only son of his father. He is married and lives with his wife and three sons in Puttasingi. His mother lives in Sagada. The mother being too old is unable to cultivate all the lands. Parring remains busy with his job. Therefore he has given much of his swidden plots on share cropping and has planted cashew nut in many swidden plots. He is about 25 years old.

He planted cashew nuts in an area measuring about 60 cents in the year 1989. In the said area about 100 cashew plants are cropped. Before the cashed was cropped in the same land shifting cultivation was done with multiple cropping. But after cashew plantation, the production of other crops decreased to a great extent. A comparison of crop production and the decrease in subsequent years after 1989 is given below.

TABLE - 14
100 Cashew nut trees in 60 cent land planted in 1989.

Crops cultivated	Production in K.G.			Market price K.G. in Rs.			Total amount. in Rs.		
	1990	1991	1992	1990	1991	1992	1990	1991	1992
1. Sorghum	150	125	50	2	2	2.50	300	250	125
2. Pigeon pea	50	25	15	5	5	6	250	125	90
3. Gurbudi	15	5	3	3	4	4	45	20	12
4. Cow-Pea	12	5	3	6	6	8	72	30	24
5. Rasi	5	3	1	8	8	9	40	24	9
6. Turmeric	30	20	12	10	10	10	300	200	120
7. Red Sorrel (Seed)	5	3	2	3	3	3	15	9	6
8. Tapioca	10	8	5	2	3	3	20	24	15
Total	277	194	91	-	-	-	1042	682	401

The table shows that the production of the same crops in three consecutive years varies to a great extent. He says that before cashew plantation such a decrease in crop yield was observed. This is the first time he experienced the loss. So in the year 1993 he abandoned cultivating the swidden plots where cashew was planted. He expects cashew plants to produce in the middle of 1995. He expects a production of about 50 kgs. from 100 trees which would be worth Rs. 1250 in the market. He spent only Rs. 300 for constructing boundary around cashew fields and Rs. 150 for miscellaneous expenditure. Thus after investment of Rs.450 is a period of 5 years he hopes to earn Rs 800. Now he is not interest to use labour and money in swiddening.

The general perception of many as to why they have started abandoning shifting cultivation and replaced the multiple cropping in swidden with cashew crops is mainly due to shortage of manpower and unnecessary wastage of labour in swiddening when the swiddens have started to produce the least quantity as compared to the early days. Further, without regular maintenance, as is done for crops in swiddens, cashew does not produce better. The religious conversion of many have considerably hampered the labour source and input. Those who have converted to christianity can not have more than one wife. If they marry again they will be isolated from the church as is the rule. Therefore people are slowly giving up polygamous life and input of labour in terms of women therefore decreased considerably. People have become acculturised to a certain degree and they are feeling reluctant to go back to shifting cultivation lest they are ridiculed by others. Once they climb down the hills, it is hard to climb up the hill again one Lanjia Saora young man opined.

The cashew nuts on the otherhand is a standing crop, Needs less maintenance after they are cropped once. Therefore it does not involve much input in terms of labour and money. People who have become conscious by the missionary education about a good life by maintaining a monagamous life, have therefore turned more towards cashew plantations. When polygamy is prohibited by the church education, people who are known as Christian Saora are leading a monogamous life which results in a inferiority complex in them for they have reduced the availability of more labour by leading a monogamous life. Such people when they feel incapable all cultivating of their lands opt away from swiddening and adopt cashew cultivation.

Many people in the Lanjia Saora locality have now got their identity as cashew merchants and are regarded as Bitimar (Property-man) or Gomango (Head in terms of property). This however has brought into view a class feeling in Saora people which is based upon economic considerations. Those who have cashew plantations estimate their average yield from the trees and they mostly fetch in irrespective of the effect of weather and climatic on the crops. But in swiddens

variation in crop productivity is very common and that also depends upon the climatic factors. In Sagada area there are also instances where people have earned more than 10 to 15 thousand cash from the sale of cashew nuts.

Only the cashew nut plantation opened a new avenue for the Saora people especially the Lanjia Saoras that lead towards a better economy in terms of cash. Therefore the importance of market economy is slowly entering into the Lanjia Saora areas.

OTHER HORTICULTURAL CROPS

It is not the cashew nuts only that has rushed into the Lanjia Saora areas amongst the horticultural crops, many other varieties are also brought in. Such plants are lemon (*Citrus aurentifolia*), Orange (*Citrus signers*), pine apple (*Ananus compose*), Custard apple (*Annona squamos*), bull's heart (*Annona reticulata*), Pomegranate (*Punica granatum*), Papaya (*Carica papaya*), Guava (*Pyidum guajava*), Drumstick (*Moringa oeifera*), Banana (*Musa sapientum*). ..*etc*.

The problem is, horticultural produces are limited to a particular time. Their seasonal. The peak production is observed in the summer seasons. Mango, Jackfruit, lemon, custard apple, banana..etc. shows heavy production in the summer season. Certain plant species like papaya, banana continue to produce throughtout the year. But papaya and raw banana have not got that much of importance in their food habit. Further, they do not get a good market to dispose off such products particularly papaya. Again the horticultural produces in the time of their highest productivity do not get a better market price. For, the demand of market for such produces in not felt so high.

Lanjia Saora people show both inclusive dependence and marginal dependence on sweddining. They believe in immediate out put them a delayed out put. In than regard, the horticultural species are delayed out puts which take pretty long time to produce. Further, they give priority to subsistence. Therefore horticultural programmes are not accepted fully by many. The products from horticultural crops are sold in the local market or dealt through local non tribal people, particularly the Dom people who approach the Saora people and purchase the total produce at a very low price. Examples are also there when about 75 kilograms of mango fruit was sold for rupees one hundred. In the marketing of horticultural products, even the fruits on the trees are sold on auction. When the fruits mature on trees, the Dom people purchase the trees from the Lanjia Saoras for that year by fixing an amount as price of the fruits. The price fixed for the produce is quite low than the market price. Lanjia Saora people sometimes hesitate and most of the time feel reluctant to take the heretical produces to the market. Well-to-do families hesitate to carry

the produces to the market, for they feel it hampers their personal prestige and family prestige, and other people do not like to take the goods to the market carrying them on their head, since they feel that it is quite a labour consuming job for a little price.

Multiple factors are found to be interlinked with the Lanjia Saora pattern of traditional livelihood. The social, environmental market factors make them continue their traditional practice of shifting cultivation which supplies them their subsistence crops in addition to the paddy crops. Therefore they feel that shifting cultivation is their desired avenue of maintaining their livelihood which includes the paddy cultivation their main economy. The other modes of cultivation, minor forest produce gathering and horticulture, etc, are supplementary sources of their economy. No matter how much destructive the practice of swiddening is, no matter how much the reduction in production for swiddening is, the Lanjia Saora people stick to their traditional pattern of maintaining livelihood from shifting cultivation. Therefore, the shifting cultivation is a way of their life as has been perceived in the present circumstances.

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT ANALYSIS

Shifting cultivation by Lanjia Saora have put a tremendous impact on the internment in general and on natural vegetation and wild life in specific. Swiddening plots are under personal possession and the risk of least production in borne by the farmer. Again continuous cultivation on swidden plots by these people who exclusively depend upon the swiddening leaves no fallow period and so natural regeneration is hampered. Further, due to the excess soil erosion from the hill slopes the top soil is replaced by rocks. The loss of vegetation from nearby swidden plots have forced the Lanjia Saora women to go a long way for collecting firewood and other day to day needs. Therefore shifting cultivation now-a-days have become least productive which has put a hard impact over the sociol-economic status, particularly the livelihood of marginalia people.

On the other hand the people who depend upon swiddening for minimum needs, have for no attachment to the swidden plots. They take least care for such plots as their dependance on it is very minimum. They have fixed their eyes on swiddening and are focussing on paddy cultivation. Such people are not bothered about the fertility of soil, the follow period and natural regeneration of forests. Mercilessly they cut the natural vegetation for fuel wood, when fuel wood is available at a little distance from the swidden plots. Their careless motive towards the swidden plots have made them to forego the idea of preservation and conservation. Such people also do not make stone embarnkment around their plots, which surely could check the soil erosion from such plots.

Over exploitation of swidden plots and natural vegetation in it are done by

all grades of farmers. The marginalia farmers exploit continuously for, they do not have any alternative. The big farmers do not care because such merciless over exploitation. Therefore the condition of the swidden plots have become unfavorable for cultivation.

People have started realising their crisis and to some extent have been able to identify the reasons of this crisis. Once is a group meeting of the Lanjia Saora, a worker from an NGO asked the reason for the delay of the rainy season. The Lanjia Saora people who had gathered there replied at once that it is became of the loss of tree cover. The question then asked was "why do you cut down the trees then ?. There was no alternative answer. This is an example to state that the Lanjia Saora people have started to realize their mistakes but as the same time they feel helpless for there is no other way following which they could maintain their livelihood and so could save the remnant vegetation before they perish with the need for fuel wood. A discussion a Soil Conservation officer and a Lanjia Saora made it clear that they have started realizing that the soil erosion is going on severely. The soil erosion has made the forest floor rocky thus hampering the production from such fields. With that, the lands become like deserts as it can be said considering the low production from swidden plots. This decrease in production from rocky land because of soil crossing complemented with merciless cutting of natural vegetation, all done to fetch the livelihood from swidden plots have led the forest lands towards. In the area most of the swidden plots have no traces of remount stock of trees or cut stumps of trees, if however some are there it is very negligible plots, such tree stumps have stopped regeneration. Thorny bushes are seen coming up replacing the evergreen crops which once represented a thick forest in these areas. The natural vegetation with the dominant flora is on the verge of extinction from some parts of the area.

Group discussions with old Lanjia Saora have revealed the fact that the community believes that the soil condition and vegetation in these areas are being damaged by cashew nut plantation. They from their opinion basing on their observation that the perennial water sources near the cashew plots are getting dry day by day. The old people regard cashew nuts as fire for the earth. They hold that cashew roots suck in plenty of ground matter which leads towards the decrease in the soil water level. Such people who hold this opinion are not those who do not have cashew plots, rather some people having large cashew plots are also of the same opinion that cashew nut is a danger to soil and water both. It is also clear that in future there would be no undergrowth vegetations in such plots where cashew is the standing crop.

Therefore in the Lanjia Saora perception about their environment, cashew plants are taken as on damaging factor for natural vegetation which could have

sprouted out if cashew had not been there. Earlier the fire was responsible for the total destruction of undergrowths and now the same is done by cashew nut plantation. The Lanjia Saora people are of the opinion that the swidden plots now give beter environment for bamboo and cashew nuts.. Mango and Jackfruit trees planted in the cashew garden considerably decrease their productivity. Hence, cashew though is economically, viable and productive. yet is not the right crop for these areas - The Lanjia Saora people atlest.

About the soil erosion, Lanjia Saora are not bothered so much. For, they hold that the washed off soil from hill top will make slits in terraces. Terraces are made in such a manner that water canot pass through its embankment. So there is no question of soil erosion from terraces. Again the terraces are made at the foot hills which continue from the proximal end of the Baron when approached from the foothills. Further, they are not now interested in soil erosion in the Baron, because they feel that the government is in theprocess of converting the swiddens into cashew gardens.

The multiplicity of factors that lead to up set the natural balance and imminent internment dangers have set up a n in the natural selection of the crops in the locality. The deciduous and evergreen vegetation that once represented the entire forest condition in those areas are now being replaced by thorny and herophytic flora by the nature. Therefore the environment has deteriorated to a great extent resulting in the decrease in water level, retrogression in vegetal covering, change in weather and climate and at a closer look all these factors have made the social and living environment of the Lanjia Saora people *rondomised.*

An assessment of the impact of shifting cultivation on the environment is therefore a study from all angles. Besides the land, terrain water resources and vegetation, many other factors that have made the forest a vacuum for animals and caused a loss in very important food chains that were in operation in the locality circumscribed by forests, once upon a time have resulted in extensive practice of shifting cultivation since ages by Lanjia Saora people.

For this area atleast, swiddening is never a necessary evil, as the situation is today, the quickerit is abandoned better it is.

11

LIFE IN FOREST : A MODE OF PRESERVATION AND CONSERVATION OF SAORA

The intimate association of the tribes with the forests have always remained as an example to the non-forest dwellers. Life and living in forest is of a different kind. It shows vast difference if compared to city life. The tribal people are born and brought up in the cradle of forests. They are the original inhabitants of forests. Since ages they are interacting with the forests their livelihood and to maintain their continuity of life on the earth. Forests are regarded as the foster mother of the tribal people. It is this belief that has made the tribal people to depend upon forests from where they fetch all of their needs.

During the course of their living in forest they have developed manifold attachment to the forests. Their social and cultural life and philosophical understandings describe a unique style in their culture and traditions. Forests are seen from many angles by the tribals. The forest is not only regarded as a resource base from where the tribal people fetch wood for house construction, fuel, minor forest produces, medicinal plants, etc, but they also have social, cultural, emotional and aesthetic attachments with the forests. The forests and tribes are therefore inseparable parts, may be compared to the two sides of a coin.

The Saora people are one such tribal group who are regarded as a forest dweller community. The Saora tribe has many sub sections, most prominent to consider about being the two tribes, to be considered here : Lanjia and Shudha Saora, Lanjia Saora are really forest dwellers and Shudha Saora are plain landers. The Lanjia Saora people therefore are more close to the forests. The Lanjia Saora people are regarded as primitive people. For, they maintain a crude mode of subsistence depending upon the forests around them. The Shudha Saora people on the otherhand are far developed than the Lanjia Saora people though there are

socio-cultural similarities observed in either tribes. The plain land Saora show much inclination to the market economy as compared to the Lanjia Saora people.

The Bifurcation of the Lanjia Saora community into two sections have made a cultural disintegration in the Lanjia Saora localities. Their relation with the forest and philosophy about life in forest have changed to a great extent. When the Lanjia Saora is interested in the forest world, the Christian Saora looks for a way to find himself out of the forest. The lores and traditions that give narration of the tribe's long association with the forest are slowly being replaced with the modernised versions of living in forest. The Christian people are interested in converting the forest into a market place and the Lanjia Saora people are trying to keep up their relation with forests. The Shudha Saora people do not get enough opportunity to experience their life in forest as they are living on plains with hills and forests remaining far away from their locality. Though there are still many Shudha Saora villages amidst the forests, yet their association with the forests is limited to certain points only which are related to their economy. Of course Shudha Saora people have lores and traditions which depict their [illegible] forests. But the Shudha Saora people who have easy accessibility to the ma[illegible] are subjected to a process of slow and steady conversion into modernisation.

In the overall scenario the Saora people's life is always associated with the forests. Since the age of the myth till the age of reality as is today they have maintained intimate association with the forest world. The Saora people describe in their myth how they used to live in the forests first. The myth also describes how they evolved and where did they take shelter in the beginning. The Lanjia Saora people have described much about their life in forests when they were cave-man(*Lungar mar*) and were nomadic. Their nomadic life was basically dependent on the food resources that was made available to them from the forests. The cave-man experienced his life in forest in such a way that he felt that if he lived in forest then he would survive and if he left the forest he would perish. So the beginning of Saora culture is described in a way where the man and the forests are two inseparable units. One would lose its existence without the other.

The Saora peoples life in forest is mainly dependent upon the living resources available in the forest. The first basic need of human beings is food. Since ages the forest has provided this dire need. The dependence for shelter comes after food. So in many ways the Saora people derived their food and household economy from the forests. This is common to the indigenous Saora people irrespective of their types. But with change in time, when the people found that things can also be got from the markets, they started depending upon the markets. In market they met with the commodities that are different from the forest produces.

Their life in forest describes that their wants are limited. This is derived

from their way of life in forest. They depend on cultivation mostly. The Lanjia Saora and Christian Saora are mainly shifting cultivators whereas Shudha Saora are plain land cultivators. As observed in their food habit, they are limited to certain items of foods. The people are acquainted with particular food items which are found in their regular diet. Those food items are made available from the forests directly or indirectly. So their association with the forests are maintained with food habit also. The Lanjia Saora people are very much fond of Sorghum though rice is their staple food. For the Shudha Saora rice is the only main food. Rice is cultivated on plain lands but Sorghum is cultivated mostly on hill lands. So from their choice of a food, their relation with hills and forests can be derived. It seems as if the Sorghum eaters are more experienced about living in forest. Next to those cereal crops, tubers and roots are the major food items which they prefer most. The tubers particularly the species of Yam had wide availability in the forest in olden days. Before the yams were domesticated and cultivated, the people got them from the forests. When it is questioned that which one among tubers, rice, sorghum was the first food ? the answer is always- tubers. Tubers were there even before the people knew about cultivation and so their love for tuber stands as an indicator of their relationship with forest.

Saora people more or less justified that their wants are limited. Further their dependence on the forests is limited. This can be deduced from their self realisation. These self realisations have turned into legends now-a-days. So those experiences and realisations have been transmitted from predecessors. The Saora people believe that when there was no market in ancient days they fetched all their needful from the forests. This explains their multidimensional relationships with the forests. Their relationship with the forests is not limited to the material needs rather they have social, cultural and emotional attachment with the forests. Their social, cultural and psychological attachment with the forests is depicted in their traditional lores in which importance is given to the forests.

The Saora has now realised that their wants are unlimited. This realisation dawned when he evaluated the standard of life in a de-forested market dominated area. In the market place Saora people came across the other people who are non-tribals. The Saora people claim that the advent of market into their area caused acute deforestation. The Saora admit that he destroyed forests to make swidden plots. But the market tradition deforested the vegetation and de-forested them. This attribute is linked to the Saora peoples migration to other places. The market tradition made them to depend more on cash than crops. For, crops can be fetched from market if there is cash at hand. The migration of people to other places changed the pattern of life in the forest in various ways.

They know of their life in forest from the sources like old legendary tales and myths in which they are described as forest dwellers. Further those oral

traditions aptly describe the primitive people's experience with the forests. Through these oral traditions their whole cultural background is transmitted from generations to generations. Their history of origin and history of culture is preserved in oral traditions. And in the oral traditions are mentioned their notion of preservation and conservation of their cultural identity and integrity.

The preservations and conservation of their unique culture could be possible through their mode of life in forest. The Saora describes that as long as they keep up their relation with the forest, their culture will sustain its very indigenous form. If they go out of the forests they will lose their culture. Saora points out the case of the migrant labours who migrate outside and lose their indigenous culture and get adopted to alien cultures. Saora believe that a change in culture automatically takes place when they find themselves out of their forest living space. So it is taken as a very common thing that the migrants carelessly forget their indigenous culture. They believe that change in culture happens through the way, not due to the untrodden path taken at the destiny. The Lanjia Saora people believe that as they go down from hills, they lose their indigenous culture. The erosion in culture is marked with their marching from forests to the market. Destiny here is understood as market or forest. The destiny therefore gives the wholesome account of a culture and tradition. It is too hard to discuss about the indigenous culture when the man is slowly subjected to a change of environment and living space. The culture is preserved so long as they live in their natural environment. Culture becomes dynamic at the market places and remains stable in the forests. In market place a man comes across diversified cultures and traditions and slowly gets accustomed to the tradition and culture which he likes most.

Life in forest, therefore, preserves and conserves the indigenous culture of the Saora people. Their ideas on preservation and conservation is described as '*Kukumba-bububa*'. *Kukumba-bububa* do not have an accurate literal meaning. *Kukumba-bububa* is a process. The Saora people cite examples to explain the term. Take for example, the harvesting of crops. When crops get matured they are cut and taken to the harvest ground. There they are thrashed and kept in containers. The bamboo vessels in which crops are stored are polished with mud on the inner and outer sides. This is done to save the crops from the pests and insects. The whole process of getting something and keeping it safe by all means possible is the meaning of the term. In the above cited example, 'crop' is symbolically used for culture. The container in which the Saora culture is preserved is the forest. The Saora people have cropped and harvested their own indigenous culture. They have kept it preserved in the forest habitat. Their indigenous culture is confined within the forest habitat as it may be compared to the crops preserved in the containers. The Saora has a self conviction that their indigenous culture will

sustain as long as they are within the forests. So once they live outside the forests they start losing their indigenous culture.

Their notion of preservation and conservation is understood from the term *Kukumba-bububa*. It gives a meaning that the preservation and conservation is evaluated from the tribes social processes and work traditions. Embedded in their socio-cultural processes are many themes that give an account of their living in forest. Their idea on the living space explains that they are inseparable entities from the forest world. This is very much related to their tradition of work in the forest. Further their spiritual beliefs are very much associated with the forest world. It has been mentioned in the chapter 'Cultural Values in Relation to Environment' narrating the different living spaces. In their idea about living spaces they mention that they live in a habitat surrounded by hills and forests. Besides those physical things they are surrounded by supernatural spirits and ancestral spirits who also live in Saora living space. The spirits live in the inter spaces mostly in between settlements and hills, forests and also in different parts of the hills and forests. Their religious culture speak of innumerable spirits and deities who reside in the hills and forests mostly, temporarily or permanently. So in their religious affairs they regard the hills, forests, shrines, etc, where they experience the presence of gods and spirits. Their religious culture would not have been so much elaborated if they would not have taken the hills and forests into consideration. So hills and forests are important on religious grounds.

The hills and forests that are regarded as the abodes of gods, spirits, devils, witches make a sense that all sorts of spiritual beings can live in the forest. They have a legitimate demand over the forest world which they consider as their abode. Further, plants and trees, animals and birds also live inside the forest. The Saora lives in the outskirts of the forests or on cleared patches of forests. Therefore they believe that forest is a living space for all, may it be human beings, animal beings or spiritual beings. Their cultural tradition is very much associated with the spiritual beings. The hills and forests, heaven and hill are given higher respect for, the supernatural beings live there. Forest is therefore a living space of human beings and spiritual beings apart from other physical forms of lives which commonly live in the forest. The Saora indigenous culture is based upon three main points the understanding of beings, the living space and the beings' interrelation and interaction with forests. Out of all these three points the importance of forests is widely elaborated.

Forests are not only regarded as the splendid manifestation of plant life on earth, it is also be regarded as the space from where the tribal culture has emerged. The Saora peoples' history of life on earth has been a history of interaction between living things and their surroundings. To a great extent the physical form and habits

of the earths vegetation and its animal life including the human beings have been moulded by the environment. The Saora people needs specific materials and items for their survival in the forest. Spiritually also they depends upon the forest. All the social institutions of Saora is related to forests more or less as is seen in their social processes. Forests, they regard, as the gift of *Kittung*- the supreme god of the Saora people. Forests are thus perceived to be the sole basis of the cultural background, ethnicity. Forests are considered as a living space, a resource base, a spiritual domain etc. All those understandings of the Saora people about forests makes them to regard the forests as a benevolent one.

Above all the Saora people believe their home to be a part of the forest. Forest is their first home, prior to their living in houses in settlements. Even after settlements are made, the Saora spends lots of their time in the forest. So they feed, it as their second home. This idea of a second home is very much related to their tradition of work in the forest. Lanjia Saora is shifting cultivator which is their main trend of maintaining a livelihood. During their practice of shifting cultivation, they spend a lot of their time in the swidden plots. The swidden plots are parts of the forests. While the Saora people live in a watch hut made on the swidden plots, they feel they are in the forest or in their second home. Saora people work for the whole day in the swidden plot. They also spend nights there to keep an eye on their standing crops in the swidden plots. There the Saora people get adequate opportunity to think of their life in forest.

The Saora people believe that their attachment to the forests decrease slowly with age. Their concept of ageing is very much related to their practice of shifting cultivation. A Saora man feels that he has not grown old till he is able to work in the swidden plots. When a finds it difficult to climb hills, he feels that he is growing old or has grown old. This philosophy about life is derived from the Saora peoples association with the forest in terms of shifting cultivation. They therefore feel that the active principle of their life is hidden in the swiddening. Practice of swiddening means their association with the forests. On shifting cultivation is one important trait of their culture. They do not like to abandon it for, they feel that by abandoning the shifting cultivation they are losing one cultural trait. Indigenous culture is important to them and so also shifting cultivation. Shifting cultivation is their main mode of deriving subsistence economy. It has become a way of their life. The Saora people say that if they are very much linked to a life in forest it is through shifting cultivation. Shifting cultivation gives on account of their work, rest, leisure in relation to the forests.

The Saora people believe that their indigenous culture is now endangered. Many factors are at work that directly or indirectly influence their traditional culture. The immigration of trade oriented people into their localities brought in

new traditions of work. With them came many traditions that developed an orientation of people towards market economy. The migration of Saora people to work in the gardens of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh facilitated the advent of new cultural traits which in later times dominated over their indigenous cultural traits. The traditions of market dragged many people out of their practices with the forests. Apart from all those the Christianity is mainly responsible for an erasion in the Saora peoples relation with the forests.

In the Shudha Saora areas the above factors are barely influential. They are related to the market tradition since years. Their relationship with the market traditions developed with the development of infrastructures base and facilities. They are also subjected to an era of religious revolution. Their religious revolution is mainly oriented towards a modification of indigenous cultures in an attempt to integrate their culture with the Hindu tradition and religion. The Shudha Saora people in contrast to the Lanjia Saora are more aware and perceptive about their indigenous culture and religion. They are not shifting cultivators but they are also related to the forests in their spiritual, cultural and social institutions. They have made the frame work of a new culture that is based upon the old culture. The entire idea of the change in their social, cultural and religious traditions are conceived from their interaction with non-tribal people. They have b y now turned towards forests with a different view. Their present view about forests shows striking similarity to the forest culture as is described in Hindu myths, legends, epics and other texts. They show a holistic approach towards forests in their tradition of work. The Shudha Saora people believe that their culture will not be hampered of they follow the Hindu culture. But at the same time they feel that their indigenous culture will be abolished if they follow an alien religion. Christianity is an alien religion as is understood by them.

The Shudha Saora are also divided into two sections. The traditional section strongly cling to their indigenous culture. The other section hold on to the modified religion which shows strong affinity with Hindu religious and cultural thoughts. But both the sections show regards to their indigenous culture. They feel that their indigenous culture which flourished in the forest is unique in its aspects. Some reformations, in the traditional culture is required- the modern Shudha Saora people suggest. In the chapter 'Religious Practices....' mention has been given of the cultural conflicts between the two sections of the Saora. The Mader section of the Shudha Saora believes in a holistic approach in their manner of dealing with the environment. Their religious principles base upon the understanding of 24 main deities and others in their pantheon. The gods like *Kittung*, *Gadasum*, *Harasum*, *Mundadasum*, *Lobosum*, *Rangisum*, *Tangarsum* are the important ones who live in different parts of the forests as well as around the Saora settlement. Those gods are given higher importance when the Saora

people keep up their dealings with the forests. They believe that the forest is living because the gods are living there. The Saora is living because the forest provides them with life- one Shudha Saora man attested.

The Shudha Saora believe that in the traditions and principles of the Christian religion, not much of importance is given to the forests. They also assert that they are quite happy with their ancient tradition as forest dwellers. They have a good faith on their many god philosophy which guides them in all aspects of their life. But the Christian people believe in one god. The Christian people dishonour the religion of Saora by calling them superstitions. But Shudha Saora people strongly deny this attribute. They hold that a life which is spent in following Christianity is a worthless life. There are many such remarks the Shudha Saora people make about the Christian religion. They do not show an inclination towards the Christian religion. More of the Shudha Saoras are Christian converts. They have a lone for their indigenous culture and are in a way to reform their religious culture to make it integrated with the Hindu culture. The Shudha Saora attest that Christian religion is quite inferior to Hindu religion.

Religion is the basis of the social and cultural identity of the people. Their ideas on the worldview and cosmology is a part of their understanding of religion. All their social institutions are bound to the religious principles. In the Shudha Saora societies the religious headman is given more respect then the political headman. The Christian missions are making continuous efforts to convert the Shudha Saoras into Christians. But the fear of religion is so much manifested in the Shudha Saora people that they feel, if they become converted, they will invite the worth of their traditional gods. The people have a high sense of regard towards the political headman and the religious headman. The Christians have well understood that if the *Gomango*(political headman) and *Buya*(Religious headman, becomes Christian converts then the whole Shudha Saora will be converted to Christianity. But the *Gomango* and *Buya* show- their sincerity to the traditional gods. So the trials efforts of the Christian missions comes to a raught.

The Shudha Saora peoples 'no response' towards the Christianity describe their lone for indigenous culture. This also gives on account of their ideas on preservation and conservation of their indigenous culture. Their social life and philosophical life is greatly influenced by their physical environment. On one hand they live in harmony with nature and on the otherhand keeps in touch with the market. Both are important to them but their culture in relation to the forests is more important as is expressed in their religious beliefs and processes.

The Christian Saora- a section of Lanjia Saora are slowly losing their association with the forests. This is perceived from their high orientation towards market and to the outer world. They are more oriented towards a cash economy

than a crop economy. The Christian Saora are also shifting cultivators. But they are looking for a way to be out of such a practice. They don't believe in the presence of gods and spirits in specific places. To them, god is omnipresent. They are slowly trading towards a technological modernisation. They want to accomplish a good and desirable life in relation to the market and the modernised world. For them a culture in forests is valueless and meaningless.

LIFE IN FOREST: THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF DISCOURSE

The above descriptions comprehensively describe the Saora peoples ideology towards their dependence on forests for material needs, food, shelter, for the preservation and conservation of their indigenous culture. It also describes the innumerable ways in which they are related to the forests and how their life in forest is maintained. But it is not the only relation which Saora people hold with the forest and environment around them. Forest is a home, a work place and a resource base. Thus if sustains the life of Saora people. Their mode of life is therefore to a great extent different from the non-tribal people. Their life style is unique. It is shaped with their long experience and association with the forests. This is very much expressed in their tradition of work. Their main tradition of work is shifting cultivation. This is one of their main cultural and ethnic identity. Their relationship with the non-tribals is made through shifting cultivation. The non-tribals appear in Saora settlements to procure the produces from shifting cultivation. The Saora understood that whatever he produces from swiddening has a good demand in the market. So from the trading relationship with the non-tribals, the Saora people became aware of the market and market traditions. This event marked the Saora peoples interest for participation in the market economy.

The Saora people slowly moved towards the market. In the market they met with crisis. The crisis started when the Saora people took interest in market commodities. In the market they saw that everything can be fetched from the market. He saw diversified customs and costumes, traditions and cultures at the market places. The Saora is socialised with the forests through work relations. Through trade relations with the market the Saora became socialised with other non-tribals. There developed a consequent erosian in his socialisation with the forests. With this the concept of their well-being changed to a certain extent. The Saora people do not become old till he is unable to climb the hills. This is their self perception. Their lies their understanding of well-being. But when in the market his demands increase and he fails to offered for certain commodities, he feels sick, poor, his wants become unlimited and he feels that he can never fetch a good and desirable life. Their well-being is hompered with this. A man therefore turns old quickly in the market than in the market when their work traditions and notion of well-being is compared. The Saora peoples well-being lies with his limited wants

and with his traditional processes of earning a livelihood. But his wants become unlimited in the market place. When he becomes more and more market oriented, he gives up his traditional practices and processes and enters into the market economy where he meets with crisis. Then he stands on the cross-roads. Neither he can return to his indigenous tradition nor he can survive with the market tradition. At this stage Saora looks for other jobs in which he has skill. Then he makes effort to seck his fortune outside. This is the root cause of migrating to other areas.

Their mode of maintaining a livelihood in the indigenous way is very much specific in consideration to time, place, situation, subject and object etc. Their well-being is determined with the appropriateness of work. The wise mode of interacting with the forests gives the aappropriateness to their work. Shifting cultivation is understood here as their appropriateness of work. Since they are very much acquainted with shifting cultivation, they believe that it is the most appropriate behaviour and response to their well-being. Their well-being is dependent upon the mercy of the ancestral beings. The mercy of ancestral beings is experienced when the ancestral beings put their soul in the crops. This assures a good productivity. A good poroductivity from swiddens contributes to their good and desirable life.

The swiddener Saora is reluctant to share a life with the market oriented Saora. They express their view that shifting cultivation is far better than depending upon market. This is the perception of many people who have returned home after long day's serving outside. Particularly those who left their homeland and were serving in Assam now believe that they were better in their homeland then at Assam. On returning to their homeland they are slowly picking up their old habits of maintaining a livelihood where lies their long sustainability. Their society, culture, religion everything is regulated with their traditional work pattern : Shifting Cultivation, collection of minor forest produces, hunting, gathering, etc.

Life in Assam was '*Irbansa*' (not good) was the opinion of an old man. Daipan Sabar of village Sagada. He left his homeland for a better earning in Assam. He left his cattle of swidden plots to be cultivated by his wives. Daipan lived in Assam for five years. He describes that he had no much of freedom in Assam. He was living in a colony where the daily wage labours of the tea gardens are living. There is no alien (Palm toddy), no forest, no swiddening- nothing of the kind of things with which Saora people are most habituated. There is no peace(Arsieem) peace and well-beingness lies in the homeland. Daipan says that he did not get a life there which he have now in the homeland. He is feeling better with his wife and children. Even if the production in swidden plots is scants, still he is happy. Now he is sharing a life with his wife and children. Getting palm toddy and buffalo meat regularly. Daipan did not adopt to Christianity in Assam. He has a deep love

for his indigenous culture. He wants that after his death, his son should organise *Goar* and *Karja* for him, so that he can live happily in the underworld.

Well-beingness is preserved at home, with wife and children is the extract of Daipan's saying. He thinks of his well-being in the underworld. The very interesting thing is he don't feel himself an old man. For, he is able to walk even twenty kilometers, have the ability to work in swidden fields. He makes a comparison between his life in homeland, amidst forests and his life in Assam. It is his realization that leads him to say that the peace and well-beingness is always at homeland.

The Saora people who are confined to their indigenous tradition always likes to like as a part of the natural environment around their homeland. They like to take birth, grow and die in the homeland. Death in homeland makes a soul to easily enter into the underworld. There the dead's spirits can live with their ancestral spirits. So they will never feel themselves away from their kin people. All through the life cycle of a man he dreams of a death in the homeland and a further birth in the same place. They always dream of a rebirth as a Saora.

The Saora people believe that the Dom community is a factor that influences the erosion of Saora culture. The first blame that is the Dom community is that they were the first to adopt Christianity and then they motivated some Saora people and converted them to Christians. This is held strongly by the traditional Saora people. By conversion of Saora people to Christianity, the cultural erosion started. The barrier between Saora and Doms was withdrawn afterwards when the Christian Saora and Christian Doms became one by embracing the same religion. Saora people never used to allowed the Doms to enter into their houses. But the Saora people who are converted to Christianity allow the Dom people to enter into their houses. The traditional Saoras believe that a Dom's entry into a Saora house makes the ikon impure. This invites the wrath of the home deity and the gods represented in the ikon. But the Christian Saoras do not believe in such and mix freely with taboos the Doms.

The traditional Saora people believe that their well-being after death is endangered. This fear develops in then when they find their children converted to Christianity. They claim that the Dom people motivated their children to become Christians. 'It our children become Christian who will perform *Goar* and *Karja* for us?' the old Saora people fear. Therefore they blame the Doms who are Christians. The traditional Saora people believe that Doms are working as agents of the Christian missions. They are getting a good amount from the missions to motivate people to become Christians- traditional Saora people hold. Basing on this point the Saora believe that Doms are also trading with religion.

Doms are the catalysts between the market and forest. They collect forest produces from Saora and sell them in the market. The entry of other non-tribal traders into the Saora settlements is facilitated through the Doms. Amongst other non-tribal traders, the Telugu speaking kumuti people deal with the Doms. The Doms get finance in advance from the Kumutis for certain minor forest produces and agricultural produces to be acquired from Saora people. The Doms collect the commodities right from the Saora settlements. This restarts the direct participation of Saora people with the market. Whenever Saora people try to participate directly with the market, the Doms do not allow them. Doms are very skillful in their out of motivating people to manage to drive their point home. The Doms motivate Saora in such a manner that the Saoras feels that Doms are their friends and well wishers and so they become biased with the Dom's words. Hence the relation of Dom and Saora is very much specific and mostly in trade.

Saora house the Doms for deforestation. The Saora people hold that in ancient days they had a great fear of forests. They used to consider the forests as *Kittungsing* i.e. *Kittung*-house. Therefore they never cut trees from the forests out of fear that if they do so they will be punished by the *Kittung*. The Doms had no belief in *Kittung*. So they started interfering with the vegetation in the *Kittungsing*. Saora people tried to develop fear in the Doms that if the latter cuts trees they will be attacked by *Kittung*. But Doms are Christians. They have no belief in the Saora gods. They started cutting the vegetation from the forests which Saora regarded as *Kittungsing*. When the Saora people saw that the Doms are exploiting forests for better earning from sell of timbers, they became interested for it. But their fear of *Kittung* discouraged them. Then they found that the Doms are continuously cutting and slashing vegetations but *Kittung* is causing no harm to them. So they did not fear *Kittung* any more. Continuous interference of Saora and Doms into the forests for wood, timbers abolished the cash green vegetation. With acute deforestation the Saora people fear of the forests minimised. The Christian Saora people have caused massive deforestation- the traditional Saora people accuse. The Christian Saora people in an attempt to resume more wood plates to be used as coffins cut down very big and precious timber species. Slowly other people started doing this and finally the forest cover was lost. With the deforestation erosion in the religious beliefs in relation to forests of the traditional Saora set in. This deforestation caused great socio-economic crisis to the Saora people. So crisis from many angles set in the Saora livelihood and subsistence economy.

Besides to the Panos, the kumuti people are now keeping bilateral relationship with the Saora people. However this relationship is mostly observed in between the Shudha Saora and kumutis. The kumutis also keep relations with the Christian Saora people. But all those relationships basically express a relation of trading. The Saora now have become aware of the exploitation by the non-tribal

people and so have started their direct participation in the market.

The other non-tribals of whom an account may be given are the Government employees and the developmental workers. Slowly and slowly entry of non-tribals into Saora land continues with the provision of infrastructures. With the development of infrastructures, the market became broad. The Saora people experienced great crisis with this. The forest legislation deprived them of their rights on the forests. More and more forests are declared protected and prohibited forests. The Saora people became confined to limited patches of swidden plots. On the otherhand the developmental workers motivated the people to abandon the shifting cultivation for the sake of a better environment. They are motivated to crop tree crops at the places of subsistence crops. The Saora is caught in between. Neither they can give up shifting cultivation, nor they can thrive depending upon the market. Their livelihood is very much related to the practice of shifting cultivation. If they plant trees on the swidden plots then where would they cultivate their subsistence crops ? This is a major question before them. The terraced lands and paddy lands which they hold are not sufficient enough to eater to their consumption needs. Hence the Saora people think that their crisis has increased intensely.

The Lanjia Saora Development Agency, and Integrated Tribal Development Agency are in all possible ways trying to remove the Saora people out of shifting cultivation- the Saora people complain. They are being provided with free supplying, free labourers by the Developmental Agencies to convert the swidden plots into horticultural orchards. Besides, the agricultural departments are providing them with seeds of cash crops to cultivate. But they donot have interest in that. The Saora people need to live first. Further requirements comes only after food. The Saora people at this stage feel that if they can not cultivate their swidden plots for subsistence crops then why should they crop the horticultural species. Since ages they are practising shifting cultivation. They thus feel that abandoning the shifting cultivation is as good as abandoning of the homeland. Those people who have left their swidden plots for development of orchards are learning their settlements and going outside to seek their fortune till the time their tree crops produce.

The new cultural pattern led the Saoras to the market. In the market their wants became unlimited, yet they are limited and confined to a minor livelihood pattern. The Saoras feel the market tradition as a man-made crisis. They believe so because they are in a position when neither they are able to cope up with the market tradition fully nor do they get enough scope to develope their indigenous knowledge and skills. Now they are put in a transition, and they are aware as it. The Lanjia Saoras Development Agency is trying its level best to drag the Saoras to the market from their indigenous mode of living.

The interest in market economy reduced their indigenous shifting cultivation practice to a great extent. The Horticultural programmes. introduced by Lanjia Saora Development Agency has also played a major role in this regard. The modern Saoras realised that for the practice of shifting cultivation more man power and time is needed which they lack now. In comparison to shifting cultivation, less labour and man-power is required for horticultural products. And again migration is the most important factor which put its impact on shifting cultivation. Being attracted to the outer world the young Saoras prefer to work in chemi(as a labourer) than in their own village. So in absence of man power it becomes difficult for the Saoras to continue their indigenous mode of livelihood. These things are clearly discussed in the chapter "Indigenous Knowledge on Shifting Cultivation....". Loss of trees from forest, massive soil erosion, forest preservation rule etc. also to some extent stop the Saoras from continuing their indigenous mode of livelihood.

Forthe shifting cultivation practice, deforesta-tion, interference of non-tribals etc. the modern Saoras became fearless to the wrath of deities. Once upon a time, the Saora who used to after a worship while entering into the deep jungle and cutting a new baron for shifting cultivation, now does things confidently. Impact of non-tribals taught them to realise that in these deforested land, there is no deity residing. The traditional Saora believed that in trees, jungles. lonely places, streams etc. there is always a spirit resided. Now they have changed their abodes. The non-tribal who has taken a vital role in deforesting the lands, encuraged the tribals to do it. They observed that the non-tribals cut it without offering prayers were not punished by the supernatural entities for it. So they decided to fallen their foot-steps.

The entire forest land of Saoras are occupied by the Sonums, the Saora believe. Ancestral spirits along with *Kittung* and all the other deities are staying in the deep forested areas, lonely places, hills, streams, mountains etc. The Saoras deep attachment to the forest is reflected in their folklores, tales, rituals , beliefs etc. The most significant cultural trait i.e. icon represents all these things in a very nice manner. One can observe it while studying the icons deeply. In ancient periods the pictures depicted in the icons were full of forest based products i.e.- animals, trees etc. But with the flow of time, the Saoras converted to modern gentleman have not forgotten to modernise their icons i.e.- he pictures depicted in the icon. This is discussed in chapter-"Religious Practices..".

Christianity is also creating a feeling in young mass to look down upon their indigenous mode of life-style. We have observed several cases where the father is a Saoras and the son is a convert. At the time of life-cycle rituals cultural conflict took place between these two generations. For genuar site, for kintolo, for mortuary rite etc., the older generations are always opposed by the younger

generations which make the situation tense. The young, modernised Saora also disobey their father advise. He rather prefers to work in towns, dressed in modern style. Accordingly his expenditure increased. When he realised it and found himself uncapable for maintaining these things, he started to adopt some other means of income. Which no durbet is illegal. Instances are there, in which the young Saoras are involved in theft, robbery, cheating etc. Interesting point to note is that the modern Saoras instead of cheating outsiders. Started to cheat the people of their own community and were cheated by the non-tribals at the same time. The proverb 'little knowledge is dangerous' is right applicable here. Because neither the young Saoras are learning anything from their traditional lores, tales etc. nor are they learning anything from modern education. The result is some misguided Saoras. The Saora who is unique for his simplicity and honesty is slowly losing his uniqueness day by day. He is also becoming lazy and hence depending on femalefolks more and more of course, it is not new to them traditionally the male Saoras are less hardworking than the females. Now where the church restricts them to marry more than one wife there are instances of bigamy in them violating the church rules, the Saoras an isolated life, tree from the fear of all deities. They neither go to church nor have they reversed to their traditional culture. This is also a factor which reduced the belief in the wrath of deities and it encomages them to violate social rules time and again without hesitation.

Adultery is a common case among Saoras now. The young Saoras prefer a fair skinned, oriya speaking Saora girl as their life partner. So the girls have also started to learn oriya and become little beauty conscious. And if this trend continues , then it is certain that the younger generation will even forget its language one day. And with its language he will surely forget all his indigenous culture, tradition, practice knowledge, skill etc. which is not only dangerous to their society but also to our modern society. In this changing atmosphere, no doubt now about 70% of Saora families are experiencing tensions both in their personal and public life. It would not be wrong to say that, the Saoras are now experiencing a socially, culturally, mentally and ecologically polluted atmosphere. The Saoras are now hankering for natural peace which their ancestors experienced.

Forest and Saoras, both are faced with crisis. The above are some cultural traits including to it many other rituals, festivals, gods etc. which are now the verge of extinction. At this crucial moment, some intellectuals of Shudha Saora community have already realised the situation. And they understood that language is the only media/source which can preserve the culture and save the community from this cultural transition. All the sentiments and emotions as Saoras are always attached to their own language. While they talk in their language they look more confident and the formality, nervousness etc. are not marked in them at that true which are well marked in them while talking in Oriya. They are pure and simple

while they are within their community. The interference of non-tribals and impact of them is least when they are in touch with their own language. Though acculturisation has played a great role in loss of the identity of the Saoras still they sustain their culture as long as they speak their own language. And perhaps, for this reason the Shudha Saora community has already recognised the hidden power, the spirit in language 'Akhsar Brahma' they are also trying to make people understood about it. According to them the real peace lies within themselves, in their surroundings. And that is the reason why Lord Jagannath returned back to them in search of peace. They are slowly realizing the truth of the myth which said indirectly that life is in trees, in forest. When Brahma sent the crow in search of life, the crow on its return reported to him that life is in wood. It makes a sense that life is in forest and deforestation will lead the tribals to become life less, which the tribals have yet to realize.

It is forest which has heed the tribals for a long time in its clutches and has stopped the non-tribals from interfering in their astair. Forest preserved the folk lores, tales, icons etc. of Saoras. Now once they are out of the forest, they endanger their own cultural identity.

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The unanswerable question 'whether forest for tribals or tribals for forest has answer on one hand. Forest preserve tribals' culture, once they are out of the forest mean they lose their cultural identity. On the other hand with the tribals out of the forest, the forest remains no more, it become deforested and loss its charm. So it will be better to say forest and tribals are made for each other. The one without other is meaning less and unimaginable.

CONCLUSION

Great diversity of tribal communities have been observed in Orissa. Each one of which bears its own identity. They are primarily Indigenous and homogeneous, but some of them are also exogenous. Their multifarious beliefs and perceptions of animism, animatism, naturalism, witchcraft, black magic sorcery, taboos and superstitions etc. have restricted them to a particular frame work in which they develop their society in a style of its kind.

Saoras are primitive tribes of Orissa and are found in Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. Saoras are also called Savaras, Sabaras, Soras, Saurs and Saoras. Their racial affinity attributes to Proto-Austroloid group. Their language is more or less akin to Mundari branch of Austric language. The word 'Saora' is a connotation of two words viz; Saba Roye (Sanskrit term) and Sagories (Schythian term). Saba Raye means 'carrying a dead body' and Sagories means 'axe'. Indeed it is a sight to see a Saora moving from his home invariably carrying an 'axe' on his shoulder. Saoras are well known communities in India. In Mahabharata (Purana), Jora Saora mistook Lord Krishna for a deer and killed him by his arrow a legend of Dwapar era). Nishade, Schwapachr, Kirta, Pulinda Saoras known as Anatabasi (primitive men) have been described in a verse of Amarkosh written in 7th century A.D. and they were restricted to live in peripheral zone earning their livelihoold by hunting and food gathering. In Hindu mythology, the name of Viswavasu Saora has been described who was worshipping 'Nilamadav' with full devotion and dedication in a dense forest of a mountain. Later on Nilamadav assuming the name of Lord Jagannath was brought to Sri Kshetra (now it is called Puri) by the then King Indradyumna. People from all over India often visit Puri temple to worship Lord Jagannath (the God of the entire Universe). Now Puri has become a tourist spot for the people of different parts of the country one of the attraction is Jagannath temple and Puri is famous for Car Festival of the three deities

- Jagannath, Balavadra and Suvadra. The Saoras are described as 'Dasas' and 'Dasis' in Vedic literature. Dhenka Saora founded the estate of Dhenkanal. Similarly Bora Sambar estate is Sambalpur was established after the name of a Saora. These description on Saora indicates that they belong to Pre-historic era. It is also said that Saora is a cross breed between the four heroic youth of Rajput family and a Lohra Saora girl. So they are supposed to be the hybrid progeny of the above ancestors.

In Orissa, Saoras (mostly residing in mountain borders extend their territory from undivided Ganjam (now Ganjam and Gajapati) to Rayagada and Koraput districts). The team working on 'Indigenous Knowledge on Tribe' have carried out their work on Lanjia Saora, Shudha Saora and Christian Saora. Study on Lanjia Saora is made in Gunupur block and Shudha Saora in Gunupur and Padmapur block of Rayagada district. Lanjia Saora territory consists of a series of mountains (about 3,000 ft. height) and is bound in north by Kondh tribes and sides are covered with river valley and plain land. Gunupur and Paralakhemundi are situated in the foot hill. The river Bansadhara of Gunupur irrigates the plain paddy lands. Saora is derived from two words So and Ara. 'So' means hide and Ara means wood. The myth of the origin of Saora is just like a fruit which bursts to give way to the seeds. The Saora was embedied inside a wood shell (hole) and one day he came out it and landed on earth. This is one of the myths of origin of the Saoras.

Saoras Jagat Katha (legend of Sora World) is their cosmological myth. Evolution of earth and the origin of life on earth as per the myth of Lanjia Saora is altogether different from the scientific idea, we bear in our mind to-day. According to their myth three supreme Gods viz; Barangdeu, Korangulu and Sisitamroga came to the earth first when the earth was very very swampy and muddy. Those three Gods are identified as Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswar - the Hindu deities. By the virtue of their powerful force they could transfer the muddy earth to dry earth. Thereby the earth came into existence. They wanted to create human beings on earth. So they started their expedition with the help of a flying bird, crow. and could trace a place. To their utmost surprise, they found a male and a female hiding themselves in a hollow space of an old tree (*Halarrhena antidysenteri's*) trunk. They were brother and sister. Gods had to make them husband and wife in order to bring new progeny to earth. The husband was named as Kittung (Lord - Iswar - the supreme God residing in the dense forest of a mountain - Hindu mythology) and wife-known as Radab (the wife of Lord Iswar). The supreme Gods donated the power of their body - head, abdomen and thora to the newly married couple lest they might not adjust in the adverse environmental conditions of the earth existing then. Gods also blessed them with a powerful weapon - the 'desire'. Out of the first desire - 'sex urge', created by the husband made him polygamous. Successively by using different types of desires he gave birth to different living

beings. Out of his anger, a tiger came to its existence and out of soft, and tender desires many delicate, tender plants and animals were created and the process continued. Many animals, birds, reptiles etc. were created out of his desire in due course of time. The supreme Gods had the power to move heaven and hell. Thereby he could look after the comforts of the living beings present therein. After the death of a man/woman, he or she had to got to hell as a spirit. In due course of evolution man came first to the earth than came the vegetations and at last animals came into being. Vegetation became a shelter for the animal kingdom. Al those phenomenon of creation was done by the powerful desire of Kittung. The first people who were created were terrified to see the landscape and out of fear they conceived Gods and spirits and started deifying them for their own protection. Ultimately they became religious minded. They used to worship about 24 deities on religious grounds. They started moving to different directions and lived in clusters. Worshipping animals and plants are also indicated in their myth. Gradually they started settling down in villages and got their food from agriculture. Saora has a perception that the entire evolution of earth could be possible by Kittung. He played an important role to do so. So Lanjia Saora perceives that Kittung was their ancestor and he is their revered man whom they worship as God. This is all about the myth of origin of earth perceived by Lanjia Saoras.

Saoras have a belief that Kitung the God who created all the necessary commodities for man later on felt that he had to leave the world one day. The moment he thought so, tears came rolling down his eyes and drenched the soil, when the soil dried it got converted to stone. There came a heavy rain and the stone got washed away into the river. A fish swallowed the stone. One day a fisherman caught the fish and instead of taking it home, he presented that fish to his close friend - a hunter, when the hunter opened its stomach, he found the stone. The stone was metallic in nature and he could convert that metallic piece into a miraculous arrow. 'Saora perceived that such a stone could turn into a miraculous arrow, which was so needed by the hunters. So they believe that Kitung's blessings made them good hunters.

They have also the perception that Kitung was killed by the same hunter using his miraculous arrow. Then Kitung became Medusa - (the dead deity). As per Kitung's direction 'Medusa' was kept inside a dense forest called 'Mainajal'. Neither could anybody reach him nor could they see him. Viswavasu Saora was the only man who knew about it. He was a great devotee of Medusa. Shudha Saoras of Gunupur, now pointing at a spot near Bansadhara river say that this is the place where Medusa was kept by their Biswavasu, unnoticed. Medusa was worshipped by a Saora first. Later on a Hindu King - Indradyumna secretly took away the God to Srikhetra where He became the Lord Jagannatha whom Hindus started worshipping. Now Shudha Saoras claim that Lord Jagannath was originally a tribal

God and their ancestor. The myth describes the metamorphosis, of Kitung to Medusa and then Medusa to Nilamadhav and so on.

The myth of origin of Shudha Saoras is found to be different to that of Lanjia Saora. According to their myth a brother and a sister were living together in a family. The brother was the only earning member. He had kept something in a closed box in his house. He instructed his sister not to open the box. Out of curiosity, the sister opened the box, during his absence. She found an attractive wild gourd and wanted to eat it. She cut it and blood oozed out from it. It is interesting to note in the myth, that her sister-in-laws (brother's wife) life was hidden in it. When the brother came to know this, he became very angry and left the house. Nobody could trace him for a long period. At last when he was discovered, he was requested by his family members including the sister to return back. He kept a condition for returning home. The condition was that the sister would accept him as a husband. As there was no alternative for the sister and moreover she was guilty of committing the mistake, she accepted the proposal. Metaphorically the myth describes that they remained sealed inside another wild gourd attached to its mother plant. A great storm came, rains continued for several days. The whole earth was again inundated. But the Gourd remained floating on water. Under the direction of Kitung again the earth was created with the help of a flying bird and bear etc. When Kittung opened the gourd he found a husband and a wife, a brother and sister. All of them were completely nude. A bird brought the seeds of *Gossipium herbacium* (cotton seed). Out of the cotton an old weaver woman could weave a cloth measuring one foot wide and 3/4ft. long, called Uliakap. It was meant for male folk. Another type of cloth piece was made by her for women folk, called 'Gatungkap'. Shudha Saoras perceive that on the evolutionary process not only they were created, but also were gifted by God (Kittung) with clothes to wear for all time to come.

There is also another interesting myth regarding a mouse which could save the life of a young girl who was about to be killed by her husband. After the marriage, the young couple were returning home through a dense forest. The husband knew the art of metamorphosis of man to tiger. When he felt the intensity of his urge to become a tiger, he took a plea and left her alone and went inside the forest. He converted himself to a tiger. Then he satisfied his hunger with jungle herbivours and returned to his wife. The whole process was seen by a mouse hidden in a bush. With its magic herbal medicine it wished it could kill the husband. Then it rescued the girl and restored her to her parents. Saora still perceives that, this is the tradition in their society. The art of metamorphosis of man to tiger and vice-versa, was known to their predecessors long before. Scholars of this project searched and searched in all direction to get the truth of this miraculous work of metamorphosis, but could not get it and it is still a mystery to us.

According to their myth the earth was created many times and drowned and again created and so on. Saora's perception of the process is found to be very strong.

The origin of Christian Saora on earth is still a different approach as per their myth. They believe that there was nobody else on earth except kitung and the earth was completely dark. As per the well and desire of the Kittung - the supreme God, sky, sun, moon, rivers, mountains and other things on earth were created. The ocean could soak the water of the muddy earth and thereby lithosphere (1/4th of the space) and hydrosphere (3/4th of the space) were created. Out of the clay He created a male (Adam) and a female (Abe) and gave them life and provided them with clothings. Their life began, family members increased. With the increase in population in the small size of settlement they started constructing one house above the other to accommodate them. When the house was threatening to collapse they went to God for shelter. God directed them to come out immediately from the house. Soon after they came out, the entire house collapsed. Everybody was saved by the grace of God. Then they dispersed and new settlements started. Hence they forgot their relations as well as ancestors. Caste system developed in the society. Even though myth of Christian Saora describe their origin and caste, they now claim that all of them are the children of one God.

Myths of all the three Saoras, viz. Lanjia Saora, Shudha Saora and Christian Saora with regard to their origin on earth infer that all of them were very primitive. Hiding themselves inside a small space indicates that they were very timid by nature. They were very much afraid of the land scape and bright sun light and hence they preferred to remain away from them. Once they landed on earth and saw the nature, they were simple terrified and amazed. They felt that some supernatural beings were responsible for creating such a vast sky, earth etc. They started worshipping every thing in the name of deities. The conception of spirit came to their mind, because they could not understand the mystery of death. They wanted to know what happened after a man dies. However this is still a controversial point among scientists. They could imagine of heaven, hell, the spirits or Gods being empowered to visit heaven and hell. On the whole, due to terrific fear complex in their mind they became religious. They have a belief that both Gods and spirits are their sole strength to live on the earth. In the name of God, they started deifying not only the human beings and spirits, but also all the abiotic (non-living) and biotic (living) phenomenon of nature.

The investigators have collected three types of myths relating to the origin and evolution of life on earth. Each of the communities of Saora viz. Lanjia Saora, Shudha Saora and Christian Saora have described different types of myth related to them. But the myth and beliefs do not indicate that they are the direct descendants

of the same ancestor. The myth of Shudha Saora happens to be one of the protagonists of the reformative religion introduced in 1936 and is probably the story of their origin recorded at that time in the light of Lord Jagannath, to justify the claim. It appears that their may be many a link left behind and they have interpreted their myth mixing it with the myth of Lord Jagannath. Their appears to be tremendous influence of the Christian religious myth over the myth of Christian Saora. However, the myth of Lanjia Saora appears to be relatively genuine in the sense that the events of their evolution has been chronologically arranged - that indicates their primitiveness.

Lanjia Saora, Shudha Saora and Christian Saora seem to originate more or less from one stalk as per their myths. Therer are vast anomaly found in their language and occupation yet certain similarities are there with other tribal communities like Kondhs and many other primitive tribe tribes. They are aboriginal in the sense that they came much before the Aryans. Saoras claim that they belong to the Hindu caste. The historical proof although is not there in support of their claim, similarities have been marked of Hindu way of life among their social customs. They remember up to last five to six generations of their community. The events which they remember are however merged with their mythology.

From their cosmological myth it is understood that they are common in origin, territory, kinship structure and taboos etc. and more so they are endogamous by nature. Lanjia Saora is considered as one of the twelve Tribes / sub groups that has been identified as primitive tribes according to Social Development programme founded by Government of India. They are all primarily tradition based people who used to earn their livelihood by hunting fruit gathering and shifting and plain settled cultivation. Lanjia Saora appears to be more backward and primitive than the other communities of Saoras so far as their forest dwelling habits are concerned. Lanjia Saora used to live in the hill caves and caves are known as Lungar which stands as the prefix of their identity. When they were living on hill tops in dense forests they were said to be cultivating Sorghum. Since they were practicing cultivation on hill tops they are well known as Donger (Hill) cultivating people. Primarily they were nomads but in due course of time they started shifting cultivation and settled cultivation in plain land. The other important identity of Lanjia Saoras is that they walk in queue and never in groups. Shudha Saoras are also forest dwellers, but they are more progressive. There is much gap between the cosmological myth of the Lanjia Saoras and the Shudha Saoras. This has been noticed from their living pattern. The intimate feelings towards forest is quite obvious in the sense that from the beginning of their origin they have been associated with all the inmates of the forest.

Gamango is the head of the Shudha Saora's society. Because of the relatively progressive social activities. Shudha Saoras look down upon the Lanjia

Saoras because of their primitiveness. On the other hand the converted Christian Saoras on the basis of their myth of origin, demand that they are the direct descendants ofMedusa (God). One God philosophy prevails upon them which may be the main cause of Christian influence on the society.

The scholars collected facts about their society and culture living with them in their villages. All these areas come under Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA) programme, Gunupur, Rayagada district.

Hunger is the first factor for every living being that taught the Saoras to do shifting cultivation on hill tops/slopes. In due course of time they started practising settled cultivation in plain lands. So the first culture they developed in the society was agriculture. With the increase in population in their society there was a need for settlement. Their settlement in a particular nearby area to their swidden plots or plain lands was necessary and convenient. By that they could continuously supervise the agricultural practices. Otherwise the crops may be disturbed by the herbivorous animals of the forests. First of all they settled on the hill slopes and gradually went down to middle hill and then to foot hills for their settled cultivation in plain land. A group of people chose a convenient plot for a settlement. The area of their settlement had to be provided with water supply, may be a stream, river or ponds, and that too nearer to their agricultural fields/swidden plots. Their settlements have been specially denominated by them as per the surroundings of the locality and other requisite conditions etc. In the beginning in a village the size of a settlement is very small say, 3/4 houses or sometimes 8/10 houses constitute a village. Due to the growth of the family they are unable to accommodate themselves within the small space and hence they go in search of other areas for new settlements. The other factor which stands as a barrier to their permanent settlements,is the shifting cultivation. In this practice they have to leave swidden plots for 2-3 years time gap which remain as a fallow land and so they have to choose another piece ofland for shifting cultivation, which may not be situated near their settlement. That creates a major problem for them. Depending on the size of their population and shifting cultivation practices they have to often resettle in different places as per their suitability. Because of these difficulties, they have to put in hard labour thought out the year both for shifting cultivation and their settlements. They have a strong perception that this is the traditional punishment meted out to them by the Kittung because their ancestors disobeyed Kittung advice when they ate the fruit from the garden. That is their belief. Their ancestors due to their misdeeds were crushed by Kittung and the progeny has to suffer generation after generation. They believe that it is their fate and hence they do not bother much for such hardship. The tolerant attitude towards life gives them enough consolation and strength to march ahead with their tradition. So the religious faith enters their traditional cultivation practice which becomes their indigenous culture to them.

Similarly the woman folk look after the household chores as well as field work. It appears that women folk take up more load of work than men while earning their livelihood in the forest especially in shifting cultivation.

Different types of house patterns have been marked among them. They have been gradually evolved from very primitive type to advanced types. Lanjia Saora's house is a single room tenement and rectangular in shape with relatively wide varendah. The house is provided with a front (small) door only and does not have a back door, because they are afraid of beasts of the jungle who may enter the house and attack them at night. Such type of house construction is their traditional pattern. From their myth (living inside the hollow of a tree / ground) to the reality, it appears that they still prefer a dark and small place for their living. In such a vast landscape, however, keeping a back door in a house is a recent addition. The entire house is mainly divided into three zones, one zone meant for domestic animals (pigs, fowls and cattle), one appointed (section) for their living and another for keeping their goods. Many dried food materials, neatly packed, are found hanging from various places of the roof. The costly materials like gold and silver ornaments and money etc. are kept inside a brass container and is burried under the place where they generally keep the cooked food, rice etc.in earthen pots.

On the other hand, Shudha Saora prefer Aero-roomed house. One room is kept exclusively for their rest at night and another room is meant for domestic animals and the third for necessary commodities etc. Lofts are also provided in their house to keep their articles. It seems that both Shudha Saora and Lanjia Saora do not need privacy. All the married couples sleep in one room. It does not matter much to them. Now-a-days Shudha Saoras have become conscious of their privacy hence they maintain it strictly. They paint the wall with red soil and it looks beautiful and clean. They keep the house (both inside and outside) clean by mopping them daily with red soil, but they do not bother for the environment. They simple throw rubbish in front of their house.

Religious minded people who are very much scared of deities and spirits go on keeping them (deities and spirits) in different places. If by any account, they feel that an item may cause harm to them, immediately with the help of the priest / shaman they instal a deity to avoid the danger. The fear complex within them make them more religious minded. Hence religion has become their culture from the very beginning of their birth from the soil and that too in the forest.

Lanjia Saora's hierarchical order consists of five main heads which are associated with different division of their social life viz. socio-political, socio cultural, socio -economical, socio religious and others. Gomango gets the priority among the five. He was once appointed the village head for tax-collection by Britishers, before independence. He maintains a polygamous life. It appears a

necessity for the society especially for Gomango in the sense that woman folk's labour is more required for up keeping of fields. Hence with huge landed properties and without a number of wives it seems difficult to maintain their agriculture production. However, the landed property is divided among the co-wives of Gomango after his death. If Gomango looses his property and becomes landless, he is to have his job (headmanship) automatically. Hence the social culture of polygamy or several marriages becomes a necessity in the society. Thereby not only do they immediately get more woman folk to work in their agricultural field, but also they produce a number of children which increases their family strength. The children take responsibilities in preserving the property by utilizing their labour in different types of work in shifting cultivation, settled cultivation as well as collecting the minor forest produces etc. Birinda prevails in this society.

Shudha Saora's social hierarchical order is of two groups viz Gomango and Sabar. Birinda is not prevalent in their society. Hence Shudha Saora's society is less hierarchical than the Lanjia Saora's. They have also Dalbehera (group leader) and karji (hailing from Karji birinda) Karji is the chaukidar of the village. The villagers respect the headman, group leader etc. because they solve all problematic matters at their level. Hence the socio-political group of organising a village becomes their additional culture to keep the communities disciplined.

The family relationship among the Saora communities (both Lanjia and Shudha Saoras) is very congenial. They have a sense of belonging to the family and also keep good relationship with their distant relatives. They help the family members and relatives in different ways when they face difficulties. So development of family with a sense of belonging helps build the society into a compact group and this culture has been in the society since they started living in settlements. Besides relatives they also keep good relations with their neighbours.

Barter system still prevails in their society. Now-a-days the market economy has developed among the people. Dom woman (low caste) bring the necessary commodities of the tribes like matchbox, dry fish, oil etc. to the localities and sell them in exchange basis with either minor forest produce or crop seeds etc. The tribals in fact put enough labour in their cultivation etc. sometimes they also produce more crops, yet they remain poor, because most of them are not yet acquainted with the market economy. The tribes who are exposed to outside world are somewhat benefited, but their number is negligible so it is true that their economic culture has not yet been developed.

It is often observed among Lanjia saora community that some people speak Hindi more than the local Oriya language. They are the main migrants of Saoras society to Assam and Arunchal Pradesh to work in tea gardens and other places for their livelihood. The family members look after the agricultural work and with

the money sent by their menfolk working outside purchase more agricultural lands if possible. This tribe has developed the skill in terrace, contour-making, stone setting etc. (embankments in agricultural fields). That is the reason why are they good demand in Assam and other places who require such skill. In same cases once they come back in some cases once home they do not return to their places of work. They marry Dapra girls while working in Kemi. Dapra girls are not liked by their tribes because they are very lazy. Most of the tribals who remain in Assam show much interest in the education of their children. The so called modernisation of this tribe brings certain social changes in their community. It is a debatable point whether such social changes lead them in the right direction or not. However Government have introduced certain developmental programmes in the society viz. I.T.D.A. for Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora. The converted Christian Saora gets benefit from the missionaries for their development, for which they feel more elevated. Their progressive economical growth and other development, free education, free accommodation, free fooding to the children of Christian Saora, attract them and the old tradition of Lanjia Saora is threatened. Because of their religious beliefs and conservation many of Lanjia Saora maintain their cultural tradition, even if they starve. It is difficult to predict the consequence of the influence of Christianity on the society, which should be taken care of properly.

In Sagada village a little economical change has been marked in the tribes due to the ITDA programme. But in general the tribals do not show any interest in it, since they are tradition bound people. Hence ITDA programme seems to be a failure. Government has to reshape the programme and according to the requirments of the tribals help should be rendered to them.

The formal education introduced for Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora by the Government appears to be unfruitful. However the informal education is getting its momentum. Still the children are not attending the classes especially during season when they go for minor forest produce collection and for shifting cultivation. So the standard of living of these tribes has to be improved by involving them directly in the programmes. However the children of Christian Saora are in better condition due to the aid rendered by missionaries.

Society and culture are like two sides of a coin, one is complementary to the other. Culture is a whole set of human behaviour in various spheres of life i.e. the mode of aggregation interaction dependence and interdependence etc. is a functional unit. Culture is man in his work.

Saora's version of the Myths associated with the oral tradition of Saoras and the version of non-tribals based on literature vary to a great extent. Lord Jagannath was being worshipped as Medusa (Medu = dead body and sum-deity/ spirit) by a Shudha Saora. Non-tribals identified Medusa - the incarnation of Lord

vishnu. Lanjia Saora call Him 'Lobosum'. On the other hand. crop grains sown in ... is known as Jamal. Jamal is related to Lord Jagannath (health god). Lanjia Saora believes that Lord Jagannath was hidden in Jamal from which grew the first crop as is the myth. Saoras now claim that the first priest of Lord Jagannath was a Saora named Biswavasu. Hence, on the basis of such mythological logic, it can be said that the first man associated with Medusa (Lord Jagannath) belonged to Saora community - that is their identification.

From their myth of origin, it is noted that the cultural identity of Saoras started from the forest itself Lanjia Saoras were nomads and gathered food in the forest. They took interest in hunting animal for their flesh. They used to go far in groups. As per the perception of Lanjia Saora community one day it so happened that after a hunting expedition, they started dividing flesh of different animals among themselves. The distribution depending on the volume of hunting done by the members. The person who hunted more got more share and the person who hunted less, got less share. This gave birth to the idea of castes system. Then onwards, casts system has prevailed in the society which is still being maintained by them for both organising / functioning of their social life.

Saora community has several subdivisions according to their habitat, prevalent occupation, social organisation, status heredity, economy and livelihood. It is reported that Saora is divided into twentyfive communities out of which Jati occupies the highest important section because they do not take beef and basically they are cultivators.

Lanjia Saora having South-East Asian features do not go for human sacrifice like Kondh tribes. the legend goes that they are descendents of a monkey. They pay high regards to Lobosum (the Earth deity). As per their myth once Lanjia Saora before offering the blood of a sacrificed animal to the Earth God took his share. Lobosum got angry and cursed him to live like a monkey hiding in the branches of trees in the forests. From that day onwards, Saoras offer blood to Lobosum first, when an animal is sacrificed in any ritual. Lanjia Saoras does not have a clan or sub-organisation. Their family system is patriarchal. The family is based on Birinda relations. One has to remember upto last three generations of Birinda. The children are named after the names of their grand, great grand, and great great grand fathers or mother. Marriage between same Birinda is restricted. They believe that it is a crime to get married in the same Birinda even if they are geographically separated. There is better understanding among Birinda members in their labour organisation and cooperative organizations. The conversion to Christianity among Lanjia Saora brings a lot of change in Birinda system of this tribe. Christian Saora has been highly motivated to the ways of the modern world and his religious conversion. He becomes the follower of one God philosophy - Jesus Christ. Any problems of Christian Saoras are decided by the Church's, Priest/

Father and not by Gamango or any head of the village community. Christian Saoras often face labour crisis because they are very formal with Saoras and do not participate in the cooperative organisation. So there is no camaraderie between them.

The property of a father after his death goes to his son or else it goes to Birinda. Even if the son is away from the place, for several years after he returns to his home land, he possesses the right to inherit his father's property any violation of this principle is strictly dealt with. Gamango takes the decision on this matter as per the rules of the society. Hence their society/family bondage seems to be very strong. They exhibit better understanding with Birinda members with regards to their labour organisation and cooperative organizations.

During funeral rituals, both Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora cremate the dead body collecting dried wood from the forest. For the coffin, Christian Saora goes for timber yielding plant (mostly the sal tree) thereby forest gradually is being denuded. The relationship between the tradition oriented Saoras and Christian Saoras is not very cordial. However, they are very formal to each other.

Shudha Saora is found to be more progressive than Lanjia Saora who maintains exogenous marriage in the society. They have 14 clans in the society and each clan has its own identity. Matter of dispute among them is decided by clan members. Negotiated marriage is appreciated by the society. But it must be with different clans. Marriage within a clan is a social taboo. They have a perception that if such marriage is performed they will be punished by the God after death. Unity is maintained at clan level and group level. New group is developed in the society if they do not participate in common rituals or ceremonies of the clans. Property inheritançe is similar to Lanjia Saora. There are several social taboos which one has to observe or else he/she becomes an outcast. They maintain cordial relationship with the family members and relations. By that, their family bondage remains strong and tradition maintained.

Both Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora entertain guests in traditional ways. While Christian Saora observes hospitality according to his newly acquired religion.

Lanjia Saora gives more prestige to women who keep bilateral relationship with two husbands, one is her life partner who remains with her (the physical being), and the other is the (spiritual being) who lives in the core of the earth to whom she got married in dreams. She is regarded as a witch doctor. By using herbal medicines, she cures ailments, free of cost. However, while carrying out rituals, she demands fee. Inspite of her bilateral relationship with the under world male spirit she maintains a cordial conjugal life.

In their food habit. certain differences have been marked. The Lanjia Saora and the Shudha Saora do not take beef. Lanjia Saora is fond of meat. He gets meat by hunting animals in the forests as well as from the market. Shudha Saora does not take beef because he claims that he is a Hindu. Christian Saora does not take beef or pork but the Catholic group takes both. However, meat of sacrificed animals is never taken by Christians on religious grounds. Saoras get their edible fruits, roots, tubers, rhizomes bamboo shoots from the forests. They also enjoy various types of leafy vegetables and edible mushrooms. They collect mushrooms during the rainy season. In fact the forest taught them to develop their food habits and tastes. They extract oil from mustard and Mahua seeds. They know the art of fermentation and distillation of materials in preparing liquors. They do it in their indigenous method. Sago palm liquor is their favourite drink. They prefer to take food in leaf cups. Various types of leaves are used by them to make dishes for their use.

Saoras have a perception that cloth was given to them by Kittung (God). The cloth used by male folks is called Uliakap and the dress worn by females is called Gatungkap. They believe that the ancestral spirits wear white cloth which is a symbol of purity. They believe that the witch craft lady (Shaman) is to be given a white cloth while performing ritual. That cloth is meant for her underground husband (a spirit). During the process of performance, she goes in to a trance. At that time people take away the cloth from her and put a cloth on her head. Putting a white cloth on her head symbolizes a turban offered to the deity.

The ladies of this tribal group do not wear blouse or jacket. Two small pieces of clothes are enough for them. Blouses and sarees are new addition to their costume now. The male members do not like to use trousers or pants because of their rough work in the forests and hills. However, the changes in their costumes is mostly observed in case of Shudha Saoras and Christian Saoras. That is due to the influence of occulturisation and modernisation in the society. Traditional ornaments are still being used by Saoras except the Christian Saoras. Even though they do not wear those regularly, they use them in special occasions, gatherings and marriage ceremonies etc., Women folk do not prefer to keep long hair. They wash their hair with clay soil and use mustard oil mostly. Their hair style is just a knot hanging on one side of the head.

Tattooing is their social custom. Most ladies go for tattooing on different parts of the body. Sometimes male folks also do tattoos on their bodies. Christian Saora does not like tatooing at all. As per their belief it is their exclusive identity.

Various types of marriages are seen in the communities of Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora. Some are by intrusion, love marriage, elopement, forceful marriage, capturing, negotiated marriages offering liquor to partner, child marriages and

widow marriages. However, in Christian Saoras community, these types of traditional marriage do not take place.

There are certain social taboos to be observed by a pregnant lady or else they have the perception either the mother or the child or both would die if the lady does not observe the social taboo. This is how the Saora society develops its culture - that is mainly from old tradition which has to divested at times due to the influence of other factors.

Forests for them is a temple of Gods and Goddesses. They have a perception that the forest has been created by Kittung for them. He has provided flora and fauna. Hence, they feel that the entire forest is Kittung's plot. Before entering the forest they always pray to Kittung or Lobosum for their safety. They reserve some forest for Kittung or Lobosum. That becomes reserved forest. For the better keeping of forests in natural climate, they pray to another forest God Godasum. In the olden days, they used to keep Godasum in their village where there was good growth of vegetation. Now a days due to denudation of forest the symbol of Godasum is not found in the village.

Rain God is also worshipped by them. They perceive of certain taboos with regards to forest. These taboos help the forests to be protected. Shudha Saora have a perception that Godasum (a female deity) stays in grave yards. In their theology, (Chandi) is linked to this area. In Shudha Saora, they keep many female deities in their territory whom they consider as malevolent deities. Collective prayers among this tribe is done once a year to Godasum with a sacrifice. They have beliefs that if they regularly offer rituals to deities forests and swidden plots will be protected.

The Saoras denominate the forests according to their view point. The ter 'Goda' is used for different types of vegetation scientifically called as 'plants succession'. Similarly tulab is a term used by them for forests. When the proliferated branches of a tree or different plants together give a shape of an umbrella at the top, it is known as Kuitab. Kuitab helps the shade loving plants to grow nicely. Besides it gives enough shade to the animals for a comfortable living. They give more emphasis to Sal tree. According to sal population in the forest, they identify the areas as most important area in the forest. They are relatively more associated with limited types of fruits and timber yielding plants etc. from which they get their necessary commodities. On ecological point of view, they have observed that the middle hills occupy relatively more vegetation because it gets a good amount of water during rains for their better development. They divide the hills into four major zones i.e. top hills zone (indigenous vegetation generally known as medicinal plants), just above foot hill (swiddening plot) and foot hills (small growth of vegetations like sal, mahua and tamarind etc.). This entirely constitutes the land scape. They are much concerned about the bushy plants,

(Shrubs) herbs (shorter than herbs), and Climbers. Generally shrubs and undergrowth plants are cleared by them to make their swiddening plots.

There is no specific myth associated to the origin of hills and forests excepting that the entire forest land scape was created by Kittung and they perceive that the hill was created by a mouse. Soil gathered while it dug the earth. Later on it converted to hills. According to their perception hills are nothing but the living space of deities. According to the heights the hills are classified and named after different deities. Shudha Saoras perception about the forest is different. It consists of 7 different hills. On the whole, the denomination of forests among Saoras community are made after the name of different types of Gods and spirits who they believe are very helpful in protecting the forest.

They perceive that Kittung is the sole authority who has constituted the social and cultural life of Saora community. For the better keeping of their culture they take the help of shaman. The practice of shaman makes a sense that the mobile energy of human body is removed and taken out by the spiritual beings. According to their conception their life in earth is due to Kittung and Radab who gave birth to their ancestors. That is exactly what they perceive about the biological means of energy flow from generation to generation. Sex is given top priority in the society. They have a perception that their ancestral spirits lived exactly in the same manner as they are living to-day. Their living space according to their belief is constituted by three traits in a heirarchical order viz. supernatural being (at first strata - sky). Ancestral spirits (second strata in between sky and earth) and Saora (third strata - earth). In a broader sense they have a strong perception that environment is their cultural trait. In due course of time they developed their culture through environment (the forest as a whole and the non-tribal living around them). However, they have not foregone the idea of their old tradition while considering the environment in developing their culture. Hence environment and the myth, legends, oral literatures mixed together gave birth to their new culture. Culture is dynamic and in the changing world the cultural development of Saoras is bound to occur. Saora very rationally perceive that the earth is a creative base from which they have taken birth exactly in the same manner a seed in the process of germination gives birth to a full fledged plant. Forest is the only source of their existence. Society, development, religion, culture etc. develop by the forest resource. Hence forest to them is a friend, philosopher and guide. There are many taboos relating to religion based deities and spirits who are associated to keep up the ethnic values of the forests. Forests for them is the main source and they classify them as follows. In terms of property, land for cultivation, materials for household commodities exchange of property mode of utilization for a specific purpose and wage earning. Besides earning they include all the mobile and immobile entity of the environment into it. They give more emphasis to management of forest because

it is their only source from which they get food shelter and clothing and through other processes they maintain their tradition and develop their culture. They are also aware of both renewable and unusable resources. They have also perceived about the principle involved in conservation of resource 'the energy'. According to the scientific understanding energy is constant it cannot be created nor be destroyed. In other words, the potential energy (the forest) can be converted into kinetic energy (the utilization of resource) and vice versa. If kinetic energy is more, the potential energy, is de-graded. This principle they perceive but express differently. That is the reason for which they are aware of the crisis. They face crisis now because of the quick degradation of forest due to the influence of non-tribal communities, traders and exploiters. Hence they are worried for the future generation who would continue to live in the forest. Still they adapt themselves to a great extent to the changed adverse situation of the forest. Because the traditional resource of this community is abnormally decreasing day by day. They immensely feel the imbalance created between their tradition and modernisation. Their indigenous knowledge and traditional culture are now facing danger. According to their perception forest is a social being because if has life. It has sentiments and feelings like human beings. The only thing is that it cannot speak out its feelings, because it has no speaking power. It has its own culture in the sense that it could try its level best to maintain itself time and again by flourishing itself. They perceive that the deities related to forest are being disturbed. There are no more animals in the forest to carry out the rituals, where could they get animals to sacrifice. When nature is losing its balance day by day and animals, birds, reptiles etc. do not get a suitable place to live comfortably and food chain among them is being disturbed, how one could except more from it, to develop one's culture. Although they are not aware of the world Environment problem still they are much aware of the forest. Since forest is their birth place, they know more about their motherland (the forest). It seems they are much aware of the forest than the non-tribals.

In their tradition tree worship is very important. The image of Lord Jagannath is made out of the trunk of the Neem tree. Similarly many such trees like Banyan plants, sacred basil, Bel etc. are worshipped in the name of deities etc. not only by tribals, but also by non-tribal Hindus. The very origin of Kittung was from a tree trunk as per their myth. Their other myths also narrate the origin of the first ancestor of this tribe was also from a tree. They also perceive from their myth that grass (*cynodon dictyoton*) was put by Kittung in the soil of the first created earth to beautify the landscape, which is also a plant. Many such myths of tribals speak about plants. The cotton plants, first discovered by the eagle, was used by tribals to cover their body and so on. Hence plants are not only associated with the myths of Saora, but they are also very much associated with them since the inception of their settlement in forests. There is also some description of plants in the myths of Lanjia Saora.

According to the myth of Shudha Saora the first plant they saw near a water stream of the forest was paddy patches. The use of rice flour is making icon painting is also from plant. The specific plants they know from the tradition are being painted in their old painting of icon. So plants are not only in their myth but also in their life surrounding them educating them to keep of their culture.

They have a perception that spirits cause diseases to them when they are dissatisfied because of their misdeeds. They have a strong belief that measles, small pox etc. (skin disease) are caused by the evil spirits (female deities). So they take the help of shaman (a lady witch doctor) who performs the ritual followed by an animal sacrifice. Similarly all the diseases are caused by different kinds of underground spirits. They are supposed to be the ancestral spirits of Saoras community. When the people suffer from diseases they come to their rescue and heel them. They also know about certain plants which they use as medicine in treating various ailments. Generally the wizards know about these medicinal plants. Still they believe in conducting the rituals through shaman to eradicate the diseases which would give better result. Their strong perception is that shaman is the best medium through which diseases can be cured.

The religious minded tribals have beliefs that by worshipping deities, conducting rituals with a sacrifice their problems would be solved. So they conduct agricultural festivals in different stages viz. slashing, burning, processing of lands, swiddening, cultivating crops, the preservation of surplus crops in a container. They have the perception if they do so, in every step of agriculture process, they will be successful. Female shamanship is highly recognised by Lanjia Saora but not by Shudha Saora communities. On the whole Lanjia Saora who are considered to be the most primitive community among Saoras observe the religious performance as per their old traditional customs then others. However Shudha Saora follows ritual performances as per their tradition. The converted Christian Saora who originates from Lanjia Saora do not observe the traditional religion of Saoras at all. They adore the earth God with full devotion because they strongly feel this earth provides them land for shifting cultivation, plain land cultivation, kitchen gardening etc. to satisfy their hunger. They do the rituals as per the principles laid down by the priest / father of the church (according to Bible) Lanjia Saora shows inclination to towards Hindu religion. It is observed that religious conversion in the society brings a tremendous change in their traditional pattern of living. It is very interesting to note that none of the Shudha Saora converted to Christianity and for this reason. Shudha Saoras claim that they are Shudha (pure) in the true sense of the term. Baptists and Catholics are there in converted Christian community of Lanjia Saora. Sometimes Christian Saora does not feel happy with Christianity, in that case he can be reconverted to Hindu religion. But the reconversion to Hindu society is found to be very difficult.

24 alphabets have been found inscribed on a stone which was discovered. It is believed that these 24 alphabets represent the 24 hours of a day. It is a complete religious structure among Shudha Saora Madder (priest) which includes the Hindu deities among them and propitiates them in the same manner as Hindu deities. Madder has come up with new perception and feelings about such deities and changed the pattern of worship in the light of Hinduism. Prayers of reformative religion recitation is performed during worship of these deities in the temple. The word Madder is categorised as follows : Ma-mati (earth), De water, Ra-wind. This categorization of the term Madder however symbolises the concept of scientific term environment i.e. consisting of (earth-solid matter), hydrosphere (water) and atmosphere (air). It is now felt because of the strong religious beliefs among this tribal community (Shudha Saora) that after some years the entire Shudha Saora would become MADDERS. Religious performances among Shudha Saora are many and they observe those in different months of a year. Their rituals and festivals take place with a specific sacrifice. Shudha Saora belive in Meriha festival which is considered as one of the important festival among them. In ancient time human sacrifice in Mariha festival was prevalent but they sacrifice animals.

Oral tradition of Saora consists of folk lores, mythical tales, legends, riddles, metamorphosis from which tribals keep up their indigenous knowledge. Oral tradition have great contribution to the practical way of their life. All these could certainly give a sound knowledge of the back ground of such processes. Folk lores are therefore being regulated by beliefs, the best experience however supplement, compliment to new innovation to find an alternative in the standing principles of the present social and cultural life.

The tribal sense of history is very shallow. After three to four generations, it merged in their oral lore and myths -, that becomes the history of ethnicity. Because there is no written literatures of their previous history, it is preserved in oral tradition and folk lores etc. Oral tradition is rather a theoretical knowledge which posses through generation.

The term 'Ganalama' of Lanjia Saora means knowledge. The other term they use 'Annagandi' means the output of self-intelligence and idea i.e. employed in processing. Knowledge is a thought to an action. In between Ganalama and Anagandi there is another term, that they use in Ajanada means the learner and the observer of the process. In fact, they do not have specific terminology to explain the different steps of a work process. Lanjia Saora explains that it a person becomes inquisitive to know different things, he has to participate in the work process of the specific work. There the Lanjia Saoras understanding of assimilating of knowledge is made clear. They emphasize on practical work for assimilating knowledge about a specific work. Thus it is clear that they have much of practical knowledge then theoretical knowledge.

Religion, witch craft and medicines are regarded as individual professional knowledge, but shifting cultivation is shared by all. Hence, they do not interfere when a person carries out his /her work, applying the individual professional knowledge. Basing on this principle, when a shaman performs the work in traditional manner, the folk member do not interfere. They have a belief the knowledge of such performance is the God's gift to her.

Religion attributes a major part of their indigenous knowledge. Spirits are their teacher and they are the accepters to assimilate the knowledge for all practical purposes.

Idital art has greater contribution to their religious and social culture (comes from indigenous knowledge from both Lanjia Saoras and Shudha Saora directly or indirectly) objective paintings in which they draw anthropomorphic figures are images or imagination about the super natural beings and living beings. They have the perception that it is drawn by the person on the direction they receive from the spirits and sometimes they get the order in dreams. They believe that direct flow of knowledge from spirits and deities to the human mind is possible. So they respect such persons because he has a direct or bilateral communication with the spirit and deities.

Icon gives the idea of his perception and world views and cosmological understanding in the art. The modern knowledge however indicate their exotic knowledge that happens due to non-tribal interferences and also because the migrant Saoras brought certain knowledge to their indigenous tradition.

Saoras are perpetual addicts (toddy of sagoo palm, mahua etc.) for them salap and mahua drinks are foremost and best liquor). They are convinced Saps of these trees supply them food as well as strength.

Dances of different types meant for different occasions are well known to them. The art of dance run in the blood of both Shudha and Lanjia Saoras.

However, the converted Christian Saora get only the theoretical knowl-edge of Christian religion which has been developed after the discovery of scripts. They believe that alphabets are Gods and Goddess who are the sole authorities of knowledge.

With regards to oral transmission of knowledge about their myths legends lores etc. there is no Saora script. The Saora's dialects written in Oriya alphabets by educated people or missionaries do not give the exact sketch of their dialects. However there is the religious script of Shudha Saora in Saora language called Sampeng to preserve and develop their oral tradition. It is found that Hindi dramas are also inserted in it. This however, does not give the exact idea of oral transfer

of their indigenous knowledge.

The knowledge of oral tradition cannot be obtained from the tribals because they are always busy in their field work. Only during the lean period they get time hence they participate in all types of rituals lores mythological gathering, group dances etc. This is the occasion in which one could get the idea of their tradition which they orally transmit. In group songs, the expert sings first and the others follow suit. The children around them simply enjoy the song but do not participate. The oral transmission of knowledge of their community is losing its importance day by day because of their heavy engagements through out the day Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora have started organising religious functions in leisure time to keep up their oral knowledge.

Migration and immigration are other cause for the degradation of oral tradition. Older generation of both Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora keep up the indigenous knowledge even though they feel disturbed about the Christian conversion.

Garasal is a place where village elders gather and enjoy salap throughout the day and night. There they discuss about the traditional lores. That place is an ideal and suitable place to acquire their old tradition. The team working in the field participated with them and tried to explore the possibilities of getting their oral transmission of traditional knowledge. The team, however, succeeded in their mission.

Metamorphosis of man to a tiger is found in their oral knowledge. Our research team tried to unravel the mystery but have failed since they did not come across any such instance.

While Lanjia Saora intimately loves forest and is interested in residing in the forest world Christian Saora looks for a way to escape from the forest. There arises conflict between the religion oriented people of Saora and Christian Saora. The discovery of 24 alphabets in the inscription made the Shudha Saora communities to involve themselves more in this religion with their own tradition mixed Hindu religion. Both Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora are dissatisfied with Christian Saora because they strongly feel that their younger generation is getting disturbed by the influence of the Christian Saora. On the other hand, the worshipping of the 24 alphabets in a temple introduced by the Shudha Saora has started giving altogether a different direction to their philosophical thoughts. The youths seem to be more concerned about it. Whether this new religion developed in the society is just a propaganda against Christianity or not, is a debatable point now. People are yet to see the reaction of the traditional oriented tribals (Both Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora) and Christian Saora on the introduction of Hindu type of worship-

ping 24 alphabets in a temple. The want of Lanjia Saora is very limited. They feel strongly that forest is their home, workplace and resource base. They are relatively more concerned about their old tradition. Neither they can leave their tradition nor the forest. They want to maintain a balance between the two. But due to rapid degradation of forest and continuous religious conflict, they are very much scared for their tradition which they transmit to generation after generation. They argue that if opportunities are given to them without outside interference they can build up forest again. They would be able to maintain the echo system of the forest in due course of time. This is all about the theoretical based emotion, put forth by Lanjia Saora, could they accommodate with the present system ?

Due to changed environmental condition they same Lanjia Saora whose identity was that of a hill man of the forest, has now been reduced to a state where he is going to the near by market to purchase things. There is no alternative for them. Where from they could get their commodities and their basic food ? Lanjia Saora who once was so much attached to Sarghum now has to go for rice etc. to the market. Both Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora practised shifting cultivation on hill slopes for their livings. Now the Government programmes i.e. L.S.D.A., I.T.D.A., have disturbed them. They express their discomfiture that Government is snatching away their age old traditional practice. Generally these people choose certain selected food for their living. They are not at all interested in horticultural plants. They sometimes feel like protecting the denuded forest by planting required plants. It is a fact that they are now practising plain land cultivation but at the same time they do not want to part with their traditional cultivation (the shifting cultivation). It becomes very difficult on their part to make a compromise between the Government rules and the traditional practice.

The other problem is the funeral function of Christian Saora. As per their religion they go for coffin gradually many timber yielding plants like Sal etc. have been felled to meet their needs. That makes the forest nude.

They feel the forest is the living place of Kittung. Hence, they used to leave certain dense vegetation of the forest for Him which they never disturbed. Their taboos and beliefs also made them not to disturb certain other major regions of the forests.

On the hole the religion based tribes kept certain places in the forest as reserved for a pretty long time. Who created this disturbance then ? The only answer to this is the non believers of Gods and Goddesses - the Dom society. This is the genuine feeling of the Lanjia Saora and Shudha Saora. Doms are generally hated by Saoras because of two reasons. Lanjia and Shudha Saora strongly express their views that Doms (Christian converted) influence the community to convert themselves to Christian and that threatens their old traditions. Doms like tribals do

not have taboos and beliefs in Gods and Goddesses and hence. they continue felling trees from the forests area which has long been protected by tribals on religious ground and social taboos.

Even though both Lanjia and Shudha Saora are facing the crisis with regard to preservation and conservation of forests still they have the perception that as long as they remain in the forests their tradition will continue. Referring this crisis Lanjia Saora used the term 'Kukumba'. The meaning of which is 'a continuous process' say for instance shifting cultivation which is a continuous process in which many factors are involved such as slashing and burning, land processing, sowing crop yielding etc. including preservation of surplus crop in a container. The sum total of the work its entire process is known to them as 'Kukumba'. In the same angle Saoras perceive the preservation and conservation of the forests.

The Saoras are a group of tribals who have come through a long way of transition. From the hill top dwellers and the food gathering community they have passed through hunting and shifting cultivation to plain land cultivation.

During this long period in transition their ethos and culture have undergone changes yet certain tradition values remain unchanged and intact today.

The Saoras have also undergone a religious transformation. As one passes, through a road one can see the geographical separation of the two - the traditional groups living on the hill tops on one side and the modern ones in the slopes on the other side.

But the geographical separation apart, the most striking difference is of culture, economy, dress and attitude of life between the two. Cultural harmony is minimal between the two - the traditional Saoras and the converted Christian Saora. And again between the Catholic and Protestant Saoras these two sex being the only two among the converted ones.

The orthodox and the modern differ in dresses, in the ways of life, the attitude towards life so much so that hardly any Christian Saora attends any rituals of the traditional Saora and even if he or she attends her or she refuses to touch, let alone eat, the meat prepared in traditional rituals. The converts seem to be more faithful than the faithful ones.

The traditional Saoras allege that it is not they but the modern Saoras who are responsible for denudation of the forests because according to them the modern Saoras have come under the spell of the traders and have lost the age old emotional relation with the forests. Denudation of the forests they allege does no more hurt then. Brought up as they are with mercenary tendencies, the barometer of the modern world and everything including the forest is adjudged in terms of money.

The traditional allege forest is no more a god to them. Forest is no more their saviour. The attitude towards life has changed and they, the modern ones have fallen victim to the sound of rupees instead of the whistle of parafects.

Whatever may be the allegation and counter allegation the fact remains that harmony is lost between the two.

Education in the real sense of the term is still lacking though the modern ones have undergone some development in education. Unless the educational standard goes up with massive mass educational programmes one is afraid that all efforts for the development on the one hand and protection of the traditions on the other will remain confined to a small sect and will remain a fable to the vast majority of the Saoras.

And Saoras like any other tribals, must participate in the programmes. With participation only the forest wealth can be protected not otherwise. The very conception of making them civilized by the civilized ones is basically wrong and creates a gap between the so called civilized ones and Saoras. Less the interference of the non-tribals and traders in the socio-economic fabric of the Saora, the better. Similarly the culture oriented shifting cultivation could be helpful but mono-culture agriculture should be abandoned as it only helps the traders. Let them plant saplings as they need, not as we need.

Conversion and revelation is going on together. Militant revivalist should be discouraged as much as the conversion by providing tempting attractions. The clashes elsewhere like in Kondhmal District should be a pointer. Both can be discourage by accelerating the speed of development of education by the participation of the Saoras in the process of Development. That will give birth to a new leadership among the tribals by making them free not only from the Brahmins (the selected educated few) with a developed vested interest to rule for ever over the brother tribals exploit them economically culturally and politically in the name of brotherhood but also from the religious bigot of both the sides, the conversion and the militant revivalist.

Situation is very sensitive and delicate. It is also likely to be explosive any moment if not carefully handled as has happened in Phulbani district. There are many wheels in the conflicts and wheels inside the wheels. The traditional and the modern Saoras, the tribals and non-tribals like Panos (the conflict between the tribals and traders.) etc.

Solution can be achieved by harmony discussion, participation, education conducive economic development and emergence of new leadership among the tribals.

The world has many things to gain and many things to lose if not carefully handled. The choice is ours.

Appendix - 1

MEANING OF CULTURAL CORE TERMS OF KUTTIA KONDHS

Aaku	Leafs.
Aba	Sister-in-law(brother's wife).
Adu	Women.
Aji	Maternal grand mother.
Atpta Bicha	Mixture of all crop seeds especially eight varieties of seeds.
Atarnaka	Maize.
Argada Majhi	A person took birth when an earthen pot bursted for no reason.
Ana	Hill slopes.
Agakata	The tales, songs and stories that areassociated with their Nature and Culture is the lesson book for the Kuttia Kondhs mode of livelihood.
Angakatu	The Nature which is regarded as the precursor of all resource in Kuttia Kondhs understanding.
Areaja	Thunders.
Agari	Baren land. It refers to the forest which changed into baren land.
Agat Katha	Ancient tales.
Anga-dina	The inability to see the timely.
Adkinga	Liquor of *Madhuka longifolia*.
Aku saritei	Excessive exposure to outward environment.
Aku Gate	The stage when foliar leaves comes out.
Asad Lanju	Similar with the month of July.
Achisata	Marriage by elopement.
Baki mudadu	A goldsmith women who put on finger rings of brass.
Basiliadu	Rice frying woman.
Bana Gabuli	Long haired women.

Bana Jeting	A woman having a long chained hair knot.
Basing Pirida	The flute player.
Beta	Hunting.
Beta mangera	The real king or lord on earth.
Bidi	Wind.
Bicha	Seeds, pox disease, conceptually refers to regeneration and Reproduction capacity of resource.
Basa	Place / Tubers / (becomes specific with a prefix).
Bidi Bangeri	The hill named after wind.
Bati	Bushy forest.
Began Mara	The leaves of the tree acts as insect repellant.
Bahe	Useless, unnecessary
Bahe Gaani	Folk songs includes dance songs, addiction songs, animal teasing songs' etc.
Basa Gaani	Environmental song.
Bakaratamu	To lose tract of, to lose sight of, to miss the connecting link.
Brapanemberi	Malaria fever.
Bagada	A cleaned hill land for/under cultivation.
Bicha Supandi	Seeds sowing.
Burlanga	Stored seeds in a bamboo container.
Bachine	Drying up-is due to no water supply from root.
Bia Katina	Meria festival.
Burka	Body hair.
Budhi	Knowledge, in many cases it stands as a measure to explain personal intellegence.
Budhi itere	Wisdom comes from thought of man.
Burda	Large reservoirs for keeping corns.
Badbinere	Farewel.
Bahana	Vehicle.
Basni	Invocation.
Besthamu	Tell me
Baru	Slope.
Badang	Area immediately adjacent to the back of house.
Batang	Outermost part of the settlement.

Bhetti	Gift from guest.
Capta	Upper cloth of women.
Dakina	Worship.
Dakina Gaani	Worship songs/religious songs.
Deranja	An expert singer of the group preferably an oldman.
Dukelanja	Ancestral man of Kuttia Kondhs.
Data Puri	A woman having big front teeth.
Deheradu	The wizard women(Pejeradu)
Dombuli Mila	Children of Dom.
Dia	Young Lagenaria. (bottle gourd)
Dapa dedhi	Vertical poles on either sides of window.
Dua	Powdered tobacco.
Dimbuli Soru	It is the food base on the hills where penu(God) cultivated all varities of foods.
Dharni penu	Earth God.
Dina Mahananga	To be able to see the timings like the astrologer.
Dukeli	Ancestral spirits(Ghost).
Dukeli Dakina	Worship to the ancestors.
Damanaka	The owner of the forest.
Dadu	Eczema and ring worm.
Dangin Pdika	Ascariasis.
Dankandi Pdukandi:	A process of curing diseases like snake bite, intensive crying of children,vomiting, trembling, paleness of eyes, bloodlessness etc.through religious sacrifice.
Deukuda Penu	Village Goddess.
Dulu	Wealth Goddess.
Dulu Dakina	Worship of wealth deities or Goddess.
Date	Harrow.
Dera Mara	Smaller trees.
Daki	Root base of plants and trees.
Daka	Sleep.
Dharni Vali	Three stones being worshipped as Dharni Penu placed under Meria Pole.

Dwiwali lanju	Similar to the English month - November.
Dasera Lanju	Similar to December.
Dana	Sal leaf pot.
Deranja	The old man.
Dera	Old.
Dumuni	A gourd measure.
Data	The seeds that is used for seedlings.
Dedhi	The pole is figured as a stand have a base of Sal pole.
Danduta/Danda	Village main road/Hill slope(wide).
Dadi	Death rites of a man. Also means the death rites of a house.
Edu	Thought.
Edu itere	Thinking.
Eia	Mother(child calls his/her mother)
Engari aba	The woman who separates a mixture of solid things by filtering them through porous bamboo vessels.
Ekkagandadu	The woman who steals young children to sacri fice them for certain ritualistic worships.
Eju	Water.
Enda Gaani	Dance song.
Enda	Dance.
Elx	House.
Elu gunjare	Surrounding of the house.
Eju Penka Dakin:	Worship of water god.
Eju silae	Waterlessness.
Eju mundi	Mini pond.
Elu penu	Home deity.
Eja	Home.
Gaani	Song.
Gati	Hill tops.
Gaptamu	Teaching.
Gachi	Clans/orchids.
Gada	Hole.
Garli vira	Fertile soil.

Guti	Whitish patch at the tree.
Gochchi	Parasite plants.
Gunjare	Environment around Kuttia Kondhs.
Grudu	The whole or collective body.
Giri	Path.
Guisata	Marriage by elopement.
Ichek Wedate	At what position is the Sun.
Inisatisi	How.
Ispajagela	The man who distribute seeds equally among the share holders.
Ilu	House.
Ita utimena	Maintenance.
Jaani	Covering or the mask.
Janiadu	The female shaman.
Jokal	Lightning.
Jaka dakandi	A worship at the roof of the patients house.
Jella	Life force.
Jholla	Stream.
Jana	Seed coat.
Jadi	Stream.
Jendi	The central strand of younger trees.
Jrikeni	Gum which is used for paste.
Juadi	Yoke.
Jupina	Hand weapons.
Jaka	Top/Menstruation/a hill standing in the east.
Jaka kuda	Menstruation huts.
Jendi	Pith of Sago palm.
Jendawenja	Central strand people refers to ancestral people.
Kaatha	Tales.
Kamboni	Forests.
Kuenja	Male folk of Kuttia Kondhs.
Kuiladu	Female folk of Kuttia Kondhs.
Kui/Kuvi	Language spoken by Kuttia Kondhs.
Kui Gaani	The mythical song.
Kapka Gaani	The description of the song about amythical hero.

Kuttimai	An efficient old man in making the traditional house.
Kabadmai	The man who makes the compost pits.
Kata Kadu	Astrologer women.
Kahagandadu	Women who steals.
Kutunaik	Astrologers.
Kandrubadi	The bamboo slishing man.
Kumber badi	The potter man.
Kada bandha	Iron ring that is worn at the wrist.
Kalu	Pestle.
Kutuni	The hammering wood.
Kama-ate	The utilitarian character of a thing.
Kadi	Cattles.
Kutaka	A medicine man, an astrologer or wizard.
Kerandi	The oral tales.
Kereena	Very small proverbial tales that always carry dual meaning.
Karu grasnali	Buffalo teasing.
Kutani	A hole made on a piece of wood.
Kikla	Grass hopper.
Kadibasa	Cattle shed
Kamboni	Canopy forests.
Kuta	Miraculous performance like magic, witchcraft, animation etc.
KK-Maju	A Sambar from whom a vegetable world has taken birth.
Khati	An evil spirit causes disease.
Kambit vira	Red soil.
Kana aate	The stage when seedling comes out.
Kamba	Navel of human body.
Kena	Branches.
Kanji	A delicious food preparation with bamboo shoots.
Katal	A beverage, which is prepared in rice powder in the leaves after developing a blood red colour is mixed with fresh rice and water.

Kalka	The leg of the horse.
Kanda	Sword.
Kreti	A gourd with a long handle is used as mug.
Kabda kada	Compost pits.
Keri	Hill slope(narrow).
Kabda/Kada	Hole(man made).
Kutaka	Wizard/Astrologer/Medicine.
Karumunda	Sal pole established as sacrificial post.
Kuianka	Kuttia Kondhs collectively are known as Kuianka.
Kaju gnepata	Cock crowing time.
Laesi	Early morning.
Loo-angi	The night.
Linga nainjane-Jananainjane.	Taking birth,getting covered.
Leptimai & Kumbarmai.	The potter women who are more specialised in making decorative earthen pots.
Lohru badi	Blacksmith.
Laudi	Two sticks one-long and the other short used as musical instrument.
Linga	The sex organ.
Linga penu	Birth God.
Lika Mara	Large shrubs.
Lenja	Conducting vessels of plants for water transport.
Ladska kuda	Young boys dormitory.
Ladvanga kuda	Young girls.
La-angi	Night.
Madeni	The mid day.
Mileni	The evening.
Mranjali	The woman who walks with her chest projecting sufficiently towards the front.
Majhi	The political headman of Kuttia society.
Maka Puju	Maize flower.
Mara gundu	Turmeric powder.
Maska Mara	Mango tree.

Mara	Tree.
Mara penu	Tree God.
Maane	Man power.
Mraka Kama	The work of making wooden artifacts.
Michu	Friend,beloved,wife,husband.
Madang basa	A place where people sit and drink toddy.
Maju basa	Abode of Sambar.
Mila	Children.
Mrangee tae	To be distracted.
Mraka	The wood made materials.
Mniba	Metamorphosis.
Mniba Kdani	Wizard or Magicians converted into tigers.
Mani Godi :	Hangers made of bamboo.
Masajuda gasnali:	Harvesting.
Manang	A measure is made out of bamboo.
Morang	Low lands.
Musana	Placing of poles in holes.
Michulani-tatanja	Sororate and levirate.
Milla Dali	Offsprings.
Mada	Toddy of the plant.
Naju	Sum total of population living in a village.
Nani mai	In-charge of fire.
Ne-ri	Blood.
Noa bachra Kata:	Since many years.
Nehi Sapa itina	Well preservation.
Nella Kama	Shifting cultivation work.
Ninipani-nipandi	Conservation-individuals effort to keep of the tradition.
Nerputa	Blood dysentry.
Nemberi	Fever.
Nehi-Jella	Well-beingness.
Nede	Middle part.
Nellatu	The fallow period between two successive clearing of forest followed by cultivation.

Nella	Swidden plots.
Nisa	Addiction.
Padani	Heaven.
Pangaliadu	The women specialised in tattooing.
Pulpuri	Woman having only the molar teeth.
Puberi tali	(Paberi-mother). The lady who took charge of Paberi-pressing the earth to level by a stone (paberi)
Pajibandi	The name of a man who born out of an earthen pot.
Pujumara	Mahula tree.
Pijubangeri	The hill named after rain.
Penka	Production.
Panjin Gaani	Addiction song.
Penu basa	Abode of godly beings.
Pdite	To take birth- birth of animals and human beings.
Pune	To know, to understand and to remember.
Pata dae	Water contamination causes lose motion.
Peda late	Growth of shoots.
Punga pute	Flowering stage.
Punge Dumbite	Shedling of petals.
Pareni	Guests.
Panga	Foot hill.
Penuni	Plural of Penu(Gods).
Punikalu	New festival/new liquor/full moon festival.
Padasi Kadgati ate	Fruit ripening stage.
Padasi Bachite	Fruit drying stage.
Penka ate	Bursting of fruit to scatter seeds.
Penka Ganjite	Bursting of seed coats under earth.
Penka Mete	Putting or dibling a seed on earth.
Pranga	Rice.
Ranjme	Fit.
Rangantali	The women who is specialised in using the roller like stone to level the land.
Rachangiri	Path separating the two rows of houses in the

	village.
Ramadu	Queen.
Ratudeka	Mid night.
Rani	Queen.
Randa	Grass.
Saponi	Take birth (like germination of a seed)
Soru Jakal	
Gatijaka	Hill top.
Salla	Cave/shed.
Sandhi	Border.
Sapangada	A place where Kuttia Koudhs took birth. Literally means birth hole.
Saremitali	An aged women separate a mixture of two solid things by using a large porous bamboo vessel.
Sechkuri aba	A woman who separates things by winnowing.
Sana mudada	A woman put on finger rings of gold and regarded as goldsmith.
Sandra liadu	Rice fried women.
Sungi butu	Country cigar smooking man.
Sareni	Porous bamboo basket.
Seni	Pounding hole.
Si-eete	Resource. The production and reproduction.
Soru	The hills.
Soru penu	Hill God.
Sedi Gaani	Marriage Song.
Sate	To come out.
Sapina	The open space to clearing patches for cultivation.
Satotanja	A truthful person.
Sengu	Scabies.
Sachkanti	Vomiting.
Sitki vira	Clay soil.
Saru	The person who is to sacrifice.
Saru neri	Human blood.
Sira Mara	One extra major of toddy offered to a new comer at the Madangbasa. This cup is given as a

	manner of respect and love to the new comer.
Sadonga	Moustache.
Sedi	Marriage by negotiation.
Takana	To cover distance-a corollary of which is to retain in mind over a period of time.
Tali	Mother(child's mother is called by taking the name of child)
Tendali	A woman having a hunch.
Tala Gabuli	A woman having few hairs on her head.
Tala Jeting	A woman used short chained hair-knot.
Tunda pirida	Players of organ pipes.
Treyena	Cyclic movement.
Titikirini	Wood pecker, a bird who makes hole in the woods or trees.
Tana	The earth.
Treyenja	Nomads.
Tedi Gunjare	Surrounding of the village.
Tula	Creeper.
Tana Ganjite	Germination of seeds.
Tudeka	Mid-night.
Tapka	Root base.
Taka	Endocarp.
Timaka	A originated from bamboo shoots.
Tikanga	Tattoo marks on face.
Tuleni	Graveyard forest.
Tudekena	Mid-night.
Takakalu	Mango kernel festival/an agricultural festival.
Upavas	Fasting.
Urmali	Waist wrap of women.
Wanga	Earth.
Weda sile	Sunless/lightlessness.
Worpu abe	Bamboo artisan women.
Wisong gurad	A man who took birth with a small axe on his shoulders.
Wika juda	Thatching grass.
Wango pena [illegible]	God associated with shifting cultivation.

Weda penu	Sun God.
Wechinja	A process of curing disease like head-ache. stomach pain, chest pain etc.
Weda dueri	Door towards sun.
Yam penu	The demon God.

Appendix - 1(A)

MEANING OF CULTURAL CORE TERMS OF SAORA

Aagaribur	Plateau at the hill top.
Ababur	Head of the hills. The middle part of the hill to the top hill is regarded as the head of the hill is also called as middle of the hill.
Adadeilingbur	Top most part of the hill.
Ajingbur	Base of the hill/foot hill.
Amuttibur	Hill top.
Areidam	Fast walking.
Arra Maranji	Agricultural people/cultivato
Alompal	Terraces.
Abbab	Head.
Anal	Mortar.
Ajar	Peepal tree.
Alaramga	Branches.
Ang	Obstruction.
Alaman	Base of the alaramga.
Ara	Tree.
Ansing	Watch hut.
Alang	Wild grass straw.
Alam	Paddy plant straw.
Ared	A type of bird.
Arup	After noon hours, before evening (4'O clock).
Aruptar	Plants flowering in the afternoon hours

Aputar	:	A big hollow space in a trunk.
Ayer	:	Surrounding of a settlement.
Amda Langlang	:	Beginning of the settlement.
Atona Kud-Langlang		End of settlement.
Adangadang		Closely Knit.
Armuka		Face to face arrangement.
Alungsing		The space of darkness in side the house/unlighed space.
Aptintinaleji		The charged fine.
Asudi		Leader.
Aba		One.
Abakuku		Separated or divided family- Nuclear family owned by one family head.
Abakukud		Undivided family/joint family.
Abarukusing		One joint house or residing jointly in a house.
Ansa		Part or share.
Atengku		Persons in a family of succeeding generations.
Aeng		Huge/more/many.
Antanikui		Accumulation.
Antebasi		Inhabitants of peripheral regions.
Alagumar		Left oddman.
Ansir		Co-operative labour organisation.
Arika		The clan of Shudha Saora who remain in charge of receiving guests and keeping the guests.
Arsi		Monkey- The clan group took birth from monkey.
Aing		Younger sister.
Awang		Father's sister.
Anger		Male.
Ada		Yes.
Abnimon		Name giving ceremony.
Alan		Leaves.
Arasal		Toddy collecting trees.
Anjiboi		Barren women.
Ali		Toddy.

Agurkap	A piece of loin cloth of red colour worn in the manner so that a cloth makes a cross on the chest which appears like the English alphabet 'X'.
Aranakap	When a piece of cloth is purchased for a person by another person (not purchased for self).
Agur	Falling of leaves from the tree.
Anangales	Small folded silver sticks.
Angaisum	Moon spirit.
Ankiboi	Foolish woman.
Arisi	Weaver section of the Saora community.
Ajada-analam-Uyungpur	Worship organised to free the children from sun-spirit's possibility of evil effects..
Asong-tij	Exuviae of the vagina.
Asongkad	Exuvae of the penis.
Ajora Sim	Stream-Sonum.
Angi	Axe.
Aku	Marriage by negotiation (Traditional system).
Aku Dina	Marriage day.
Aku yanang	Marriage lessons.
An-alam-tanu	The bride & groom conform the relationship as husband and wife before the public, (the bride's party arrange a song).
Abgnate	The death rites on the first day (after death).
Akudangal	Flesh from the hind limb's girdle.
Adekup	Collecting ashes.
Angiangda	On the holly begin day of Karja people from each household takes rice, water, coins, cloth, pitcher etc. to their respective Mudasings. The rice and water kept there is called Angiangda.
A[illegible]	Waterlessness, e.g. Deficity of water crakes the land or dry the tree and plants.
[illegible]	The first inhabitants
[illegible]	Individual (self)-intelligence and ideas.
[illegible]	The learner and observer of the processes to get knowledge

Asaiba	Quest/search.
Agihgiba	To look in the eyes of searching/a meaningful eyes.
Appaibir	Sending message.
Asu	Fever.
Baroon	Land for shifting cultivation on the hills.
Baroon agari	Hill top.
Baroolum	Hill work/work on hills.
Barun abaran	Different work processes involved in shifting cultiva tion work on hills.
Bai-bai-bansamar	More and more good(life of the people).
Budup	The stage of life in between 3-5 years of age when the child walks perfectly and choose play mates. observes the activities of the people (processes of socialisation).
Baite	Vomiting.
Buya	The priest lineage.
Baseng	Plain land or surface.
Bandibatalal	Police Station.
Baditul	A very big stone.
Bungtel	Buffalo.
Bomreng	One side facing of the rows of the houses.
Bariada	Back door.
Babusum	Home deity.
Bari Kanji	The village chowkidar.
Banaji mar	Possessor of only small swidden plots and the family just have hand to mouth living condition.
Biti	Property- which gives the more economic value.
Bananti	Distribution of property. money. land. agricul tural produces or goods which can be measured.
Banudin	Wage labourers.
Bidi	Earthen pots.
Bidika	A clan of Shudha Saora having the occupation of pot making.
Baung	Brother-in-law.

Buning	Sister-in-law.
Baula	Dearest friends of ritual Kin groups(female).
Batua	Laziness.
Bati	Mushroom.
Batuaboi	Lazy woman.
Barangdeu	Lord Brahma.
Biran/Birna	Matter of sayings.
Bisaramar	The person who makes decision or decision making man.
Birinda	Lineage term for Lanjia Saora.
Chandisum	The border deity of Shudha Saora village.
Daa	Water.
Dara kuna	Permanent site for settlement.
Dalda	Safeguard.
Drabasing	Place left for water vessels.
Donger	Hills.
Dungdungbur	Hill slope(narrow).
Diasing	Floor under loft -the lighted part inside the house by the sun light.
Dringdingna	Kitchen utensils.
Dalbehera	Group leader.
Danadi	Timely help extended from one family to the other (inter-Birinda).
Dapra	A tribal community of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh.
Dading	Father's young brother.
Dayalmar	Guests(male).
Dayal boi	Guest(female).
Dandrul	Gift-exchange.
Dan	To remember.
Daraikul	Cooked rice without gruel.
Dranatu	Blause.
Danaka Lalaka	Plain surface bracelet.
Dhangdi ele	Puberty.
Dudupangboi	Pot - bellied woman and fatty.
Dulupungmar	Pot - bellied man.

Dhangda	The boy in the age group of 15-25 years. When he becomes able to work independendly is taken as Dhangda(youth)or after becoming adult.
Dhangdi	The puberty and post- puberty period of a girl. By this time she is found to be an expert in all kinds of household and agricultural works.
Dariboi	Beloved girl.
Darimar	Beloved boy.
Daritap	Love marriage, marriage by elopement.
Dingdingboi	Marriage by force or capture.
Dumbasal	First visit for marriage with toddy or liquor.
Dasha	10th day of murtuary rites.
Dingara	Pulling the spirits.
Dulba	Burning.
Dengbir	Law or principles.
Debdingmar	Instrumentalist(Drums).
Ersi	Severe sin, taboo.
Engsee	Finger ring.
Eril boi	Wife's young sister.
Eril boi sirung	Marriage with wife's younger sister.
Feuradan	Soul.
Gadavasi	Jungle inhabitants.
Galam	Understanding.
Ganedelan	To shift, transfer, convert.
Gannar deli	The process of migration or shifting of places in search of food and facilities etc.
Garjangan	Settlement(village).
Garjang	
lingannar	Settlement, opposite to nomadic men.
Gai	Digging.
Gailung	Digging cave.
Gad	Village root leading to another village.
Garrana	Space for entrance.
Garagana	Eating vessels.
Gudangsing	Level village.
Gamunte	Dream.

Gungusing	Cattle shed.
Gumanasing	A type of house made up with thatching grass etc.
Ganggang	Drives away.
Gadasum	Jungle sonum.
Gandrasing	Middle graded family with no food problem.
Ganddi	Man and woman working together without expecting any return.
Gyana mandir	A school in which pre-primary and adult education are provided.
Gasimar	The Harijan or non-tribal scheduled caste community.
Gatungkap	Traditional dress of Lanjia Saora female folk.
Goar	Second murtuary rites.
Genuar	The stone planting site for the memory of the dead.
Garjang Ardraku:	Village ownership.
Gayal	A clan member stress their ancestry from Gayal(Bison).
Gannarmar	Nomadic man.
Geidingsing	Friend's house.
Garasal	Toddy drinking place.
Garrodudina	Saree.
Guguku/Angerkup:	Nose rings worn by male Lanjias.
Gurmang :	Fair- skinned.
Gaejingmar	Lame-man.
Gageramar	String instrument player.
Guptanglee	The period of life of the boy in between 5-9 years of age when he can graze the cattle. He start to learn the works in the house.
Garna pur	A worship organised for sun spirit with the hope of a child (after marriage).
Gandamna	Marriage by intrusion.
Garboisirung	Marriage by negotiation(Christian converted system).
Genudi	Invitation.
Gendakur	Mudasing people of each lineage go to fetch

	water to cook food for the ancestral spirits.
Ganalama	Knowledge/wisdom.
Gajeng	Slashing.
Gatsalan	Understanding of toddy collection by cutting and tapping the inflorescence of the tree.
Idaiboi	Disciples of Kudan boi.
Idital	Icon.
Idtalmar	Icon - painter.
Irbaramar	Non-working man.
Irpalnasing	Not to be divided the house.
Indu	Hindu.
Irr	Not to become.
Irasanasing	Division of family members in the house.
Imrika	Clan members took birth from Indingmuda(?) tree, they are like wage labourers.
Insolo	Female.
Ilai	Came.
Irbang-panangsing	Gift exchange in kind of buffalo.
Idais	Ancestral spirits.
Ilda	Master of Shamans.
Ildasirung	Marriage with Ildasum in dream.
Ihlte	Soul exists.
Jaitan	Below the foot hill area, the couple and continu ous plain.
Juba	Creeper dominated forests.
Jirang	Stages on large trees.
Jirangsing	Stage house.
Jijir	All these things that are placed on the loft.
Jellu	Meat.
Jurorjir	Materials kept over Randa (hanging rak).
Judisum	The couple spirits demarcating the village out line.
Jananglosum	Harvesting ground sonum.
Jujukukud	Patriachal family.
Jandrangsing	The household having property status is at least

	5/6 acres of paddy land and have cattle and must be using wage labourers.
Jirjir and Badi	Labourers, working on wages.
Jamal	Crops.
Jikale	Carrying meat in a cloth.
Jadu Maranji	Hill Saoras.
Jati	A type of Saora who donot eat beaf.
Jadu	Live on high land.
Juju-matam	Common inheritance from the lineages of great grand fathers.
Juju	Grand father.
Je-cap	Red-coloured clothes.
Ju-u-lu	Petti - coat.
Jijir gluhgar Tumbaldong	Looks nice with any dress.
Jetimu-u-ka	Long faced.
Jomukamar	Irregularly swollen face-man.
Ja-ta-mar	Short statured-man.
Jiengpur	A worship organised to attract the good eye of the ancestral spirits on the child.
Jaram yang	Final stage of delivery.
Joar sirung	Widow marriage.
Ji-i(n)	Life force.
Idaikap	Ritual cloth for the spirits use.
Janangla	Place for village deity.
Jujubiran Ganalama	Traditional knowledge.
Jujubiran	Sayings of old people who are no more on the earth.
Juntutri	The cultivation by burning the wild leaves and branches of the trees.
Kamboor	Sorghum.
Kamda	Area in between baroon and hill top.
Kambool	House.
Kinte	Banana.

Kumme	Goat
Kamboon	Pig.
Kutta	Kitchen garden.
Kundul	A type of house ;where primitive Saora lived.
Kamboon sing	Pig house.
Kanseem sing	Fowl house.
Kanududasing	The space, little elevated from the floor level outsidethe lost where kitchen utensils and vessels are kept.
Kinjang baling-adong	Back bone of the house's roof beam compared with man's body.
Kanising	Convulsion house.
Kanisum	Spirit of convulsion, epilepsy and spasm.
Kinasum	Leopard-sonum.
Kirtun	People belongs to Christian Converted Commu nity.
Kudu	All
Kambari	Coolie.
Kutumi	Family.
Kud	Giving birth/taking shape/coming into.
Kukud	Extended family.
Kudadi	Exchange labours in between families.
Koptang	The system in which all the families send one person each for grazing cattle by them.
Kureitung	Hollow trunk of the tree/bottle gourd.
Kurpal	Bottle gourd.
Kheja	Lineage term for Lanjia Saora.
Kindal	Basket of bamboo.
Kumbi	Potter section of Saoras.
Kampu	Telugu speaking Saora.
Kumembar	Saora section practising shifting cultivation.
Kula	Lineage term for Shudha Saora.
Kittungsum	Main - deity Forest-deity, & the first inharitartay of Saoras.
Karja	Final murtuary rites of Saoras.

Kintolo	Cremation ground.
Khejamatam	Swiddens and terrace fields inhabited by lineage members.
Kumbiji	Potters.
Kumbrika	Clan took birth from Kumbri tree.
Kapallu	Clan represent the Kapu Sabar as cultivators.
Kandagane	Poor section of Kapalu group.
Kakung	Brother(elder)
Kaking	Sister(elder)
Kulamela	Court of group council where intra clan affairs are solved.
Kunyar	Father-in-law & prespectable male person.
Kinnaboi	Mother-in-law.
Kain/Kaun	Daughter-in-law.
Kudanmar	Male Shaman.
Kudanboi	Female Shaman.
Karanyen	Death.
Kukumba-bububa	Things that should be kept carefully, should be added more things.
Kundraboi	Helpless woman.
Kudu	Wet rice.
Kukengmar	Barber.
Kung-engten	Cutting hair, moustache, beard.
Kanellungan Sakai	Good at singing.
Kumbagmuboi	Long - nosed woman.
Kinan	Song.
Kudanlee	Mother -hood stage of a woman. Burdened with responsibilities, attains the position of being a superior respected person in the family and the society.
Kerud Kud	More or less synomnym of the patrilineage.
Kampoong	Womb.
Kunaboi	Those women died earlier by suffering from labour pain during delivery.

Karu dung	After marriage the gifts given to girl by her.
Kaka-Babren	Brother and sister. The first man and woman of Shudha Saora.
Korangulu	Lord Vishnu.
Kandra budis	North direction.
Khora	Bamboo ladder.
Kumab Garbir	The prayer organised after one year of the death of a person of Christian Saora Community.
Kinjinang boi	Female priest.
Kanjing	Meat of percupine.
Langatrung	Before building of a house there is a primary testing of the place for settlement to know about the goodness or badness (of the sonums eyes) of it.
Lonya	Main Road.
Langlang	Halmlet.
Lankabur	Very high hill.
Lantupbur	Hill slope(wide).
Luam	Carpet legume.
Lutabmar	Who takes care, provides food etc.
Lobosum	Earth god.
Luara	Blacksmith sections of Saora.
Lamba Lanjia	Long tailed Saora, primitive section of Saora.
Lungar	Cave.
Lungarmaranji	People living in cave.
Lungi	Dress of male Shudha Saoras.
Limtam	Pranam to the whole body.
Lim-see	Pranam with coupling hands to heads.
Linjing	Pranam to your feet.
Lobopur	Worship to earth sonum.
Langiboi	Beautiful woman.
Lisim mar	Idle man.
Lanka	Tall.
Lam - lamtin	The stage in between 6 month to the completion of one year of a baby.
Lutidanglee	The period of life in between 5 to 9 years of a

	girl child when she is able to fetch water and help her mother in household works.
Lungud	Darkness.
Larung pankui	
Sirung	Marriage in a proper order performing all the rules of the marriage.
Lorasbarna	The turban of the boy and the one end of the saree worn by the girl are joined with each other (in marriage ceremony).
Lajjab	The first paddy cutting ceremony especially for those persons who have to perform Karja cer emony in the year for their dead ancestors.
Lala	Croping of the seeds/seedling of the seeds.
Mandregna	Livelihood.
Munjungbur	Pointed hill top.
Mana	Measuring vessel.
Maneng	Last.
Maya	Illusion.
Mara	Peacock.
Mardisum	Diarrhoea causing spirit.
Maduasum	Village - deity, for the welfare of the village.
Mandusa	Dead body spirit, presently it is Lord Jagannath (called by Shudha Saora).
Manedadang	Napkin ties to a stick.
Malia	Agriculturists and basket maker section of Saora.
Matam	Landed properties jointly owned.
Maman	Maternal uncle.
Mada	Loft.
Mandring/Gading:	Dearest friend.
Masiakap :	Aluminium nose - ring.
Mo-o-le	Engulfing.
Mogai	Lunar eclipse.
Mir	Trance.
Mudasing	Chief of each lineage.
Maina pur	A worship organised by Socially-isolated people

	to regain their social status..
Nyalsing	A house with stone setting and cemented with mud.
Nandingi	Brass pot making group.
Nimla	Clan members descended from Neem tree.
Naga	Clan members took birth from cobra snake (Naga).
Nridam	Pure.
Nyanalanga	
Sakai	Perfect in walk (applicable to both the sex).
Ool	Mango.
On	A suffix used with Anger (Son) and Insolo. Literally means child (Male or Female).
Orinta	Horizontal beams.
Padar	Plain land
Partee	Group.
Partee-Darakuna:	Group dwelling.
Prada	Life/soul.
Purpuri	Doob grass.
Padsa	Jack fruit.
Pidigalasing	Pucca house.
Pigdi	Space for pigs and fowls.
Panchasing	Kitchen room is made adjacent to the main room is called panchasing.
Prinakul	Costly materials, money and ornaments are usually kept in a brass pot andburried under the stage where cooked rice pots are kept.
Palna	Division/distribution.
Purban	
Antani Rai	The property accumulated by the parents and grand parents.
Pattar Saora	Saora who wear leaves.
Pratyant Desh	Frontier region.
Patka/Palka	Both the clan members represent higher class in the society.
Pasei	Children.

Pansiakap	A cloth which shows high status of the owner.
Pagdi	Ear - rings worn by male Lanjias.
Paguda	Necklaces used by male folks.
Taringdadap	The region where water flows.
Pesang .	Flate.
Pasei sirung	Child marriage.
Pankui	Marriage by offering liquor.
Pesing Garboi	The parents of both the boy and the girl intimate other's in the respective villages about the marriage.
Pallad	Socially isolated people.
Purban Katabir	Ancient tales of Saora.
Purpur Ganalama:	Knowledge of the worships.
Randa	A small loft hanging over the hearth for keeping the cooking items.
Ragan Abdur	New eating festival of Pegeon pea.
Ratu'd sum	A dangerous(evil) spirit that kills people.
Roga boi	A small pox woman.
Ranadboi	Eye balls of the woman are not large.
Rassial	Slim body.
Radu mar	Strong man.
Resasi :	Stage of infant upto 2/3 years.
Rukudang pankui:	Fixation of date for marriage.
Rul	To give by plucking.
Saluasing	Bear house.
Sandi	Boundary
Sundang	Vertical poles.
Sarapall sum	Boundary deity of the settlement.
Sinal	Small pox.
Suda Bisaramar :	Chief justice.
Suda Bitimar	Propertied man.
So:ara	Hidden in a wood.
Shudha	Saora living in plain lands, with cultural contact they have became pure.
Salua amrid	Like a bear.
Sarda	Plain land Saora.

Saba Roye	Sanskrit term for carrying a dead body.
Sagories	Scythian word for axe.
Salal matam labour.	Swidden and terrace fields created by joint
Saguchasa	Joint claim over the income from Matams.
Simtam	Thanks.
Saroba	Paddy field.
Saibang eti-Janang, Gurmang-eti Janang :	Irrespective of skin colours.
Sariboi	Characterless woman.
Sasajiboi	Big tooth woman.
Senkaranaboi	Squint eyed woman.
Siaraboi	Mad woman.
Sududianboi	Delivery woman.
Sangsang:	Turmeric.
Sabdam pida	A 'T' shaped iron implement.
Sab sab	Carpentry works.
Sigamar	The person (priests) who performs funeral rites
Tamtang	Rows of villages, the communicating path from the frontyard.
Trangdi langlang:	Middle of settlement.
Tanaisum :	Sorcery sonum.
Tanaising	Sorcery house.
Tingbamle	Wrapping the mat with leaves.
Tamme Ganedelan-Janangan	New shifting place.
Tanglee	Cow and Bullock.
Tanna	Frontyard, backyard.
Tata	Father's elder brother.
Tangba	Husband.
Tandrablin-Goarnai	Goar organised by the children born of a single mother.
Tulab	Forest.
Tondrellungan	

Sakai	Looks nice with any whatever ornaments she wears.
Taringdabap	The region where water flows.
Ulliakap	Traditional dress for Lanjia Saora male folk.
Uyungsum	Sun-spirit.
Uralsim	Bud-drop-sonum.
Wayanganji	Parents.
Wang	Father.
Yangtab	The newly married girl.
Yangbailee	The newly married boy.
Yangai teen	Getting of suitable site, resource, plain lands etc.
Yuyu	Grand mother.
Yang	Mother.
Yayang	Mother's younger sister.
Yangyangnar sonum:	Chief deity.

Appendix - 1.1 (A)

KUI GAANI

LINGANAINJANE JANANAINJANE
Taking birth, getting covered
DAEN WANGA DAE, DAEN NELLA DAETI
Under the earth, under the Nella
NERANDALI TODUTA, KAPANDALI TODUTA
Following Nerandali, following Kapandali
SENGELAJI JUDEKA, BRABELAGI JUDEKA
Sengel and Brabel grand-monthers joining
SRINGULAJI JUDEKA, GUNDELAJI JUDEKA
Sringuli and Gundeli grand-mothers joining
PALUPURI DATAPURI JUDEKA
Palupuri & Datapuri grand-mothers joining
TENDALIAJI JUDEKA MRANJALAJI JUDEKA
Tendali and Mranjali grand-mothers joining
NERANDALIT TODUTA, KAPANDALIT TODUTA
Following Nerandali, folliwing Kapandali
kATIMAI JUDEKA, KABADMAI JUDEKA
Katimai and Kabadmai joined
1) NANAMAI JUDEKA, KABAMAI JUDEKA
Naramai and Kabamai joined
DAEN SAPANGADATA DAEN SARCHANGADATA
Under Sapangada, under Sarchangada
ATPA BICHALEGA ATPA JARALEGA
Like a mixture of seeds
SARADLINGA MANJANE BARADLINGA MANJANE
LIke a flow of water
SARENITALI JUDEKA BANJURITALI JUDEKA
Sareni and Banjuri mothers joined
LINGAINJANE JANANAINJANE
Taking birth, getting covered
RANGANTALI, PABERTALI JUDEKA
Rangani and Paberi mothers joined
KANDRA ABA JUDEKA WARPU ABA JUDEKA
Kandra's wife, Warpu's wife joined

ENGURI ABA JUDEKA SEKURI ABA JUDEKA
Enguri and Sekuri sister-in-laws joined
GACHI GANATA BINAGANA TA
All of vamsas, all types mixing
2) LINGANAINJANE JANANAINJANE
Taking birth, getting covered
KUDAGANATA PARJAGANATA
All castes, all citizens mixing
LEMBURASI LEGA TUKURASI LEGA
Like ants and termites
KADIRASILEGA KARURASI LEGA
Like bullocks, like buffaloes
DAEN WANGARETE DAEN NELLARETE
Under there is earth, there is fields
SANAMUDED JUDEKA BAKIMUDAD JUDEKA
Sunamuded, Bakimuded mixing
DEHERADU JUDEKA PEJENANU JUDEKA
Witch woman, barren woman mixing
KUTAKADU JUDEKA LAMBIKADU JUDEKA
Kutakadu & Lambikadu mixing
JANI ADU JUDEKA SISA ADU JUDEKA
Jani adu, Sisa adu mixing
EDERADU JUDEKA PEJENADU JUDEKA
Ederadu & Pejenadu mixing
3) KUDAGANATA PARJAGANATA
All castes all citizens mixing
JUDEKAINJANE ALEKAINJANE
All are mixing up
DAEN SAPANGADA DAEN SARCHANGADA
Under Sapangada, under Sarchangada
DAEN RANIPALU DAEN BENOIPALU
Under Ranipalu, under Bendipalu
DAEN USARANA DAEN BEARANA
Under Usarana, under Bearana
ANASILA DAEN UJADSILA DAEN
Under there is no light, no sparkle
MALASILA DAEN DUPASILA DAEN
Neither Mala nor Dupa is under
SIKADISILA DAEN KADASILA DAEN
Chains and rings are not inside
ATE JUDEKAJAN ATE ALEKAJAN
Again all are gathering

DIA TRELU DUDITRELU JUDEKA
Dia trelu & Duditrelu mixing
4) SANAMUDADU JUDEKA BAKIMUDADU JUDEKA
?
PANGALIADU RADALIADU JUDEKA
[Pangaliadu : Whose face is under tatoring]
SANDRALIADU BASILIADU JUDEKA
Who makes rice fried
PANGALIADU RADALIADU JUDEKA
?
TITIKUMBARI MATIKUMBARI JUDEKA
Potter woman, earthen pot making women mixing
NERANDALI TODUTA KAPANDALI TODUTA
After Nerandali, after Kapandali
RA LINGA PADETA RA JANAN PADETA
On a levelled wooden plate
LINGA PDIE MANGANA JANA PDIE MANGANA
Taking birth, getting covered
DAMU MILA JUDEKA GASIMILA JUDEKA
Dom children, Gasi children mixing
HADIMILA JUDEKA CHANDAL MILA JUDEKA
Hadi children, Chandal children mixing
5) NOLUGUNU JUDEKA PUTUGUNU JUDEKA
Nulugunu, Putugunu are mixing
LEPTIMAI, KUMBARMAI JUDEKA
Leptimai, Kumbarmai mixing
GURASAIBI JUDEKA BATULISAIBI JUDEKA
Gora sahib, Collector Sahib mixing
EKKAGANDADU KAHAGANDADU JUDEKA
(Who steals children for sacrifice)
KUDAGANATA PARJAGANATA
Many castes, many citizens
JUDEKAI ALEKAI MANJANA
Again gathering
GACHIGANATA BINAGANATA
Of many vansas, may types
SEING SAPA TUKING SAPA NANGANI
All are measured of equal size (height)
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali, she is Kapandali
ICHEKLINGA ITEDE ICHEKJANE ITEDE
Gave birth to this much

6) SAPANGADA DAETI SARCHANGADA DAETI
Under Sapangada, under Sarchangada
KUELINGA BIHITE ACHALINGA BIHITE
An women took birth
IRIBATI ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE
This do not hold good, do not fit
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali, she is Kapandali
SAPANGADA DAETI SARCHANGADA DAETI
Under Sapangada, under Sarchangada
LINGA KANGRA MANJANA JANAKANGRA MANJANA
Observing people, who have taken birth
WARI ACHALIADENJALI WARI KUEL DENJALI
(It's) loking only women - women
IRIBA ADATE IRIBA RANJATE
This do not hold good, do not fit
WARI ACHALIAJATE WARI KUELADU AJATE
Only women come out
IRID DINA ADE IRID KASA ADE
With this world can not be made

7) NA WANGA DINAWA NA NELLA DINAWA
If someday (we) move towards earth, fields
NA DARNI DINAWA NA JAKER DINAWA
If someday (we) move to Dharni stone, Jaker stone
KUENWANGA DINAWA RUEN NELLA DINAWA
At the time of going onto the earth
INA ITKE JIANE INA DAEK JIANE
Who will worship
IRIBA ADATE IRIBA RANJATE
This do not hold good, do not fit
LINGANMANE SA-APA JANAN MANE SA-APA
Still, it is to take birth
ADE LINGAN MANENJE ADE JANANI MANENJE
Again giving birth
BETAMANGER JUDEKA PRAMBUMANGER JUDEKA
Betamangera mixing, Prambumanger mixing
KANDRAGURAD JUDEKA NIPINGURAD JUDEKA
Kandragurad, Nipingurad mixing
SAPANGADA DAETI SARCHANGADA DAETI
Under Sapangada, under Sarchangada

8) NERANDALAN TODUTA KAPANDALAN TODUTA
Following Nerandli, Kapandali

LINGANAI MANERE, JANA NAIMANERE
Taking birth, getting covered
ANA MANGER JUDEKA PRAMBUMANGER JUDEKA
Ana manger mixing, Prambumanger mixing
GACHIGANA TARA BINA GANA TARA
People of many castes, many types
TADA GATA TARA KAKUGATA TARA
All are (like) brothers and uncles
PALUPURI JUDEKA DATAPURI JUDEKA
Palupuri and Datapuri mixing
TALA GABULI JUDEKA BANAGABULI JUDEKA
Short haired women mixing
TALA JETING BANA JETING JUDEKA
Long haired woman with chained hair mixing
GACHIGANA TARA BINAGANA TARA
Like of many castes, many types
ATPABICHALEGA ATPA JARA LEGA
Like light types of seeds (a mixture of seeds)
9) WASINGA PIRAD JUDEKA, TUNDA PIRAD JUDEKA
Flute blowing man mixing.
KUTANAIK JUDEKA LAMBINAIK JUDEKA
Witch man mixing
SANAMUDEN JUDEKA BAKI MUDEN JUDEKA
A man bearing finger ring mixing
DIA MAJHI JUDEKA PURBU MAJHI JUDEKA
Rice hawling man mixing
RAKE MAJHI JUDEKA GURPA MAJHI JUDEKA
?
PAJI BANDI JUDEKA ARGADA MAJHI JUDEKA
?
WISANGURAD JUDEKA, SUNGI BUTNI JUDEKA
Axe man, tobacco smoking man mixing
TAKA PUJU JUDEKA, ATRA NAKA JUDEKA
Arm Taka puja, Atra naka mixing
SUI DEDHI JUDEKA DAPA DEDHI JUDEKA
Who makes Sui dedhi,Dupa dedhi
MARGUNDA JUDEKA BANDAN MAJHI JUDEKA
Man pasted with turmeric powder mixing
10) WIKAJUDA JUDEKA KA JAGELA JUDEKA
Wika juda and Bandan Majhi mixing
JUDEKAIMANERE ALEKAI MANERE
Mixing up and gathering at one place.

GACHIGANATARA BINAGANATARA
Of many castes, many types
LEMBU RASI LEGA TUKU RASI LEGA
Like ants, like termiles
SARA SAMBU JUDEKA SARA BASA JUDEKA
?
MNIA MERU JUDEKA MNIA GATI JUDEKA
Mnia meru from mnia gati mixing
DIA TRELU JUDEKA, DUDI TRELU DUDEKA
Dia Trelu and Dudi Trelu mixing
ITRIKANG JUDEKA ITRI DATA JUDEKA
Named with these names, (they are) mixing.
MNIA MERU JUDEKA, MNIA GATI JUDEKA
Mnia meru, Mnia gati mixing
11) TODU PAERI, JUDEKA TODU PUNGERA JUDEKA
Todu paeri and Todu Pungera mixing
LOHRU BADI JUDEKA BINJAR BADI JUDEKA
Blacksmith and his type mixing.
DEDHI MULENGA PATI MULENGA JUDEKA
Dedhi and Pati carrying people mixing
KANDRA WADI JUDEKA WARPU WADI JUDEKA
Bamboo slishing and bamboo weaving people mixing
KUMBERALADU, KUMBERADUDU JUDEKA
Potter woman and her types mixing.
GACHIGANATARA BINAGANATARA
Of many castes, many types.
DAEN SAPANGADATA DAEN SARCHANGADATA
Under Sapangada, under Sarchangada.
LINGA PDIE MANERE JANAN PDIE MANERE
More and more people taking birth, coming out.
ATPA BICHALEGA ATPA JARALEGA
Like mixture of different seeds.
KANGA BICHALEGA BERENGA BICHALEGA
Like Kangu seeds, bean seeds.
12) EKA GANE JUDEKA KA-AA GANE JUDEKA
Oriya people and Paika People mixing.
SETHIMILA JUDEKA SANIMILA JUDEKA
Pano children mixing.
SALASETHI JUDEKA GAPLA SETHI JUDEKA
Sala Sethi and Gapla sethi mixing.
SANDER LIENJA JUDEKA BASAR LIENJA JUDEKA
People of Sander Lineage. Baser lineage mixing.

RADAMLIENJA JUDEKA PANGALIENJA JUDEKA
People of Radam lineage mixing.
URLA LIENJA JUDEKA SIRDI LIENJA JUDEKA
People of Urla lineage mixing.
IRIBATI ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE
This do not hold good, do not fit.
LINGANETA ATENA JANANETA ATENA
So much of people took birth.
BAE LINGANITE BAE JANANITE
Unnecessarily took birth.
WANGA SILA DINATA NELLA SILA DINATA
No land is available in the world.
13) SAPANDI SILA DINATA POIBANDI SILA DINATA
No land is available up the earth and down the earth.
BAE KDAYE LAJATE BAE NNAYE LAJATE
It was unnecessary to give birth to a lot.
WENDAA GENA-A NARABI WENDA GENA-A DURABI
Should they go underworld again !
INISATISI ADINE INISATISI RANJINE
How should it be done, how it will fit.
ATE AKAD MANGANE ATE GANGAD MANGANE
Thinking again.
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali she is Kapandali
BAE LINGANITEYE BAE JANANITEYE
Unnecessarily gave birth.
ISI AKAD MACHISI ISI GANGAD MACHISI
Thinking only can't solve
IRAD DINA ADEYE IRAD KASA ADEYE
It can't from a world.
WANGA WIDE MEKA-A NELLAWIDE MEKA-A
(She) set out to inspect the earth.
14) TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali she is Kapandali
WANGA WIDGAI NELLA WIDGAI
To roam about the earth.
ANASILA DAETI UJAD SILA DAETI
No light was there under the earth.
MALA NANI AISI DUPANANI AISI
(She) carried lamp and fire with her.
WAE MALANDALI WAE DUPANDALI
She called for Malandali and Dupandali.

SIKADI NANI ATATI KADA NANI ATATI
Carrying fire with them.
TIDE PENDI ATATI SAKRAPENDI ATATI
Fire, with dried Tila plants.
WANGA WIDE MEKANA NELLA WIDE MEKANA
Going to inspect the earth.
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali She is Kapandali.
TIDE NANI AISI SAKRA NANI AISI
Carrying fired Tila plants.

15) WANGA WIDI MANGANE NELLAWIDI MANGANE
To see and inspect the earth.
SAPANDI BASAGAI PDIBANDI BASAGAI
How to come to earth, where to emerge.
KATA MUNDA GENA-A BEIMUNDA GENA-A
Could it be near hedges, near bamboo mats.
SA·TI KAMBANI GINA-A PDITI KAMBANI GINA-A
Could it be near Satikambani, Pditikambani
PENA KAMBANI GINA-A MAJA KAMBANI GINA-A
Could it be at Penakambani, Majakambani.
RAGAMARA GINA-A BICHUMARA GINA-A
Could it be near Ragamara, Bichumara.
AMBA SAPANDI ADEYE AMBA PDIO ADEYE
Here (We) can't take birth.
LIKE MULU INJINA LIKE DATA INJINA
Is it a matter of few people !
SITKA MATI GINA-A KATPA MATI GINA-A
Could (we) take birth near clay soil.
PIDEL NELLA GINA-A KADEL NELLA GINA-A
Could it be at Pidel nella, Kadel nella

16) MASANGDIA GINA-A KADANGDIA GINA-A
Could it be in black gram fields,
ACHEKAWIDI TEDE ACHEKA PREJI TEDE
This much is already covered.
BASA PANPI SILENE GARI PANPI SILENE
No place is available, no place to take birth,
BAHE LINGANITEYE BAHE JANANITEYE
Unnecessarily gave birth.
BASA SILA DINATA GARI SILA DINATA
In a world where no earth is available,
ELE SAPA PANENE ELE DIA PANENE
(Perhaps) we can't come out any more.

EMBE NANGA SAINA EMBENANGA POIENA
Where (then) shall we take birth,
KUDE PANGA GINA-A TENDI PANGA GINA-A
Could we take birth near Kudepanga Tendipanga.
KAKIBAKI GINA-A BARABAKI GINA-A
Could it be at Kakibaki, Barabaki fields,
SIENDE ASURI GINA-A MADASURI GINA-A
Could it be at Sindifields, mada fields ?

17) SUSABATA GENA-A PAGARPADI GENA-A
Could it be at Susabata, Pagarpadi,
SALAPADI GENA-A KRICHITULA GENA-A
Could it be at Salapadi, Krichitula.
MUNDA VALI SEKA VALI GINA-A
Could it be at Mundavali, Sekavali,
ADAVALI GENA KNAHAVALI GENA-A
Could it be at Adavali, Knahavali.
MAAVALI GENA-A PARTI VALI GENA-A
Could it be at Maavali, Partivali,
SIRAMAR GENA-A BAIMBAR GENA-A
Could it be at Siramar, Baimbar.
SIRADANDANGI GENA-A SIRA OKADI GENA-A
Could it be at Siradandangi, Sirawokadi,
ELEDE SAPANDI PANENE ELEDE PDIBANDI PANENE
(In harassment) Can't take birth any more.
ICHEK WANGA, NELLA WIDITEDE
So much of the world has been alredy covered,
WENDA GENA NARABI WENDA GENA DURABI
Not a single place is found suitable.

18) BAE LINGANITEYE BAE JANANITEYE
Unnecessarily gave birth,
SAPANDI SILA DINATA PDIBANDI SILA DINATA
No place is there to step on after emerging out.
ICHEK BIDE MITEDE ICHEK PREJE MITEDE
This much of the places I have seen,
EMBENANGA SAI EMBENANGA PDIE
Where shall I take birth, at what place I'll emerge out.
MUCHDI KALA GENA-A MUCHDI KALA GENA-A
Could (I take birth) at Muchdikala hill,
LAKA JADA GENA BRABA JADA GENA
Could it be at Laka jada, Braba jada.
KRANJA NELLA GENA BARI NELLA GENA
Could it be at Kranja nella, Bari nella.

UTISIRA GENA TANGI SIRA GENA
Could it be at Utisira - Tangisira.
KUTUDUDI GENA BANANJALA GENA
Could it be at Kutududi, Bananjala
NUAMUNDA GENA PURNAMUNDA GENA
Could it be at Nuamunda-Purnamunda,

19) PIJUBANGERI GENA WIDIWANGERI GENA
Could it be at Pijubangeri, Bidibangeri hills,
PEDEM NELLA, DASRI NELLA GENA
Could it be at Pedim nella, Dasri nella.
SIKERI KALANGI GENA ATADI KALANGI GENA
Could it be at Sikeri kalangi-Atadi kalangi Hills,
JENDA WEDI GENA SABABEDI GENA
Could it be at Jendabedi, Sababedi hills.
BARI GATI, PATI GATI GENA
Could it be at Barigati or Patagati,
JATRIKUPDA GENA BANAKUPDA GENA
Could it be at Jatrikupda, Banakupda hills.
SARENVALI GENA JAGERVALI GENA
Could it be at Sarenivali, Jagervali,
IRAPUKRI, BALI PUKRI GENA
Could it be at Irapukur, Balipukur.
PRINGELI NELLA, GAPAS NELLA GENA-A
Could it be at Pringeli nella, Gapas nella,
EMBE SACHANJIE EMBE PDIANJIE
Where to take birth, where to come out.

20) ELEDE SAPANDI PANENE ELEDE PDIBANDI PANENE
(It seems) No place is available where we can take birth,
WANGA SILA DINATA NELLA SILA DINATA
In this world there is no plain earth to take birth to come out.
BAE LINGANITEYE BAE JANANI TEYE
Unnecessarily gave birth,
SOLUBIRI GENA BANDI BIRI GENA
Could (they emerge out) at Solubiri, Bandibiri.
GUNJINANU GENA MAHANANU GENA
Could it be at Gunjinanu, Mahananu
GUNJERVALI GENA PUDGAVALI GENA
Could it be at Gunjervali, Pudgavali.
SANDI MASKA GENA DEDA MASKA GENA
Could it be near mango trees,
KALANGURA GENA ENDANGURA GENA
Could it be at Kalangura, Endangura.

MAJIMUNDA MOELMUNDA GENA-A
Could it be at Maji Munda, Moel Munda,
KANGA SORU BERENG SORU GENA-A
Could it be at Kanga Soru, bereng Soru.

21) VIRA PANGA, VALI PANGA GENA
Could it be at plain areas,
INDIRAMUNDI KADAKMUNDI GINA-A
Could it be near small water pool.
JUJABATA GENA, KELABATA GENA
Could it be at playgrounds,
WIDI-OKADI GENA, DALANG BATA GENA
Could it be near Widi-Okadi-Dalangbata.
GUMA GADA GENA SEDA GADA GENA
Could it be at Gumagada, Sedagada,
JENANGUDA GENA NISANAGUDA GENA
Could it be at Jenanguda, Nisanaguda.
TIKIPADARI GENA BANDI PADARI GENA
Could it be at Tikipadari, Bandipadari,
RANIPALU GENA BENDIPALU GENA
Could it be at Ranipalu, Bendipalu.
SAPANGADA GENA SARCHANGADA GENA
Could it be at Sapangada, Sarchangada,
SAPANGADA DAETI SARCHANGADA DAETI
Under Sapangada, under Sarchangada.

22) RANIPALU DAETI BENDIPALU DAETI
Under Ranipalu, under Bendipalu,
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali, she is Kapandali.
ICHEK WANGA ITEDE ICHEK NELLA ITEDE
After covering so much of the earth,
WANGA PANATE NELLA PANATE
No earth, no field is found.
NAE LINGE ITALI NAE JANANITALI
My birth became meaningless,
WENDA NAR WAJANE WENDADUR WAJANE
Unnecessarily gave birth to so much people.
ASI AKAD MANGANE ASI GANGAD MANGANE
(She) is thinking deeply,
KAPDA UDI AKADI MANJU UDI AKADI
Thinking with her hand on head.
GENDA UDI AKADI KANI UDI AKADI
Knee down, elbow on knee (She is thinking).

KANDAR MESTE AKADI MUCHI MESTE AKADI
Tears rolling down, water comming out from nose.
23) ASI AKAD MACHAWA ASI GANGAD MACHAWA
(She is) thinking like that,
DAEN SAPANGADA DAETI DAEN SARCHANGADA DAETI
Under Sapangada under Sarchangada.
LEMBU ULER ATI TUKU ULER ATI
Living like white ants and ants under the earth.
ANAJANA KATKANE, UJADJANA KATKANE
Suddenly light come,
BANBIJADA KATKANE BIADIJADA KATKANE
Light fell on earthen pots.
RASIJANA KATKANE BAKARI JANA KATKANE
Light flashed the cattles and calves,
MULUNI JANA KATKANE BATANI JANA KATKANE
It lighted all people living inside.
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali, she is Kapandali
IBA INATI WEDANGA IMBA INATI LANJUWA
It may be the light of sun or moon.
NAI AKAD MANAWA NAI GANGAD MANAWA
She started thinking again deeply,
24) WEDA SILA DAETI LANJU SILA DAETI
There was no Sun, no moon inside,
ANAJANA KATKANE UJAD JANA KATKANE
Again light came and cut the darkness.
WAE AJI TENDALI WAE AJI MRANJALI
Hey, Tendali-Mranjali grandmother
KANGARIA MEBAMU SINADIA MEBAMU
Come to see, to abserve.
TANI TENDALAJI TANI MRANJALAJI
She is Tendali grandmother-Mranjali grandmother,
TENDE TENDE SANE MRANJE MRANJE SANE
Bent she walked with palm on eye brows.
TANU SACHA MERANE TANU PDIA MEKANE
She came out from others and saw,
TANI KANGARINAWA TANI SINADINAWA
When she was pre-occupied in seeing.
KUEN WEDA DENJALI KUEN LANJU DENJALI
Above sun seen, above moon seen,
TANI KANGARINA TANI SINA DINAWA
She saw she observed.

24) WANI RECHA MANJANE PADANI RECHA MANJANE
Heaven (has) came down sky (has) came down,
DEDHI RECHANJANE PATI RECHANJANE
Pole came down beam came down
ARU RECHANJANE DANDA RECHANJANE
Aru came down danda came down,
KANDA RECHANJANE BAENI RECHANJANE
Kanda came down Baeni came down.
KANGARIANGANGA SINADIANANGA
(After) seeing observing,
NERANDALAN WESKANE KAPANDALAN WESKANE
Going to report Nerandali-Kapandali.
TANU TENDALAJI TANU MRANJAL AJI
She is Tendali grand mother, She is Mranjali 'grandmother,
ELEDELA NERANDI ELEDELA KAPANDI
Hello Nerandi, Hello Kapandi.
ARI KUEN WEDA ARI KUEN LANJU
In the above, Sun and moon (are present),
NI SANI NECHU NI PDENI NECHU
At the time when you will come out.
24) BAKARAJANJIA PIDA DAJANJIA
(Should) come out remembering everything,
WANI RECHANJANE PADANI RECHANJANE
Heaven came down Sky came down
ARU RECHANJANE DANDA RECHANJANE
Aru came down Danda came down,
TIDE DEDHI AISI SAKRA DEDHI AISI
Tila pole carrying Sakra pole.
PUNDEN DEDHI AISI PUNDEN PATI AISI
Carrying pundeni pole Punderibeam,
WANI KIRI LESISI PADANI KIRI LESISI
Pushing the heaven and sky up
DEDHI UDI SAMU PATI UDI SAMU
Carrying Dedhi and pati,
WANI LESI SAMU PADANI LESI SAMU
To push the heaven and sky up.
ASIK WESPINGANE ASIK GRAPINGANE
(Ordering) all people to come out,
TANU TENDALAJI TANU MRANJALAJI
She is Tendali grand mother - Mranjali grandmother.
25) NERANDALANI WESKANE KAPANDALIN WESKANE
Going to report Nerandali-Kapandali.

TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali she is Kapandali.
ASI BESNIGAI ASI GRAPNI GAI
Telling like that,
ATE AKAD MANGANE ATE GANGAD MANGANE
Thinking again deeply.
INA ITENJEI INA DUNGENJAI
What I shall carry,
ASI EDU MANGANE ASI BUDHI MANGANE
For that thinking and looking for (things).
ETE SAPA GAISI DUNGE SAPA GAISI
To carry children in creadle,
BICHA DAPINGANE JARA DAPINGANE
Searching for seeds.
RASIVIRA TAKANE BAKARVIRA TAKANE
To carry soil from cattle sheds,
BARA BICHA GAI BARA JARA GAI
For all types of seeds.
26) KADI GRIHUN KARU GRIHUN TAKANE
To take cattles and buffalloes
PAJI DUDI TAKANE ADA DUDI TAKANE
To carry pigs and goats soil.
KALI SALER TAKANE DARU SALER TAKANE
Block soil to get, red soil to get,
KUMDA VIRA TAKANE MUNDRA VIRA TAKANE
Pumpkin soil to get cucumber soil to get.
JANA TAD TAKANE MINU TAD TAKANE
Crab soil to get fish soil to get,
TARATAD TAKANE MINU TAD TAKANE
Red ant soil to get black ant soil to get.
GARLI VIRA TAKANE SITKA VIRA TAKANE
Fertile soil to get clay soil to get,
ARI TAD TAKANE PAKE TAD TAKANE
Mouse soil to get small mouse soil to get.
BARA BICHAGAI BARA JARA GAISI
All type of seeds for,
ETENJE INJI DUNGENJA INJI
(I shall come out) Carruing (soil and seeds) in cradle.
27) BARA BICHA TAKANE BARA JARA TAKANE
All types of seeds to get
TANI DANGANI ELUTA TANI DANGANI KUDETA
Sweeping / euptying her house / hut

RUNDA BIENGANE GUTA BIENGANE
Getting things altogether
RUNDA BIANANGA GUTA BIANANGA
Gathering all things
BICHA PAKATANE JARA PAKATENA
Finding all the seeds,
TANI BARA BICHA TANI BARA JARA
Her seeds of all types.
ETENJE SAPINGANE DUNGE SAPINGANE
Carrying them on waste coming out
TIBE DEDHI AISI SAKRA DEDHI AISI
Tila plants Sakra plants
TDASU DEDHI AISI KATADI DEDHI AISI
Carrying poles of Tdasu and kataditree
PUNDEN DEDHI AISI PUNDEN PATI AISI
Carrying Pundeni pole and beam.
28) KUEN WANGA KUETI KUEN NELLA KUETI
Above the earth above,
WANI KIRI LESISI PADANI KIRI LESISI
To push the heaven up, to push the sky up
DEYE WANI NACHISI TINITANA NACHISI
One hand pressing the earth, the other hand pushing the heaven,
DEDHI LESPINGANE PATI LESPINGANE
Pushing up with Dedhi and pati
WANI DALAM LESISI PADANI DALAM LESISI
Pushing the heaven up, pushing the sky up
WANI PATA IJISI PADANI PATA IJISI
Pushed the heaven and sky completely
KUEN WANGA KUETI, KUEN NELLA KUETI
Came up to the earth above,
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali, she is Kapandali
ATE TIBAMANJANE ATE DAI MANJANE
Giving oath again,
ALA TILA DEDHI ALA SAKRA DEDHI
Hey Tila dedhi, hey sakra dedhi
29) NAI SANIJAI NAI PDINIJAI
Till I come out,
SUKU DIASA GUNI DIASA
Don't allow insects to eat you.
ALA PUNDEN DEDHI ALA PUNDEN PATI
Hey punden dedhi, Punden Pati

NAI TIBA TODUTA NAI BAI TODUTA
Act according to my oath
SATA DINA JAI SATA BARA JAI
Till seven days,
DEDHI GDUJALAYA PATI GDUJALAYA
Never break down, oh dedi and pati
GANEK SAISA GANEK PDIESAA
Till we all come out,
DEDHI UTINANJA PATI UTINANJA
Till the blacksmith comes out
LINGANA AJANENJE JANANA AJANENJE
Male folks have also taken birth
SUKU DIASA GUNA DIASA
Don't allow insects to eat you

30) ASI TIBAJNE ASI DAINE
Giving them the oath,
IIBA IANANGA DAI IANANGA
(She) made them to take oath.
SACHANJIE MANA PDIANJIE MANA
People (female folks) coming out,
NERANDALAN TODUTA KAPANDALAN TODUTA
Following Nerandali-Kapandali
KUEN WANGA KUETI KUEN NELLA KUETI
On the earth above,
PALUPURI SAKANE DATAPURI SAKANE
Big tooth women coming out
KANU TERI SAKANE MUKU TERI SAKANE
Sqint eyed women coming out
TALA DARENG SAKANE BANA DARENG SAKANE
Long haired women coming out
TALAKAMBI SAKANE BANAKAMBI SAKANE
White long haired woman coming out
TENDAL AJI SAKANE MRANJALAJI SAKANE
Bent waist woman coming out.

31) KUKUD= AJI SAKANE BUMBUDAJI SAKANE
Ash polished woman coming out,
SENGELAJI SAKANE BRABELAJI SAKANE
Woman with walking stick came out
GACHI GANA TA BINA GANA TA
People of all types mixing
ATPA BICHALEGA ATPA JARA LEGA
Like mixture of many seeds.

KUEN WANGA KUETI KUEN NELLA KUETI
On the earth above
WANGA RETINANGA NELLA RETINANGA
The earth was filled in
SARAD JAPINGANA BARAD JAPINGANA
Coming out one after another in a line
KUEN SAPANGADATA KUEN SARCHANGADATA
Above Sapangada above Sarchangada
KUEN RANIPALU KUEN BENDIPALU
Above Ranipalu above Bendipalu
DEYERADU SAKANE TEJENADU SAKANE
Wizard women came out

32) KUTAKADU SAKANE LAMBIKADU SAKANE
Priest women came out,
JANI ADU SAKANE SISADU SAKANE
Priest women came out.
GURU ABA SAKANE SISA ABA SAKANE
Potter women came out,
KUEN SAPANGADA KUEN SARCHANGADA
On the Sapangada-Sarchangada.
KUEN USARENA KUEN BEARENA
Came out at a plain area,
DIA CHELAR SAKANE DUDI TRELADU SAKANE
Beautiful girls came out.
SANAMUDADU SAKANE BAXIMUDADU SAKANE
Finger ring wearing girls came out,
LAMURABA SAKANE BINJARABA SAKANE
Blacksmith woman came out.
DEDHI MULENGI SAKANE PATI MULENGI SAKANE
Dedhi and Pati making people came out,
KANDRABA SAKANE AARPU ABA SAKANE
Bamboo slishing women come out.

33) LENGURABA SAKANE PAKARABA SAKANE
Bamboo mat weaving women came out
TITI KUMBAR SAKANE MATI KUMBAR SAKANE
Earthen pot making woman came out
GACHIGANATA BINAGANATA
Of many castes, many types
KUKUDAJI SAKANE BUMBUDAJI SAKANE
Ash polished women dirty women came out
ENGURI ABA SAKANE SEKURI ABA SAKANE
Winnow carrying women came out,

MUTINDALI SAKANE GRALINDALI SAKANE
Women carrying seeds in fist came out
EJANDALI SAKANE MANANDALI SAKANE
Counting woman measuring woman came out
RANGANAJI SAKANE PAWERAJI SAKANE
Earth leveling woman come out
MUTI BARAD IGNALI GRALN BARAD IGNALI
Came to sow seeds
KUDA GANA TA PARJAGANATA
To sow mixing all seeds together.

34) KUEN SAPANGADATA KUEN SARCHANGADATA
Above Sapangada - above Sarchangada,
GACHI GANATA BINA GANA TA
Of many castes many types.
SARENITALI SAKANE BANJURI TAZI SAKANE
Sareni mother came out,
KATIMAI SAKANE KABADMAI SAKANE
Measuring women came out.
UDANDALI SAKANE TADANDALI SAKANE
Earth digging woman came out,
NANAMAI SAKANE KABAMAI SAKANE
Singing women came out.
EKKA GANDADU SAKANE KA GANDADU SAKANE
Oriya girls came out,
DAMU MILA SAKANE GASI MILA SAKANE
Domo children Gasi children came out
HADI MILA SAKANE CHANDAL MILA SAKANE
Hadi children, Chandal children came out,
GASI MILA SAKANE DUBA MILA SAKANE
Gasi children, washer man's children came out.

35) IRIBATI ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE
Now it's not ok it's not fit
BARA SAPAN BIHATE BARA PDIBAN BIHATE
Coming out to earth finished
NERANGSAPA BIHATE KAPAN SAPA BIHATE
Women folks coming out finished
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali she is Kapandali
EJAIA MEKANE GANAIA MEKANE
To count the number of people
TANI KANGARINA TANI SINADINAWA
She saw she observed

TANI EJAINAWA TANI GANA INAWA
Thinking to start counting
WARI ACHAL DENJALI WARI KUEL DENJALI
Every where only women and women seen
IRIBA ADATE IRIBA RANJATE
It is not ok, not fit
WARI ACHAL AJATE WARI KUEL AJATE
Only women have came out
36) IRAD DINA ADE IRAD KASA ADE
How the world can be made
WARI NERANDI ADEYE WARI KAPANDI ADEYE
Only of Nerandali, Kapandali
LINGAMANA SAAPA JANANI MANE SAAPA
Still are to take birth
NA WANGA DINAWA NA NELLA DINAWA
Who will roam about earth and fields
NA DARNI DINAWA NA JAKERI DINAWA
Who will roam about Darni Jakeri
INALI DAKENJIATE INALI ITKENJIANE
Who will organise worship
NA WISANG DINAWA NA KANING DINAWA

NA ANA SISNABA NA GATI SISNABA
Who will roam around Ana and Gati
INAL ANA WANGINE INAL GATI WANGINE
Who will climb hills
INAL KERI DINE INAL DANDA DINE
Who will make Keri and Danda
37) INAL PUKI ANASANE INAL KRIYA ANA SANE
Who will collect honey
INAL MAJU ANA DINEYE, BRAHA ANA DINEYE
Who will kill Sambar and wild boar
IRIBA ADATE IRIBA RANJATE
It is not ok not fit
NA PAREN DINAWA NA SAWDEN BANAWA
Who will talk to in-laws
INAL KADEL SIANE INAL TATI SIANE
Who will give cots, beds
NA RAJI BANAWA NA PENU BANAWA
Who will be the king who will be the god
INAL JARIANE INAL PARI ANE
Who will salute, who will welcome

SAPANDI NANE SAAPA PDIWANDI NANE SAAPA
Are to take birth
BETAMANGER SANENJE PRAMBUMANGER SANENJE
Betamanger came out Prambumanger came out
ANAMANGER SANENJE. GATIMANGER SANENJE
Anamanger came out, Gatimanger came out
38) KANDANGURAD SANENJE NIPINGURAD SANENJE
Kandangurad came out Nipingurad came out
NERANDALAN TODUTA KAPANDALAN TODUTA
Following Nerandali, following Kapandali
PUSARANI BATARANI TODUTA
Following Pusarani - Batarani
JENDENG SAPINERE KADENG SAPINERE
Elders and youngers coming out
PALUPURI SANENJE DATAPURI SANENJE
Big tooth men came out
TALADARE SANENJE BANADARE SANENJE
Long haired men came out
KANUTERI MUKUTERI SANENJE
Small eyed, squint eyed men came out
SAPIMANERE PDIEMANERE
Took birth, came out
NERANDALI KAPANDALI TODUTI
Following Nerandali -Kapandali
BASING PIRADA PAING PIRADA SANENJE
Flute carrying men came out
39) KUTANAIK LAMBINAIK SANENJE
Kutaka people came out
PEJER NAIK DEYER NAIK SANENJE
Wizard men came out
DIA TRELU DUDI TRELU SANENJE
Male folks came out
ISPA JAGEI KA AJAGEL SANENJE
Work men came out
SARA SAMBU SANENJE SARA BASA SANENJE
Sara sambhu sara basa came out
ITIR KANGO SANENJE ITIR DANA SANENJE
Came out from here, from this place
MNIA MERU SANENJE MNIA GATI SANENJE
Mnia meru, Mnia gati came out
TODU PAERA SANENJE TODU KAERA SANENJE
Todu paera-Tadu kaera came out

TODU PUNGERA TODU SATARA SANENJE
Todu pungera Todu satara came out
TAKA PUJU SANENJE ATAR NAKA SANENJE
Taka puju and Atar Naka came out
PAJI BANDI SANENJE ARGAD MAJHI SANENJE
Paji bandi and Argad Majhi came out

40) SUIDEDHI SANENJE DAPADEDHI SANENJE
Suidedhi and Dapadedhi came out
ERAN PINATE ERAN DASATE SANENJE
One after another
KUEN WANGA KUETI KUEN NELLA KUETI
Came out above the earth
WANGARETE SANENJE NELLARETE SANENJE
Filled in every where
WISANGURADA SANENJE, SUNGIBUTNI SANENJE
Long shaft axe carrying men, short shaft axe carrying men come out
MARA GUNDA SANENJE BADALMAJHI SANENJE
Mara gunda came out Badal Majhi come out .
WIKAPENDI SANENJE BANJAN MAJHI SANENJE
Straw carrying men came out
WEDA DARA SANENJE LANJU DARA SANENJE
Sundoor came out Moon door came out
GACHIGANA TARA BINAGANA TARA
Of many lineages, many types
ATPA BICHALEGA ATPAJARA LEGA
Like mixture of many seeds

41) LEMBURASI LEGA TUKURASI LEGA
Like ants and white ants
KULUNJAPINERE BUSUNJAPI NERE
Like adhering to each other
SANAMUDEN SANENJE BAKIMUDEN SANENJE
Finger ring wearing men came out
PANGALIAN SANENJE RODALIAN SANENJE
Tatooing men came out
NANDARULIENJA SANENJE TIMALIENJA SANENJE
Nandruka lineage people and timaka lineage people came out
SANDERI LIENJA SANENJE BASERI LIENJA SANENJE
People of Sanderi lineage. Baseri lineage came out
URLA LIENJA SANENJE SIEDI LIENJA SANENJE
Urla lineage siedi lineage came out

LAURWADI SANENJE BINJARWADI SANENJE
Blacksmith came out
DEDHIMULEN PATIMULENI SANENJE
Dedhi - pati making people came out
KANDRAWADI WARPUWADI SANENJE
Bamboo mat makers came out

42) AWAN SANI BEKATI AWAN PDINI BEKATI
After birth of all these
ATE SAPINERE ATE PDIENERE
Again coming out
TITI KUMBAR SANENJE MATI KUMBAR SANENJE
Potter people came out
KUMRALAKU SANENJE KUMRADUDU SANENJE
BIg earthen pot making men came out
EKKAGANDENJA SANENJE KAA GANDEJA SANENJE
Oriya speaking people came out
KIRA GANDENJA SANENJE KIRA PAKINJA SANENJE
Oriya people came out
HADIMILA SANENJE CHANDAL MILA SANENJE
Hadi children - chandal children came out
SETHIMILA SANENJE SANIMILA SANENJE
Sethi (pano) children - Pano children came out
SALA SETHI SANENJE GOPLA SETHI SANENJE
Sala sethi and Gopla sethi came out
AWANI SANI DEASI AWANI PDINI DEASI
One after another coming out

43) SABIMALA SANENJE BUTUDKU MILA SANENJE
Sahib children coming out
GURASAIBI SANENJE BATLISAIBI SANENJE
Gora sahib came out, collector sahib came out
BARA SAPA BIHATE BARA PDIBA BIHATE
The emerging out finished
IRIBATI ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE
It is not ok, not fit
SAPANBATI BIHATE PDIO BATI BIHATE
Taking birth, coming out finished
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali she is Kapandali
SAPANGADA WANGA SARCHANGADA WANGADTA
at Sapangada earth Sarchangada earth
KANGARIA MEKANE SINADIA MEKANE
To see, to observe

TANI KANGARINA TANI SINADINAWA
She is seeing, she is observing
SAPANGADA WANGA SARCHANGADA WANGADTA
Sapangada earth, Sarchangada earth
44) MULU SACHANJANE DATA SACHANJANE
People have came out
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali she is Kapandali
ADE ADE BETAKA ADE ADE PRAMBUKA
Hey Betaka, hey Prambuka
ISI AKAD MANJINA ISI GANGAD MANJINA
Why are you sitting thoughtful
ISI GUMA MANJINA ISI SEDA MANJINA
Why your pale, unhappy face
MEMU PIJU TEKTANE MEMU BIDI TEKTANE
Rain coming , storm coming
DENDRU REPINJANEDE KUDU REPINJANEDE
Rain is approaching
JA ANASA GASMU JA ATUNGA GASMU
(Go and) make houses for people
JA ELU KEPAMU JA KANDA KEPAMU
Go, make houses
GANDIGASANJIMU GUAD GASANJIMU
Make houses for cattles, goats
45) ASI BESPINJANE ASI GRAPINJANE
Said like that, instructed
ASI WESNIGAI ASI GRAPNI GAI
Telling like that
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera
SAPANGADA WANGA SARCHANGADA WANGAOJA
At Sapangada earth, sarchangada earth
RANIPALU WANGAOTA BENDIPALU WANGAOTA
At Ranipalu earth, Bendipalu earth
GANDIGASPINENJE GAHADI GASPINENJE
Constructing houses
ELU KEPINENGE KANDA KEPINENGE
Constructed house for his own
ELU KEPENENJA KANDA KEPENENJA
To stay in house
ELU BATI ADATE KANDABATI ADATE
House making is ok

IRIBATI ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE
It is not ok, not fit
46) TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali, she is Kapandali
SAPANGADA WANGA SARCHANGADA WANGAOTA
At sapangada earth, Sarchangada earth
EJU MIKAINJI KUDU MAKAINJI
To take waterbath
TEDI GURA AISI RENIGURA AISI
Took earthen pot (pitcher) on her waist
TANU SAJINENJE TANU REPINENJE
She went
EJU MIKAGAI KUDU MIKAGAI
To take waterbath
MERA PANDA ACHISI SRINGAPANDA ACHISI
Taking turmeric paste
INE VIRA ACHISI GADI VIRA ACHISI
Hair cleaning soil
TANU SAJINE TANU REPINE
She went
TANI EJU MUNDITA TANI KUDUMUNDITA
To her small water pool
47) EJU MIENGANE KUDU MIENGANE
Taking water bath
EJU MIANANGA KUDU MIANANGA
Continuing water bathing
KINE MUCHINE GADI MUCHINE
Polishing hair cleaning soil on head
KINE MUCHENANGA GADI MUCHENANGA
After polishing soil at hair
MERA MIENE, SRINGA MIENE
Polished turmeric paste on body
MERA MIANANGA SRINGA MIANANGA
After polishing turmeric paste
EJU MIANANGA KUDU MIANANGA
Bathing in water
EJU TAPIMANE KUDU TAPIMANE
Filling water (in pitcher)
EJU TACHANANGA KUDU TACHANANGA
Came with water
TANU BIDIWAJIMANE PAGA WAJIMANE
She is cooking rice

48) BIDI BAJENANGA PAGA BAJENANGA
Cooking rice finished
BIDI BIHANGAI PAGA BIHANGAI
Rice preparation finished
JAU WAJIMANGANA JAKAN WAJI MANGAN
Started cooking curry / dal
JAU BENIGAI JAkan BENIGAI
For cooking curry
TANU BARANDALI TANU PAGANDALI
She is the distributing woman
BARI IMANGANE PAGA IMANGANE
Going to distribute
BARI IANANGA PAGA IANANGA
Finished distributing
ALIN ARPINE NAJANI ARPINE
Called (her) brother-in-laws
TINJA WIHAINJI GOANJINAINJI
To eat, to have food
SERUNAI ARNE PATLENAI ARNE
Called to brother-in-law and father-in-law

49) TAU TINJINA TAU GAPINA
They are eating, drinking
TINJA MUCHANANGA GAPA MUCHANANGA
(they) Finished eating
MILENAI ANIGA LAANGA ANIGAI
Towards the end of the day
TANU KADEL GASPINE TANU TATI GASPINE
She is making a cot
DACHANJIO GAI KURENJIO GAI
To sleep on it
IDANGIO GAI SUSUNGIBA GAI
For sound sleep
TAU IDAMANGANA TAU SUSUMANGANA
They all have gone asleep
TAMI IDANGA MANAWA TAMI SUSUNG MANAWA
When all were deep asleep
RA KAJU GNEPATA RA MELU GNAPATA
By the time the cock called
RA MILA IDATA RA DALI IDATA
By the time kids were asleep

50) RA TUDE KENA RA NEKE RENA
In the mid night

LINGANAINJANE JANANAINJANE
Taking birth, getting covered
TANE EJUMUNDI TANI KUDU MUNDITA
At her small water pool
SIKDIBANDHA AJANE KADA BANDHA AJANE
Chained bundles coming up
MANI LINGA MANJANA DAMBILINGA MANJAN
Bamboo took birth
MERA PALA DITALI SRINGA PALA DITALI
Coarse turmeric pieces had fallen there
TALA PUJU DITALI BANA PUJU DITALI
Long hairs had fallen there
RA TUDEKENA RA NEKERENA
In the mid night
KAMA LEGA AJANE TUTU LEGA AJANE
Like sounds of horn pipes, blow pipes
SAWANDI LEGA, NAWANDI LEGA AJANE
As if a death cry
11) REDA LEGA AJANE JUGALEGA AJANE
Like tiger's roar, like beast's howl
TANI IDANGA MANAWA TANI SUSUNGA MANAWA
When she was deep asleep
DRE DRE INJANE GEDRE GEDRE INJANE
Bamboos clinging together, Dre, Gedre sound heard
HATI LEGA AJANE GADA LEGA AJANE
Like elephant's voice, horse's voice
TANU IDANGNALI MANJANA SUSUNGNALI MANJAN
Her sleep broke down
IDANG NANDINAWA SUSUNG NANDINAWA
By the time she woke up
SAWANDI LEGA AJANE, NAWANDI LEGA AJANE
Like death cry heard
WANGA GENA DOALI NELLA GENA DOALI
Thought something inausipicious going on the earth
DARNI GENA DOALI JAKERGENA DOALI
Whether the earth is good or bad
SAPAN GENA ADATE PDIBANG GENA ADATE
(Perhaps) Taking birth here was not good
12) EREK SAWAND AJATE EREK NAWAND AJATE
Why such sounds came
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali, she is Kapandali

WAE AJI TENDALI WAE AJI MRANJALI
Calling for Tendali and Mranjali mgrand mothers
BAMU KANGARI BAMU BAMU SINADIBAMU
Come to see, come to observe
SANI LEGA AJANE NANI LEGA AJANE
From where death cries coming
REDA LEGA AJANE JUGA LEGA AJANE
Like tiger's roar, beast's cry
ASI ARPI MANGANE ASI KELPI MANGANE
Telling like that
ASI ARGANGAI ASI KERGAN GAI
To come (and) see, observe
TANU TENDEL AJI TANU MRANJEL AJI
She is Tendel aji, Mranjel aji
TENDE TENDE MEKANE MRANJE MRANJE MEKANE
Bent bent seeing
53) TANI KANGARINAWA TANI SINADINAWA
She saw , she observed
TANI EJU MUNDITA TANI KUDU MUNDITA
At her small water pool
DRE NIJANJANE GEDRE NIJANJANE
Upright bamboos sound dre-gedre
SIKDI BANDHA AJANE KADABANDHA AJANE
Chained bundles coming up
MANIBANDHA AJANE DRAMBIBANDHA AJANE
Bamboos coming up
TANI TENDELAJI TANI MRANJELAJI
She is Tendel aji, Mranjel aji
ATE NERANDALANI WESKANE KAPANDALIN WESKANE
Going again to report Nerandali
ELEDELA NERANDI ELEDELA KAPANDI
Hey Nerandi listen
NI EJU MUNDITA NI KUDU MUNDITA
In your small water pool
LINGANAINJANE JANANAINJANE
Taking birth, getting covered
54) WANGAMETE DASA NELLA METE DASA
Don't hate the earth, the fields
WANGA DOALINAWA NELLA DOALINAWA
Not the earth is bad, not fields are bad
NI EJU MITALI NI KUDU MITALI
In your waterbathing place

MERA PANDA DITALI SINGAPANDA DITALI
Turmeric had fallen
TALA PUJU DITALI BANAPUJU DITALI
Hairs had fallen
SIKDIBANDHA AJATE KADA BANDHA AJATE
Chained bundles came up (from that)
ARA ACHAKINJINA ARA DURINJINA
Do you fear
ELEDELA TENDALI ELEDELA MRANJALI
Again telling to Tendali Mranjali
BAE LINGANITE BAE JANANITE
Unnecessarily has taken birth
WANGA NADE SIASA NELLA NADE SIASA
Don't give it earth or field
55) SAPANGADA PENU SARCHANGADA PENU
Sapangada deity, Sarchangada deity
GANDA SAELAEGE BAENI SAELAEGE
Can't tolerate it's bad smell
BAE LINGANITE BAE JANANITE
Unnecessarily has taken birth
WANGA PREJASA NELLA PREJASAA
No earth will be available (if it stays here)
ALA SIKDIBANDHA ALA KADABANDHA
Hey chained bundles, coiled bundles
IMBA ADA MUA IMBA RANJAMUA
(you) can't stay here
NA PARENBANI NECHU SAMANDBANI NECHU
When relatives will come, in-laws will come
PARENI KATA BENENE SAMDANI KATA BENENE
Relatives', in-laws words can't be heard
DRE DRE INJANDI GEDRE INJANDI
Sounding dre dre - gedre - gedre
NA TIKI DINAWA NA BANDI DINAWA
Meriah festival can't be organised
56) TIKIKATA BENENE BANDIKATA BENENE
No body can hear about Meriah
BABI BANI NECHU TURKUBANI NECHU
When Sahib people will come
SABIKATA BENENE TUDKUKATA BENENE
Sahib's words can't be heard
SAWANDANI NECHU NAWANDANI NECHU
When people dies

SAWANDI KATA BENENE, NAWANDI KATA BENENE
Talks about deads can't be heard
IMBA ADAMUA IMBA RANJAMUA
Here you can't stay
SAPANGADA PENU SARCHANGADA PENU
Sapangada deity, Sarchangada deity
GANDA SAE LAEKE BAENI SAE LAEKE
Bad smell, hard sounds can't tolerate
IMBA ADA MUADE IMBA RANJA MUADE
Here you can't stay
PINGA PINGA SARANDI MURKA MURKA SARANDI
Smelling like stool and urine

57) KESA KESAD SARANDI MARA MARAD SARANDI
Smelling like rotten mouse
NANEK ADAMUA NANEK RANJAMUA
You can't stay with me
BAE LINGANATI BAE JANANATI
Unnecessarily (you've) taken birth
NANEK LINGANATI NANEK JANANATI
Took birth with me
SORU REJASA GADA PREJASA
No hill, hole will be given to you
DINA PREJA SA KASA PREJA SA
No world is for you
SAPANGADA PENU SARCHANGADA PENU
Sapangada deity, Sarchangada deity
RANIPALU PENU BENDIPALU PENU
Ranipalu deity, Bendipalu deity
SIRU DEPKINGANE DALU DEPKINGANE
Uprooted and threw
IMBA ADAMUA IMBA RANJAMUA
Here you can't stay

58) NANEK ADAA NANEK RANJAA
No place for you with me
ELA MANIBUNJA ELA DAMBI BUNJA
Hey Bamboo bush
SAENDI DINA GUAMU SAENDI KASA GUAMU
Go away to low lands, low countries
GUAMU MANI GUAMU DAMBI
Go out Bamboo
KANAGANA GUAMU MUJUGANA GUAMU
Get (yourself) here and there

SAE PUJUMARA MESA ERPIMARA MESA
Stay with Mahul trees
ALIGASI MANGAMU TANEGASI MANGAMU
Stay together, friendly
BANDAGASI MANGAMU DRAHAGASI MANGAMU
Stay as bushes
WARI KENANGAKAMU WARI ATANGAKAMU
Stay there with your branches
SAER PUNEL DANARI NELLA GUAMU
Go out to Punel Nella

59) SAREKA RAPELI GUAMU GANJU RAPELI GUAMU
To guard charu and Bhalia trees
BITIRIENI GUAMU BANARIENI GUAMU
Go out to Bitirieni, Bananieni fields
NARINGNELLA GUAMU DERINGNELLA GUAMU
Go out to Naringnella - Deringnella
GUAMU MANI GUAMU DAMBI
Go out bamboo, so
SIKDI BANDHA AKAMU KADABANDHA AKAMU
Stay with your bushes
PAJI BDESU AKAMU PADA BDESU AKAMU
Stay with small bamboos and large bamboos
PIDELIBANDHA AKAMU JADELIBANDHA AKAMU
Stay with bow making bamboos
PUJUGUDA GUAMU ERPIGADA GUAMU
Go out to Pujugada-Erpigada
SREKAMARA MESA GANJUMARA MESA
To stay with chara tree, Bhalia tree
ALIGASI MANGAMU TANEGASI MANGAMU
Stay together

60) NANEK ADAMUA NANEK RANJAMUA
you can't stay with me anymore
ATUGADA GUAMU BDINJAGADA GUAMU
Go out to Aluguda, Bdinjagada
KEJELGADA GUAMU RACHEL GADA GUAMU
Go out to Kejelgada - Rachelgada
NEJUI GADA GUAMU PALURGADA GUAMU
Go out to Nejur gada, Palurgada
ATUBATA GUAMU BDINJABATA GUAMU
Go out to Atubata, Bdinjabata
SAENDI DINA GUAMU SAENDI KASA GUAMU
Go out to low lands

WANGA RETE GUAMU NELLATETE GUAMU
Get distributed over all the earth, fields
SAE KIRAKELI GUAMU SAE BALEKELU GUAMU
Go there to Kirakeli and Balekalu
ASNAGADA GUAMU PARANGADA GUAMU
Go out to Asangada, Parangada
KASIGADA GUAMU KARANIGADA GUAMU
Go out to Kasigada, Karanigada
61) WANGA RISIDA GUAMU NELLA RISIDA GUAMU
Go out to wanga risida, Nella risida
VALI GADA GUAMU TULA GADA GUAMU
Go out to Valigada - Tulagada
KANAGENA SALMU MUJUGENA SALMU
Go out to anywhere
ATE BENDEK SALMU ATE JUNEK SALMU
Go back again
VANIPATNA GUAMU SENAPATNA GUAMU
Go out to Vanipatna (Bhavanipatna), Senapatna
ASANGSORU GUAMU PARANGSORU GUAMU
Go out to Asangsoru, Parangsoru
RENGANI SORU GUAMU RENGANI GATI GUAMU
Go out to Rengani hill, Rengani ghats
NANGEL WADI GUAMU JUADIWADI GUAMU
Go out to Nangee wadi, Juadiwadi
NANEK ADAMUA NANEK RANJAMUA
(You) Can't stay with me
KANAGANA GUAMU MUJUGANA GUAMU
Go out to four corners
62) DAIKAL GUAMU MUNGADA GUAMU
Go out to Daikal - Muniguda
WANGA SIRCHUDI GUAMU NELLA SIRCHUDI GUAMU
Go out to Wango Sirchudi - Nella sirchudi
TATIKANA GUAMU KASALADI GUAMU
Go out to Tatikana - kasaladi
RAMANIGUDA GUAMU BAMANIGUDA GUAMU
Go out to Ramaniguda - Bamaniguda
ATE BENDEK GUAMU ATE JUNEK GUAMU
Go back again
WEDA DUERI GUAMU LANJUDUERI GUAMU
Go out to sun door - Moon door
SARUKUDA GUAMU NUNUKADA GUAMU
Go out to Sarukuda - Nunukuda

EJUKUMBELI GUAMU KUDUKUMBELI GUAMU
Go out to Eju kumbeli - Kudakumbeli
MINUMRENGI GUAMU JANAMRENGI GUAMU
Go out to fish house, crab house
WARISERANGAKAM WARI ATANGAKAM
63) ATE BENDEK SALMU ATE JUNEK SALMU
Go back again
KARENAGADA SALMU BAKERIGADA SALMU
Go out to Karenagada - Bakerigada
KEJARAPELI SALMU JENARAPELI SALMU
Go out to Kejarapeli - Senarapeli
ASA BRUMBUR SALMU PARA BRUMBUR SALMU
Go out to Asa brumbur - Parabrumbur
KASI KDANDA SALMU KAREN KDANDA SALMU
Go out to Kasi Kdanda Karen Kdanda
IRIBATI ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE
(still) it's not ok not fit
SIRUBATI BDAKTEYE DALUBATI BDAKTEYE
rooted it out completely
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali, she is Kapandali
ATE UHINGANE ATE MACHINGANE
Again transplanting
NEHI GABA MEHISI NEHI DANI DANI MEHISI
In fertile lands
64) BASA KADA MEHISI KUNAKADA MEHISI
Transplanting in tuber holes
USEJIENGANE MATEJIENGANE
Broadcasting transplanting
SAE KANDABADA SAE BAKABADA
There in Kandabada - Bakabada
KANDABADA GABATA BAKABADA GABATA
In moist plain lands at Kandabada Bakabada
USE JIENGANE MATE JIENGANE
Broadcasting, transplanting
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali she is Kapandali
TUTE LI ENE BANGE LI ENE
Warning, cautioning
ALA KANDABADA ALA BAKABADA
Hey kandabada hey Bakabada

PDIUDUPASIA PARADUPASIA
Don't allow insects to eat it
KIRA KADISIA BALE KADISIA
Don't allow birds to eat it
65) KANJA DEPKISIA MUSU DEPKISIA
Don't allow monkeys to touch it
DARUPANGINBALI PADA PANGINBALI
Keep the name of Bamboo
JENDA LAJANBALI KADA LAJANBALI
Keep it thick and bushy
LIWI NIJANBALI BAKA NIJANBALI
Keep it tall
ETEDE MANMU DUNGEDE MANMU
Keep it in your cradles
NA SANANJA WANENJE NA PDINANJA WANENJE
More people are to come out, they will come
BAE MANISIA BAE DAMBISIA
Don't give them unnecessarily without offerings and worship
PARA KANDINMU GUNDA KANDINMU
Demand them rice flour
SANDA KANDINMU DANA KANDINMU
Demand them offerings
PALU TASPINU DATA TASPINU
Rubbing teeth with anger
66) NACHE PEINMU TOE PEINMU
Drive them out , push them out
NI ETA BAKA DUNGA BAKA
Your share
NINGE PARABANE NINGE GUNDABANE
(They) ought to give you rice
NI ETA BAKA DUNGE BAKA
For your share of Bamboo
NINGE SANDABANE NINGE DANABANE
They will have to give you rice
ASI TUTELINA ASI BANGELINA
She (Made kandabada) to promise
TUTE LIANANGA BANGE LIANANGA
Promising again
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali, She is Kapandali
ATE EDU MANGANE ATE BUDHI MANGANE
Thinking again deeply

ATE UHINGANE ATE MACHINGANE
Again transplanting
67) MIO UDURGAI MIO PENARGAI
In the name of Udurengad - Penarengad
MIO RAKEGAI MIO GURPAGAI
For her Rake - Gurpa
MIO DIAGAI MIO PURBUGAI
For her Dia - Purbu
NA SANANGAI NA PDINAN GAI
For other people (who are) to take birth
KENA SIRIGAI MAKA SIRIGAI
For stitching leaves
KALI SIRIGAI DANA SIRIGAI
For stitching leaf plates, leaf cups
ATE USE JIENGANE MACHE JIENGANE
Again transplanting
MIO JENDAWEDI MIO SABABEDI
Near Jendawedi - Sabawedi
USE JIANANGA MATE JIANANGA
After transplanting
TANU RANIADU TANU BENDIADU
She is Raniadu she is Bendiadu
68) TANI SAPANGADA TANI SARCHANGADATA
She is Sapangada she is Sarchangada
TANU WANGA BIDINGANE NELLA BIDINGANE
She is roaming around earth
WANGA BIDINEBA NELLA BIDINEBA
When she roamed about
DENE DENE AJANE DENGE DENGE AJANE
Saw everywhere muddy
JABA MERALEGA JABA KETA LEGA
Like muddy lands
TANU BIDIMEKANE TANU PREJEMEKANE
She is inspecting
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali she is Kapandali
SARENI SAJANJILEPA BANJURI SAJANJILEPA
The earth is not levelled
DINA PREJENJILEPA KASA PREJENJILEPA
The world is not levelled
ANANG WANGA SILEPA GATING WANGA SILEPA
Ana and Gati are not levelled

69) INISATISI ADINE INISATISI RANJINE
How to do how it will fit
MANISILA DINATA DAMBISILA DINATA
In the country there was no bamboo
INIS SARENI EE INIS BANJURI EE
How can Sareni be made
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali she is Kapandali
ELEDEDE BETAKA ELEDEDE PRAMBUKA
Why do you think Beta - Prambu
SARENI SAJA SILE BANJURI SAJA SILE
Sareni is not there
INISATISI ADINE INISATISI RANJINE
How to do how it will fit
TANU BETAMANGER TANU PRAMBUMANGER
He is Betamanger he is Prambumanger
ALI ALI NERANDI ALI ALI KAPANDI
Hey Nerandi hey Kapandi
NI KUCHA KARATA NI DALI KARATA
Had you been to get spinach
70) NI KUNDU KARATA NI TERU KARATA
Had you been for mushroom
MANI MUNI MEANJINA DAMBI MEANJINA
Did you come across bamboos
ELEDEDE BETAKA ELEDEDE PRAMBUKA
Why do you think Beta - Prambu
KUCHA KARATBA DALI KARATBA
At time of plucking spinach
TERU KARATBA KUNDU KARATBA
At time of picking up mushrooms
MANI MEA SILENE DAMBI MEA SILENE
No where (we saw) bamboos
SINJEL SILENE BAREL SILENE
Small bamboo large bamboo in plains
ASANATISI NERANDI ASANATISI KAPANDI
You might not have seen Nerandi
SINJEL SIA SILENA BAREL SIA SILENA
Have not seen bamboo
ELEDELA NERANDI ELEDELA KAPANDALI
Why do you think Nerandi - Kapandi
71) NAI RAPAMANDATA NAI KAPAMANDATA
Where I was keeping guard during poaching

ANA DITABENA GATI DITABENA
I'd been to guard Ana and Gati
MANI MEA MACHE DAMBI MEA MACHE
Had seen bamboo there
MIO JENDAWEDI MIO SABABEDI
At Jendabedi Sababedi
ERA MEA MEKANA ERA PARJA MEKA
I shall go there where I saw it
LIKE DIPANJINA LIKE SEKA INJINA
That place is not here
TANU BETAMANGER TANU PRAMBUMANGER
He is Betamanger, he is prambumanger
KAJASAJINENJE MADA SAJINENJE
Going after bamboos
SINJEL MEKAINJI BAREL MEKAINJI
To find bamboo
NO JENDAWEDI MIO SABAWEDI
At Jendabedi - Sababedi

72) TANU SAJINENJE TANU REPINENJE
He went, he is going
JENDAWEDI NENENJE SABAWEDI NENENJE
Reached at Jendawedi Sabawedi
JENDAWEDI MECHA SABAWEDI NECHA
On reaching at Jendawedi Sabawedi
JENDAWEDI PENU SABAWEDI PENU
Jendawedi deity Sababedi deity
INI NATI TATI INI PUTI TATI
(Asked) Whose grandson are you
IMEA KAJA DIANBANDI MADA DIANBANDI
Why are you here
DIJA MESTANBANDI MADA MESTANBANDI
Why you shaded over me
NACHE PEINJANE TOE PEINJANE
Driving him out
JENDAWEDI PENU SABAWEDI PENU
Jendawedi deity Sabawedi deity
ABARE JENDAWEDI ABARE SABAWEDI
Dear Jendawedi dear sabawedi

73) INAK SIRU DATANDI INAK DALU DATANDI
why do you ask about vansa
ALA JENDABEDI ALA SABABEDI
Hey Jendawedi hey Sabawedi

BAE BAJANGJILEPI BAE RECHANJILENE
I am not here unnecessarily
DINA ADATGAI KASA ADATGAI
(For) The country is not made properly
NERAN PANDENJANE KAPAN PANDANJANE
Nerandalı has sent (me)
SATALI PANDANJANE PDITALI PANDENJANE
The person who gave birth has sent (me)
SARENI SAJANJILEYE BANJURI SAJANJILEYE
Sareni has not gone there
EREK BAJAMAI EREK RECHAMAI
For that I have come
ASI BESNIGAI ASI GRAPNIGAI
Telling like that
JENDAWEDI PENU SABAWEDI PENU
Jendawedi deity sabawedi deity

74) ELEDEDE BETAKA ELEDEDE PRAMBUKA
Why do you think Beta - Prambu
IRI SARENI ADEYE IRI BANJURI ADEYE
This will not be useful for Sareni
PUINJIGUTKUNATALI BAI GUTKUNATALI
Tip of bamboo is broken, that can't be ok
GACHI DUANJANE SANI DUANJANE
Orchids have developed on it
RATA MRUGENJANE KANA MRUGENJANE
It has become tip less
IRI LENGU LIGEYE IRI PAKA UGEYE
It can't be sliced
IRAD DINA ADEYE IRAD KASA ADEYE
This can't be useful for the country
ASI NACHE PEINJANE ASI TOE PEINJANE
Saying like that driving out
ELEDEDE BETAKA ELEDEDE PRAMBUKA
Why do you think Beta - Prambu
BAHI ITELNJILEN BAHI RASANJILEN
Unnecessarily I haven't kept it

75) MIO UDURGAI MIO PENARGAI
I've kept it for udurengad, penarengad
ITENJIAMAI RASANJIAMAI
I have kept secured
MIO RAKEGAI MIO GURPAGAI
For Rake for Gurpa

MIO DIAGAI MIO URBUGAI
For your vansa
KALI SIRIGAI DANA SIRIGAI
To stick leaf plates, leaf cups
ANU ITENJIAMAI ANU RASENJIAMA
I have kept secured
IRAMANI SIENE IRA DAMBI SIENE
I will not give this Bamboo
ASI NACHE PEINJANE ASI TOE PEINJANE
Driving him out
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBU MANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera
JENDAWEDI KATA SABAWEDI KATA
From Jendawedi - Sabawedi
76) GUCHEL WAINENJE SANGEL WAINENJE
Returning fast leaving the place
WENDA SAPANGADA WENDA SARCHANGADA
Returning back to Sapangada - Sarchangada
SAPANGADA BAJA SARCHANGADA BAJA
On reaching Sapangada
ELEDELA NERANDI ELEDELA KAPANDI
Why do you think Nerandali
MANIBATI MANEMA DAMBIBATI MANEMA
Bamboo is there
SARENI ADE INJATE BANJURI ADE INJATE
That can't be useful for sareni
LENGU UGE INJATE PAKA UGE INJATE
It can't be made to foils
KENA SERIGAISI MAKA SIRI GAISI
For stiching leaves
ITENJIA NEGE RASENJIA NEGE
He has kept it
INISINA NERANDI INISINA KAPANDI
How to do Nerand
77) INIS SARENINA INIS BANJURINA
How can Sareni be made
ELEDELA NERANDI ELEDELA KAPANDI
Why do you think Nerandi - Kapandi
NANEK LINGANATALI NANEK JANANATALI
(The bamboo) that took birth with me
EMBE DINA SACHE EMBE KASA SACHE
To which country it went

KAJA SAJAMAI MADA SAJAMAI
I will follow it
TAMU KANDANGURAD TAMU NIPINGURAD
Give me my axe
TAMU UTUKBILU TAMU PETEKBILU
Give me my bow, arrow
TAMU GASANGBILU TAMU SEMBINGBILU
Give me my Catapellet
TAMU KICHANGANI TANU RABANGANI
Give me my arrows
TAMU DONIKERI TAMU PANAKERI
Give me my arrow (without iron part)

78) IRI KANDANGURADI IRI NEPINGURADI
This is your axe
TANU SIENE TANU GASPINE
She gave him
UTUKBILU SIENE PETEKBILU SIENE
Gave the bow arrow
TANU BETAMANGER TANU PRAMBUMANGER
He is Betamanger Prambumanger
UTUK BILU AISI PETEKBILU AISI
Carrying the bow, arrows
KICHANGANI AISI RABANGANI AISI
Carrying arrow shafts
KANDANGURAD AISI NIPINGURAD AISI
Carrying axe on shoulder
TAAPUJU KAJA BANA PUJU KAJA
Wounding up his hairs
NANEK LINGANATALI NANEK JANARATALI
Bamboo that took birth with me
EMBE DINA SACHENA EMBE KASA SACHENA
Went to which country

79) KAJA SAJINENJE MADA SAJINENJE
Following him
SAPANGADA KATA SARCHANGADA KATA
From Sapangada from Sarchangada
KATAMUNDA GIRITI BEIMUNDA GIRITI
Crossing katamunda - Beimunda road
SAGER ERA LEIKA LABER ERA LEIKA
Like going for hunting
PUKI ERA LEIKA KRIYA ERA LEIKA
Like going for honey collection

ANA BANGINENJE GATI BANGINENJE
Crossing Ana and Gati
SATI KAMBANATI PDITI KAMBANATI
Crossing large tree forests
RAGAMARA GIRI BICHUMARA GIRITI
Crossing Ragamara - Bichumara route
KAJA SAJINENJE MADA SAJINENJE
Following Bamboo
SITKA MATI GIRITI LATPA MATI GIRITI
Crossing muddy fields
80) PIDEL NELLA GIRITI JADEL NELLA GIRITI
Jumping over a bamboo bush
TEDIPANGA GIRITI KUDEPANGA GIRITI
Crossing Tedipanga - Kudepanga route
DUER WEDI GIRITI ANGURWEDI GIRITI
Crossing Duer wedi Angurwedi route
KAJANG SAJINENJE MADANG SAJINENJE
Following foot prints of former man (who gone through that way)
TALAPUJU KAJA BANAPUJU KAJA
Following the hairs that were fallen
NANEK LINGANATALI NANEK JANANATALI
Bamboo that was born with me
EMBEN DINA SACHINA EMBEN KASA SACHINA
Went to which country
GAMBAR NELLA GIRITI KUJA NELLA GIRITI
On the Gambar Nella route kujanella route
GDISPAVALI GIRITI MATPAVALI GIRITI
On the Gdispavali route Matpavali route
SAPAR NELLA GIRITI PUDENI NELLA GIRITI
On sapernella route Pudeni nella route
81) KANDAVALI GIRITI SAKUSIVALI GIRITI
On kandavali route Sakusivali route
GALABADA GIRITI REKIBADA GIRITI
On galabada route rekibada route
SURAMARU GIRITI ATISANA GIRITI
On Suramaru route atisana route
KADAPANA GIRITI GANIKUDA GIRITI
On Kadapana route Ganikuda route
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBU MANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Parambumangera
ANA BANGINENJE GATI BANGINENJE
Crossing Ana, Gati

SAGER ERA LEGA LAWER ERA LEGA
Like going for bird trapping
SINJEL KAJA SANENJE BAREL KAJA SANENJE
Going for bamboo
TANU JENDA ATANJA TANU KADA ATANJA
He the young man
PRENJA NELLA GIRITI LADKINELLA GIRITI
On prenja nella route Ladkinella route

82) KIUD BANDHA GIRITI KADAD BANDHA GIRITI
On Kiudbandha route Kadad bandha route
SAJEL KUTI GIRITI MEKAD KUTI GIRITI
On Sajel kuti route Mekad kuti route
WISA SABURGIRITI KASI SABUR GIRITI
On wise sabur route Kasi Sabur route
PUSUBADI GIRITI SENDUR BADI GIRITI
On Pusubadi route Sendurbadi route
UTUMUNDA GIRITI PADIMUNDA GIRITI
On Utumunda route Padimunda route
KIDEPANGA GIRITI EKAPADA GIRITI
On Kidepanga route Ekapada route
MANAVALI GIRITI BURKIVALI GIRITI
On Manavali route Burkivali route
BINDEBANDA GIRITI SADEBANDA GIRITI
On Bindebanda route Sadebanda route
TERA JINDANG ATI TERA GADANG ATI
Through Terajindong Tera Gadang
LAKA DARA GIRITI SEMEL DARA GIRITI
On Lakadara route Semul dara route

83) KUPANELLA GIRITI BAKINELLA GIRITI
On Kupanella route Bakinella route
NIGAD NELLA GIRITI TALADI NELLA GIRITI
On Nigadnella route Taladinella route
ANDARVALI GIRITI KADAKVALI GIRITI
On Andarvali route Kadakvali route
GADAVALI GIRITI NAGARAVALI GIRITI
On Gadavali route Nagaravali route
BIRIGUDA GIRITI MASAGUDA GIRITI
OnBiriguda route Masaguda route
PENU EJU GIRITI MAJU EJU GIRITI
On Penu eju route Maju eju route
KANGAJANDI GIRITI BERENGJANDI GIRITI
On Kangajandi route Berengjandi route

DIMBUL BANDAA GIRITI RANIBANDNA GIRITI
On Dimbulbandha route Ranibandha route
TERA DIBUL NENENJA TERA ATAD NENENJE
Reached at Dimbuli hill
LEKE RINDINENJE LUKU RINDIMANENJE
Climbed up to Dimbuli hill

84) MAI BETAMANGERA MAI PRAMBUMENGERA
Our Betamangera our Prambumangera
ERKI TAKA TUKITA RAPKITAKA TUKITA
Standing on the middle of hill
LEKERI INDENANGA LUKURI INDENANGA
Climbing on the hill
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera
KAJA ANGINENJE MALA ANGINENJE
Seeing with his hand on eye brows
NANEK LINSA ATALI NANEK JANANATALI
Bamboo that was born with me
EMBEN DINA SACHENA EMBEN KASA SACHENA
Went to which country
EMBE DUNGA SAJATE EMBE MRANGA SAJATE
Where did it hide
KAJA ANGA KANGARI MALA ANGA KANGARI
Seeing with hand on eye brows
SAIBEDA REPELI KANGARI LANJU REPELI KANGARI
Looking towards the sun setting end

85) EJU REPELI KANGARI KUDUREPELI KANGARI
Looking towards water streams
SAEN DINA KANGARI SAEN KASA KANGARI
Looking at the low lands
SAE IRPUNELLA KANGAKI DANTAR NELLA KANGARI
Looking towards Irpunella Dantarnella
SREKA REPENI GANJURUPENI KANGARI
Looking down towards chara & Bhalia trees
PUJUGUDA ERPUGUDA KANGARI
Looking towards Pujuguda, Erpuguda
EMBET MANI EMBET DAMBI SAJATE
Which way bamboo went
ICHEK KANGAR ICHEK SINA WNAETEDF
After viewing such places
ATE KANGARI SINADI MANENJE
Looking again

MINU KADENI JANA KADENI KANGARI
Looking at Fish holes, crab holes
EJU KUMBELI KUDU KUMBELI KANGARI
Looking at froathing water

86) KANUSIRI MUKUSIRI MANJANE
Beyond the eye sight
ELED MANI ELED DAMBI MEHENE
No, can't see bamboo
EMBETI SINJELI EMBETI BARELI SAJATE
Where did it went
KASKIGADA TARBAGADA KANGARI
Looking at Kaskigada - Tarbagada
KADIGATA KARUGATA KANGARI
Looking at cattle sheds, buffaloo sheds
NEJUGADA PALUGADA KANGARI
Looking at Nejugada, Palugada
ATABATA BDINJABATA KANGARI
Looking at Atubata Bdinjabata
TATIKENA, BISAIADI KANGARI
Looking at Tatikena-Bisaladi
JUDANGADU, MADANGADU KANGARI
Looking at Judangadu - Madangadu
SISAKANA, MARBAKANA KANGARI
Looking at Sisakana, Marbakana

87) ATE BENDEK ATE DUNEK KANGARI
Again looking back
WENDA MDIJI DUNA MDIJI KANGARI
Again looking at the places he covered
KAJU MDIJI MALA MDIJI KANGARI
Keeping his hand on eye brow
VANIPATNA, SENAPATNA KANGARI
Looking at Vanipatna, senapatna
AMADULA, OILBATA KANGARI
Looking at Amadula - Oilbata
RACHANGSORU PARANGSORU KANGARI
Looking at Rachangsoru, Parangsoru
WANGA SIRCHUDI, NELLA SIRCHUDI KANGARI
Looking at Muniguda - Duikala
MUNIGUDA, DAIKALA KANGARI
Looking at Muniguda, Daikala
ATE BENDEKA ATE DUNEKA KANGARI
Looking back again

WEDA DUERI LANJU DUERI KANGARI
Looking towards Sun door - Moon door

88) SARUKUDA, NUNUKUDA KANGARI
Looking towards Sarukuda - Nunukuda
MINU MRENGI JANA MRENGI KANGARI
Looking at fish bones, crab shells
ELEDE MANI ELEDE DAMBI PANENE
(Perhaps) it is not possible to find bamboo
BAKE BAJA BAE RECHA JITEYE
Unncessarily we came
MANI MEPI DAMBI MEPI SILENE
Can't find bamboo
ATE BENDEKA ATE DUNEKA KANGARI
Looking backwards again
KARENGADA BAKERGADA KANGARI
Looking towards Karengada Bakergada
KANIKANDA, KARANIKANDA KANGARI
Looking at Kanikada, Karnikada hills
DEUPURU, SASAPURU KANGARI
Looking at Deupuru, Sasapuru hills
ASAGADA PARAGADA KANGARI
looking at Asagada - Paragada hills

89) NULUGDA DRASIGADA KANGARI
Looking at Nulugada - Drasigada
ASA GURUDI PARA GURUDI KANGARI
Looking at duck shed Pigeon shed
ICHEK KANGAR ICHEK SINAD IAMETEDE
Viewing that much
KANUMUNU MUKUMUKU SARATE
Beyond the eye sight
SINJEL PANATE BAREL PANATE
Big bamboo small bamboo not found
TANU KANGAR TANU SINAD MANENJE
He is looking again
SAE KANDANADA SAE BAKANADA GABATA
Towards the low lands of kandawada Bakawada
LIBINIJA BAKANIJA MANJANE
There it grows, there it is
KANA KANA KATA KATA DEALI
Bushy bushy looking
KANDABADA, BAKABADA GABATA
At low lands of Kandabada - Bakabada

90) DEUSANA , TUMASANA GABATA
At low lands of Deunsana - Tumasana
JENDALAJA, KADALAJA MANJANE
It is growing there
NEJUDIYEE PALUDIYEE MANJANE
Massaged with oil on its body
SIKANGASA, KADAGASA MANJANE
Being chained, being coiled
BANDAGASA, DRAHANGASA MANJANE
Binding to each other
ARINE MANIPA , ARINE DRAMBIPA
That is bamboo
NEJU BROI MANJANE PALUBROI MANJANE
Massaged with oil all over
WANIRACHI PADANIRACHI MANJANE
Touching the heaven - sky
WANIRACHI MANJANE PADANI RACHI MANJANE
Touching the heaven, touching the sky
TANU BETA MANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera

91) MANIMEA NANGANI DAMBI MEA NANGANI
On seeing bamboos
SINJEL MEA NANGANI BAREL MEA NANGANI
On seeing large bamboos, small bamboos
TANU SAJIMANENJE TANU REPIMANENJE
He is going he is leaving
TANU JENDA ATANJA TANU KADA ATANJA
He is elderly man
TERA DIMBUL KATANI TERA ATADI KATANI
From Tera dimbui Tera Atadi
MANI KAJA SANENJE DANBIKAJA SANENJE
Going near the bamboo
ACHABONDA GIRITI MNIABONDA GIRITI
Climbing on the hills Achabanda - Mniabonda
PIJU SUDI GIRITI BIDI SUDI GIRITI
On the Piju sudi route Bidi sudi route
PIJU MUNDANG ATI BIDIMUNDANG ATI
Rain and storm approaching
SIKADI NELLA GIRITI TOBULI NELLA GIRITI
On Sikadi nella Tobuli nella route

92) LADU RACHA GIRITI KIDADI RACHA GIRITI
On the Ladu racha kidadi racha

KAKADAKA GIRITI KIDADAKA GIRITI

DELKIRI GIRITI DANDAKERI GIRITI

KANDUN NELLA GIRITI PALAD NELLA GIRITI

KESUGATI GIRITI JARUGATI GIRITI

KICHANJARU GIRITI RABANJARU GIRITI

APKA DEPA GIRITI KAMANG DEPA GIRITI

KANGAN WALI GIRITI SERAPATI GIRITI

LIDI LADA GIRITI KDANI LESPA GIRITI

AKUDANJA GIRITI PDIPADANJA GIRITI

93) SATRADIKA GIRITI MANIK DIKA GIRITI

TAÑU SAJIMANENJE TANU REPIMNENJE
He is going, he is leaving
MAE BETAMANGERA MAE PRAMBUMANGERA
Our Betamangera our Prambumangera
TADE KALA GIRITI MADE KALA GIRITI
ISIKIDI GIRITI BIMBIKIDI GIRITI
DEUSANA GIRITI TUMASANA GIRITI

KANDAWADA NENENJE BAKAWADA NENENJE
Reached at Kadawada - Bakawada
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera- Prambumangera
KANDAWADA NECHA BAKAWADA NECHA
Reached at Kandawada - Bakawada
TANI MANI BASATA TANI DAMBI BASATA
Reached at Bamboos
94) GUNJA GUNJA SANENJE SUCHA SUCHA SANENJE
Slowly slowly going
GUNJA GUNJA RANAWA SUCHA SUCHA ANAWA
Slowly slowly approaching
KANDAWADA PENU BAKAWADA PENU
Kandawada deity Bakawada deity
ININATI TATI INI PUTI TATI
Whose grand son are you
KAJA MESTANWANDI MADA MESTANWANDI
Why did you step here
INISIRU TATI INISIRU TATI
What surname do you hold

PALU SNEPINJANE DATA SNEPINJANE
Rubbing his teeth
KANDAWADA PENU BAKAWADA PENU
Kandawada deity Bakawada deity
TINJA INJINE GADA INJINE
Threating to eat up
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera

95) ELED KANDADADA ELED BAKAWADA
No kandawada no Bakawada
INAK TINJI INJANDI INAK GATAINJANDI
Why do you want to eat me up
DINA ADATGAI KASA ADATGAI
For the country to made good
ANU BAJAMAI ANU RECHAMAI
I have come here
NAI PUNJAELE NAI WENJAELE
I have come in ignorance
EREN PANDEWANE KAPAN PANDEWANE
Nerandali - Kapandali has sent me
SATALI PANDENJANE PDITALI PANDENJANE
She who took birth first has sent me
EREK BAJAMAI EREK RACHAMAI
For that I have come
SAREN AJA SILE BANJURI AJA SILE
Sareni is not made
SIRU DAPI MANJANDI DALUDAPI MANJANDI

96) TINJA INJIJANDI GATA INJIJANDI
Threatenring to eat up
NACHE PEINJANDI TOE PEINJANDI
Driving (him) out
MANMU KANDAWADA MANMU BAKAWADA
Halt Kandawada - Bakawada
MANMU ISIKIDI MANMU BIMBIKIDI
Halt Isikidi halt Bimbikidi
GUCHEL SALISA SANGEL SALISA
I will be far from here
BEKAD SALISA DANA SALISA
I shall go back
NACHE PEINJANDI TOE PENJANDI
Driving (me) out
MANMU KANDAWADA MANMU BAKAWADA
Halt Kandawada - halt Bakawada

PARATAKA SA GUNDATAKA SA
I will go for rice
SANDA TAKA SA DANA TAKA SA
I will go for rice flour

97) TANU BETAMANGER TANU PRAMBUMANGER
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera
GUCHEL WAINENJE SANGEL WAINENJE
Returning back
KANDAWADA KATA BAKAWADA KATA
From kandawada from Bakawada
DEUSANA GIRITI TUMASANA GIRITI

PSJKIDI GIRITI BIMBIKIDI GIRITI

WENDA SAPANGADA WENDA SARCHANGADA BATERE
Reached at Sapangada - Sarchangada
NERANDALANI WESKANDI KAPANDALANI WESKANDI
Reached at Nerandali - Kapandali
ALI ALI NERANDI ALI ALI KAPANDI
Hey hey Nerandi hey hey Kapandi
MANIBATI MANEMA DAMBIBATI MANEMA
Bamboo is there
CHNJEL BATI MANENA BARELBATI MANEMA
Large bamboo , small bamboo (there) is there

98) BRIHANAA BRITATE KANDANAA KANDATE
Begged (he) which should not be begged
KAJUMUDI INJATE MALAMUDI INJATE
Demanded finger ring
ALORBENI INJATE BANABANI INJATE
Demanded headlace
TALABANI INJATE BANABANI INJATE
Demanded a lot
TATANGAJU INJATE GRUMBANJU INJATE
Demanded cock
KUJAMILA INJATE KUJADALI INJATE
Demanded small child
ARANADE SIASA ARE NADE BASASA
(we) will not give (him) small child
NINGE JELLA NOANA NINGE BALING NAONA
Your also soul will cry
ARASIBA SUASA ARAGASPA SUASA
That we can't give
SIBABATI SINAMA GASPABATI GASPANAMU
Should it be given or not

99) NA SANANJA MUENJE NA PDINANJA MUENJE
No more people can take birth
EWANSIBA MUENJE EWANGASPA MUENJE
Latter people can't offer
SIRUDAI TINJANE DARUDAI TINJANE
(he) will hunt for the some vansa
ARENADE SIASA ARENADE GASASA
That we can't give
MAI MANI BATIKA MAI DAMBI BATIKA
That is our bamboo
PARAWEYE SIANA GUNDAWEYE SIANA
Unnecessarily we'll give
TAMU RACHANGPARA TAMU RACHANGUNDA
Get me rice flour
JUARINJA MEKAA PAERINJA MEKAA
Saluted - regarded
IRIRACHAMPARA IRI RACHA GUNDA
Giving rice flour
PARABATI SIATI GUNDABATI SIATI
Gave rice flour

100) ENGAMUA NATI LEGAMUA NATI
Person who can't climb trees
INIS AKU PAI INIS GAU PAI
How did you get leaves
PATEL PANJE JIATI SIPTI PANJE JIATI
Wrapped rice with leaves
EMBET AKU PAI EMBET GAU PAI
Where did you get leaves
JENDAWEDI TAI SABAWEDI TAI
Got it (leaves) from Jendawedi Sabawedi
ASANAKU ADINE ASANGAU ADINE
Those leaves will come in use
INI MARA TAI INIDADI TAI
Of which tree
INI TULA TAI INI MALA TAI
Of which creeper
KENA TULA TAI MAKA TULA TAI
Of siali (Bauhinia vahlii) creeper
MNIAMARA TAI MAKA MARA TAI
Of Mniamara - Makamara

101) ASAN AKU ADINE ASAN GAU ADINE
Those leaves will come in use

JUERINJA MEKA PAERINJA MEKA
Saluted
TANU BERTAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera
DINA AJAYELE BARA AJAYELE
Untouchables can't bring it
KICHDA AJA ELE PADI AJA ELE
It can't come in use
MAI BETA SANENJE MAI PRAMBU SANENJE
(He it untouchable) Betamangera will die
LIKET NERAND INJINA LIKET KAPAND INJINA
Nerandali thinking something
ASAN SAJIMAI ASAN REPIMAI
Then I am coming
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera, Prambumangera
TANI RACHAPARA TANI RACHA GUNDA
That rice, that rice flour

102) TEDIKIRITA ANENJE RENIKIRITA ANENJE
Carrying in his waist
JUARINGAGAI PAERINGAGAI
For saluting
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera
SATA JUARGAI SATA PAERGAI
For saluting seven times
KALU DAPANDGAI BADA DAPANDGAI
Falling prostrate
PARAPI MANENJE GUNDA API MANENJE
Offering rice, rice flour
SAPANGADA KATA SARCHANGADA KATA
From Sapangada from Sarchangada
RANIPALU KATA BENDIPALU KATA
From Ranipalu from Bendipalu

Again Betamangera visits Kandawada and Bakawada hills through the previous path followed.

PARA ACHANANGA GUNDA ACHANANGA
Taking rice flour
ALA KANDAWADA ALA BAKAWADA
Hey Kandawada Hey Bakawada

103) NACHEMBEI MANJATI TOEMBEI MANJATI
Don't bring that offerings to me

PARA TACHAMAI GUNDA TACHA MAI
Have brought rice, rice flour
NAI SINA PARA NAI SIAN GUNDA
Accept my offering
JUARINJANAWA PAERINJANAWA
Saluted, took dust from foot
MANISIE NICHISI DAMBISIE NICHISI
(I'll) not give bamboo
TULAMASI DREMBAMU MALAMASI DREMBAMU
I'll make snakes coil around bamboos
KAMBAT KAJU ASTAMU KAMBAT SIPA ASTAMU
If Jungle fowl talks
BADA KANJA ASTAMU BADA MUSU ASTAMU
If monkey talks
MANI SIENE ICHISI DAMBI SIENE ICHISI
I'll not give bamboos
NAI SIANPARA NAI SIAN GUNDA
I am offering rice, riceflour

104) PARA ENDALA GUNDA ENDALA
I will not give offerings (anymore)
MANI SIE ICHISI DAMBI SIE ICHISI
(if) bamboo is not got
ATEDE KAJU ENDAMU DEMALA ENDAMU
Again I am offering
KANDRASECHI ENDAMU WARPU SECHI ENDAMU
Offerings giving on winnow
SATA KANDAWADA ATHISI SATA BAKAWADA ATHISI
If you are truely kandawada - Bakawada
DEUSANA ATISI TUMASANA ATISI
(I) Have come through Tumasana - Deusana
SATA SIANPARA NAI SIANGUNDA ENDAMU
If I'm really offering
AYI KANDAWADA PENUNI BAKAWADA PENUNI
To they Kandawada - Bakawada deity
PARA SIEMAI GUNDA SIEMAI
(I"m) Giving rice, rice flour
ALA KANDAWADA ALA BAKAWADA
Hey Kandawada Hey Bakawada

105) SANDA SIENJA DANA SIENJA
Giving offerings
NI RAPABAKA NI KAPABAKA
Those who guard your forest

KANJARATI BAKA MUSURATI BAKA
Monkeys giving guard
KIRA RATI BAKA BALE RATI BAKA
Birds giving guard
ETE MACHIBAKA DUNGEMACHIBAKA
(Whom) I was carrying in cradle
PARAWAINE GUNDAWAINE
Offering rice, rice flour
PARA SIRPINJA GUNDA SIRPINJA
I'm giving worship
JAKANATI BENJAMU SIPENATI BENJAMU
All the deities above, listen
WANISIRA BENJAMU PADANISIRA BENJAMU
Heaven deity listen, sky deity listen
DUNDRUKUDA BENJAMU KUDUKAMBU BENJAMU
Fog deity listen mist deity listen

106) TANABAI BENJAMU PATABAI BENJAMU
Earth deity listen
KANDAWADA PENUNI BAKAWADA PENUNI
Kandawada deity, Bakawada deity
ISIKIDI PENUNI BIMBIKIDI PENUNI
Isikidi deity Bimbikidi deity
DEUSANA PENUNI TUMASANA PENUNI
Deusana deity, Tumusana deity
PARA SIEMAI GUNDA SIEMAI
I'm giving rice, rice flour
ASI TUTELIANENJE ASI BANGELIANENJE
I am not telling a lie
TIBAIA MANENJE DAIA MANENJE
I am promising, taking oath
MAI BETAMANGERA MAI PRAMBUMANGERA
I'm Betamangera, Prambumangera
TIBA IANANGANI DAIANANGANI
Promised, took oath
JUARINJI MANENJE PAERINJI MANENJE
Saluted, fell at the feet

107) PARA SIRPI MANENJE GUNDASIRPI MANENJE
Offered rice offerings
PARA SIRJANAWA GUNDA SIRJANAWA
At time of giving rice
TULAMASI BENDANE MALAMASI BENDANE
Snakes left bamboos

KAMBATKAJU ASEYE KAMBAT SIPA ASEYE
Jungle fowl stopped talking
BADA KANJA ASEYE BADA MASU ASEYE
Monkeys stopped crying
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera
MANI SIANEPA DAMBI SIA NEPA
(Understood) for bamboo to be given
TULAMASI BENDATE MALAMASI BENDATE
Snakes left bamboos
TANU JENDE JATANJA TANU KADE JATANJA
He is the supreme man
MANI DAKIT SANENJE DAMBI DAKIT SANENJE
Going to inspect bamboos

108) MERA MANALA ATAD MANALA
Returned back thinking it not good
TIARIJI PANGANENJE SATARIJI PANGANENJE
Came back on seeing bamboo roots
TANI MANI DAKINI TANI DAMBIDAKINI
That bamboo is worshipped
TANI SINJEL BUTANI TANI BAREL BUTANI
That thick bamboo, that thorny bamboo
TANI MANI DAKITA TANI DAMBI DAKITA
At they bamboo root
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera
KANDANGURAD AHA NIPINGURAD AHA
Carried axe on shopulders
DINGIGATI INJI TADANGATI INJI
For cutting
MANI AHI INJI DAMBI AHI INJI
To cut bamboo
DINGIGATI MANENJE TADANGATI MANENJE
To cut it completely and bring

109) DINGIGATI INAWA TADANGATI INAWA
To Completely wipe out the root
MANI BDIE MANJANE DAMBI BDIE MANJANE
Felling bamboos after cutting
LIWIBDIE MANJANE BAKABDIE MANJANE
Falling down
EMBED SINJELI BDIANE EMBED KALI BDIANE
(on) Which side bamboo will fall

EMBETI MANI BOIANE EMBETI DAMBI BDIANE
(on) Which side bamboo will fall
WEDA ADAM GENAWA LANJUADAN GENAWA
Facing towards sun, facing towards moon
WEDA DUER GENA LANJU DUER GENA
Facing to sun door, facing to moon door
SINJE SINJELWATI BARE BARELBATI
Those thick bamboo, thorny bamboo
MANI MANI BATI DAMBI BATI
This is bamboo
EJUREPEL BDIANE KUDU REPEL BDIANE
It will fall to the side of water stream
110) LIWIBDIE BAKABDIE MANJANE
will fall down from base
WANIDUNJA BDIANE PADANUNJA BDIANE
Will fall with a sound as sky burst
MANI MANI BATI DAMBI DAMBI BATI
Bamboos and Bamboos
LAINGSAPA BDIANE TUKINGSAPA BDIANE
Lightly fell down, heavily fell down
TANA DRUNJA LEGA PATA DRUNJA LEGA
Without blowing dusts
MANI BDIANGAISI DAMBI BDIANGAISI
For bamboo to fall
SINJEL BDIANGAISI BAREL BDIAN GAISI
For thick bamboo to fall for thorny bamboo to fall
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera
KATA DATPI MANENJE DAKI DATPI MANENJE
Cutting the apex of bamboo
CHENDANGI MANENJE BUNDANGI MANENJE
Cutting into pieces

111) DAKI DASTA NANGANI KATADASTA NANGANI
Saparating the base and apex
SERA MANALA ATAD MANALA
Soraping / Cleaning the nodes
TAPENJIE MANENJE TESANJIE MANENJE
Seraching the branches and twigs
ATAD KATE NANGANI GANIKATE NANGANI
Cutting from nodes
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera

IMBAN MANI LESNENJE IMBAN DAMBI LESNENJE
Who will carry bamboo
MANI MANI BATI DAMBI DAMBI BATI
Bamboos and bamboos
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera
MANI DINA ADE ICHISI KASA ADE ICHISI
To which country did bamboo went
MANILEJA LA DAMBI LEJA LA
Don't climb up the bamboo

112) ASI TUTEL MANENJE ASI BANGEL MANENJE
He promised, took oath
BETA KELE ICHISI PRAMBUKELE ICHISI
It not Beta - Prambu then nobody (can carry)
KANDA SERIN PANDAMU NIPISERIN PANDAMU
Otherwise shoulder will be injured
SATE BETA - KATISI SATE PRAMBU KATISI
If really Beta - Prambu has cut it
KANDA DAPA DIBAMU NIPIDAPA DIBAMU
Bamboo will be on his shoulders
JODADAPA DIAMU KAPADAPA DIAMU
Easily can be lifted up to shoulder
BETA KELE ICHISI PRAMBU KELE ICHISI
If Beta Prambu do not take
KANDA BDISI DIKAMU NIPIBDISI DIKAMU
May it fall down from shoulder
ASI TUTELIANENJE ASI BANGELANENJE
He is promising, taking oath

112.9) TUTELIANANGA BANGELIANANGA
Promised, took oath

113) TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera, he is prambumangera
MANIDAPA LESNENJE DAMBI DAPA LESNENJE
Carried the bamboos
MANI DAPA DIBANI DANBI DAPA DIBANI
Bamboo stayed right on shoulder
KANDA DAPA DIBANI NIPIDAPA DIBANI
Easily was lift up to shoulders
SATEINE BETAKA SATEINE PRAMBUKA
Is he really Betamangera - Prambumangera
SATEINE SATANA SATEINE PDITANA
It truely I have emerged out from earth

MANI DEKENENGA DAMBI DEKENENGA
Carrying the bamboo
TANU WAINE TANU REPINENJE
He is coming
KANDAWADA KATA BAKAWADA KATA
From Kandawada, from Bakawada
ISIKIDI KATA BIMBIKIDI KATA
From Isikidi from Bimbikidi

114) DEUSANA KATA TUMASANA KATA
From Deusana from Tumasana

Betamangera returned to Sapangada, carrying bamboo from Kandawada hills on the same route.

TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBU MANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera
SINJEL NEPCHANANGA BAREL NEPCHANANGA
Returned with thick and thorny bamboos
EMBE ITE JIẸNA EMBE KASA JIENA
Where to keep
ALI ALI NERANDI ALI ALI KAPANDI
Hello, Nerandi, Hello Kapandi
SINJEL TACHAMAI BAREL TACHAMAI
I have bought thick bamboo, thorny bamboo
MANI TACHAMAI ḌAMBI TACHAMAI
I have bought bamboo
EMBE REPCHANJIE EMBE ITENJIE
Where shall I keep
LIKE DEPANJINA LIKE SEKA INJINA
A little farther ?
KANDANG NOATEDE NIPING NOATEDE
(My) shoulder is aching

115) IMBA KANDAWADANA IMBA BAKAWADANA
Is Kandabada here
IMBE ITENJIE IMBE RASANJIE
Where shall I keep
TELI RACHAT GINA MALI RACHAT GINA
Should I keep it in the middle of village
KATAMUNDAT GINA BEIMUNDAT GINA
Should I keep near hedge
KUMDA JAGDI GINA MUNDRA JAGDI GINA
Should I keep near Pumpkin stage
BADA BEKAT GINA KATA BEKAT GINA
Should I keep infront of house

AMBA ADA MUE AMBA RANJAMUE
There it can't be
MANI MANI BATIKA DAMBI DAMBI BATIKA
To keep bamboo
NERANDALAN TUKITA KAPANDALAN TUKITA
Behind Nerandali's house
SATA LALANI DUKITA PDITALALANI TUKITA
In front yard of Satalalani (Nerandali)

116) MANI REPI MANENJE DAMBI REPI MANENJE
Unloading bamboos
KAJU SALA BASA SIPA SALA BASA
Hen not to go there
MILA SALA BASA DALI SALA BASA
Where children will not go
MANIREPCHANANGA DAMBI REPCHANANGA
Unloading bamboo
ELEDELA NERANDI ELEDELA KAPANDI
What do you think, hey Nerandali
MANIBATI TOTEYE DAMBIBATI TOTEYE
I brought bamboo
SINJELBATI TOTEYE BARELBATI TOTEYE
Brought thick bamboo, thorny bamboo
NANELINGANATANJA NANEK JANANATANJA
Bamboo that took birth with me
IMBE DINA SACHENJE IMBE KASA SANENJE
Went to which country
IMBE PEHE SIATE LUCHA SIATI
Where did you drive him out

117) MAI KANDRA TADA EMBEPAE, EMBELUCHA SIATI
Where has gone the bamboo foiling man
SIMBA GENA SIATI EJU GENA SIATI
Didn't you give him gruel
ERE GURTENJE ERE MRANGI TENJE
Is it that he left for not getting gruel
NANGEDIBOTENJE NANGEKDABA TENJE
Came near me, cried
MAI ABA GATALI MAI KAKI GATALI
She my sister-in-law, my aunt
SIMBA SIA LAATE EJU SIA LAATE
Didn't give gruel
SAELAJA LAATE ARMELAJA LAATE
Didn't like me

ESI DINJA TENJE ESI KDABATENJE
That's why cried at me
ANUBATI NERANDI ANUBATI KAPANDI
Because it was I
SARA MADANG SITEYE SARAKINGA SITEYE
Gave him mere Salap toddy, Mahuli liquor

118) NEHI ANA SITEYE NEHI GATI SITEYE
Showed him right path
MADI ANA SITEYE MADI GATI SITEYE
Showed him the middle road
NEI BILU SITEYE NEI AMBU SITEYE
Gave him good bow, arrow
DEKE DEKE TRETEYE DUNGE DUNGE TRETEYE
Carried him on my shoulder
ASANATISI NERANDI ASANATISI KAPANDI
Hence Nerandi - Kapandi
INU PEHENJILAYA INU LUCHANJILAYA
Is it you have not driven him out
KANDRAKAJA PUNJINA WARPU KAJA PUNJINA
Can you identify footprint of that bamboo foiling man (kandra)
ATALATE MANJINA BITALACHE MANJINA
Have you measured his steps
KAJALACHE MANJINA MADA LACHE MANJINA
Have you seen his hands, legs
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali, She is Kapandali

119) KAJANG LACHE MAI TADANG LACHE MAI
I know his foot prints, I have measured
KANDRA KAJA PUI WARPUKAJA PUI
I know his hands
ASANATISI NERANDI ASANATISI KAPANDI
Hence, Nerandi - Kapandi
TAMU ATANGILA TAMU BITANGILA
Bring me the measuring stick
KAJANGLACHI SAJA MADANGLACHI SAJAA
I will again measure his foot steps
KANDRA KAJA DAKAA WARPUKAJA DAKAA
Will search for his foot steps
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera
ATANGILA AISI BITANGILA AISI
Carrying the measurement of his hands and legs

SAEDUKI KANATA MIODUKI KANATA
Looking up, down of it
KAJANGDAPI MANENJE MADANGDAPI MANENJE
Searching for his foot steps

120) VIRAPUNJA KUETI BALIPUNJA KUETI
On soil, sand
KAJANGLACHI MANENJE MADANG LACHI MANENJE
Measured his hands and legs
EMBESACHIN KANDRA EMBESACHIN WARPU
Where have the kandra gone
KAJANGSARI MANJAN MADANG SARI MANJAN
This is his foot step
ATANGSARI MANJAN BITANG SARI MANJAN
The land measured more
IRI UDURKAJAPA IRI PENAR KAJAPA
This is print of Udurengad - Penarenged
IRI LAUR KAJAPA IRI BINJAR KAJAPA
Of other bamboo foiling man
IRI RAKE KAJAPA IRI GURPA KAJAPA
Footprint of Rake Gurpa
KILANGSARI MANJAN BAKANGSARI MANJAN
The measure is more than the footprint
ATANGSARI MANJAN BITANGSARI MANJAN
One hand excess in measure

121) IRIDI KAJAPA IRI PURBU KAJAPA
This foot step is of others
EMBE SACHENJE KANDRA EMBE SACHINJI WARPU
Where has the Kandra gone
ATE IACHI MANENJE ATE DAPI MANENJE
Measuring again
KILA SAMAN AJAN PAKANG SAMAN AJANA
Foot print sine matched to the measure
KAJA SAMAN AJANE MADA SAMAN AJANE
Foot sine became equal
IRI KANDRA KAJAPA IRI WARPU KAJAPA
This is of that Kondra
IRI LENGUR KAJAPA IRI PAKAR KAJAPA
This is that measuring rod
ATANG SAMAN AJATE BITANG SAMAN AJATE
Now it became equal
IRAD SACHINJA KANDRA IRAD SACHENJE WARPU
This way kandra has gone

TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera

122) SAPANGADA KATA SARCHANGADA KATA
From Sapangada, from Sarchangada
RANIPALU KATA BENDIPALU KATA
From Ranipalu from Bendipalu
KANDRAKAJA SANENJE WARPU KAJA SANENJE
Kandra footsteps goes this way
KAJUANGI MANENJE MAJA ANGI MANENJE
On pointing by extending hand
KAJU ANGINABA MALA ANGINABA
By showing hand
TANU KANDRABADI TANU WARPUBADI
That Kandra, that warpu (bamboo foiling man)
SENAMUJE MANENJE BARAMUJE MANENJE
Hiding after big grasses, bushes
AWANJE KANDRA AWANJE WARPU
That's the same kandra
KANDRA MEHANANGA WARPU MEHANANGA
On seeing that Kandra
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera

123) KAJASAJI MANENJE MADA SAJI MANENJE
Again following his foot print
TANI SANA BENA TANI RENA BENA
By the time he was moving
KANDRABA WANGA ATATI WARPUANGA ATATI
His sister-in-law coming
TANU ACHAK MANJANE TANU DURI MANJANE
He is fearing on seeing them
KADE DINANG GENAWA LACHE DINANG GENAWA
Is he eating on begging
BRIHA DINA GENA JACHA DINA GINA
Is he a beggar
ASIAJI MANJANE ASIDURI MANJANE
Fearing like that
TANU KANDRABA TANU WARPU ABA
That kandra's sister-in-law
TANU DUPI MANGANE TANU MAGI MANGANE
He is going to sleep
BETA KAIAJE PRAMBU KAIAJE
Out of fear to Beta - Prambu

124) TANI DUGI NAWA TANI MRAGINAWA
By time he went to sleep
WENGA NEPI MANENJE PRAMBU NEPI MANENJE
Beta reached him
ABAR KANDRABA ABAR WARPUABA
My dear sister-in-law
INAGAI AJANDI INAGAI DURANDI
Don't fear me
ABARIDE BETAKA ABARIDE PRAMBUKA
Why Beta, why prambu
NINGE KADE DINA ICHE LACHENG DINA ICHE
I said you a beggar
ERI DANGA AADE ERI KAPA AADE
Don't feel sorry for that
BAHE WAJANJILENE BAHE RECHANJILENE
I have not come here for a simple purpose
DINA ADATGAI KASA ADATGAI
The country is not levelled
SARENI SAJA SILE BANJURI SAJA SILE
It is not Sareni operated

125) NERAN PANDEJANE KAPAN PANDEJANE
Nerandali has sent
KANDRA TADAGAI WARPU TADA GAI
For kandra brother
EREK BATEYE EREK RETEYE
So I have come
KANDRA TADA EMBE WARPU TADA EMBE
Where is Kandra brother
TANU KANDRABA TANU WARPU ABA
She is Kandra's sister-in-law
ELEDEDE BETAKA ELEDEDE PRAMBUKA
Why Beta, Why Prambu
MI KANDRATADA MI WARPUTADA
To your Kandra brother
NAMBER MUISILENJE DUKUMUI SILENJE
Fever has attacked
ELED KANDRABA ELED WARPUABA
Why sister-in-law
TIDI MUA TISIBA RENIMUA TISIBA
Even if waist is acting

126) NAMBER MUA TISIBA DUKAMUA TISIBA
Even if fever is continuing

TANU KANDRABA TANU WARPUABA
He is Kandra sisster-in-law
ELEDEDE BETAKA ELEDEDE PRAMBUKA
Why Betaka, why Prambuka
MAI KANDRATADA MAI WARPU TADA
My Kandra brother
NAMBER MUISILENJE DUKAMUISILENJE
Even if fever is contiuning
ELED KANDRA ABA ELED WARPU ABA
Why Kandra sister-in-law
TIDIMUA TISIBA RENIMUA TISIBA
Even if waist is aching
NAMBER MUA TISIBA DUKAMUA TISIBA
Even if fever is continuing
DEKE PANEOI DUCHE PANEOI
I'll carry hi on
MAI KANDRATADA MAI WARPUTADA
My Kandra brother

127) ABARIDE BETAKA ABARIDE PRAMBUKA
Why Betaka why Prambuka
RAJIMUJINA EREKA PENU MUNU EREKA
Is he a king
EREK DEKENANDI EREK DUCHENANDI
So you will carry
KANDRA KANDRA TADA WARPU WARPU TADA
Your Kandra brother
DIRE WAPANJA KALEWAPANJA
Let him walk slowly
TANU KANDRATADA TANU WARPUTADA
He is Kandra brother
KANDRAKARE AISI WARPUKARE AISI
Carrying his knife
USALAUD AISI BURUNGA LAUD AISI
Carrying his stick
DIRE DIRE WANENJE KALE KALE WANENJE
Walking slowly slowly
KANDRA WAINENJE WARPU WAINENJE
Kandra is coming

128) WENDA SAPANGADA WENDA SARCHANGADA
Again to Sapangada, Sarchangada
SAPANGADA WANENJE SARCHANGADA WANENJE
On reaching at Sapangada

DIRE DIRE WANENJE KALE KALE WANENJE
Walking slowly slowly
SAPANGADA WAJA SARCHANGADA WAJA
Coming to Sapangada
KANDRAWANIGAI WARPU WANI GAI
For Kandra to come
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera, he is Prambumangera
ELEDELA NERANDI ELEDELA KAPANDI
Why Nerandi, why kapandi
INU NEPE ECHI INU LUCHA ECHI
Did driven him out
KANDRA WATENJE WARPU WATENJE
The Kandra man came
KANDRAWATIKATA WARPUWATIKATA
For Kandra came

129) TANU KANDRAWADI TANU WARPUWADI
That Kandra man
MANIKAPE SANENJE DAMBIKAPE SANENJE
Went near the bamboos
MANIKAPE SAJA DAMBIKAPE SAJA
On reaching at bamboos
EKCHIKANGARI WAPCHI KANGARI
Looking up - down
INIS PRIKCHANJIE INIS SISANJIE
How to cut bamboos
INIS PAKDI AJANE INIS SARI AJANE
How to slice bamboos
TANI KANDAGURADI TANI NIPINGURADI
He is searching for his axe
SIRI KITINENJE PDAKA KATINENJE
Cutting the bamboos
SARI SIRINENJE SARI PAKADI INENJE
Slicing it to four parts
PINJATUI PRIKNENJE PNASATUHI PRIKNENJE
Threw away the skin of bamboo

130) PDIKCHANJIANANGA GESANJIANANGA
On Slicing bamboos
SEDANGIENENJE BUDANGAINENJE
On searching to polish
GANITUHI DAPNENJE ATAD TUHI DAPNENJE
Cutting down the nodes, internodes

CHEDANGIANANGA BENDANGIANANGA
Finish the cutting
TANU KANDRAWADI TANU WARPUWADI
That Kandra man
PENDI GASPINENJE GARLA GASPINENJE
Binding them in bundles
PENDIGASANANGA GARLA GASANANGA
Finishing the bundling
EMBE LEGU BRAJANE EMBE PAKA BRAJANE
Where to put them
EMBE ITENJIE EMBE RASANJIE
Where to keep them
KARIGAMAT GENAA AKARI GAMAT GENAA
Should it be kept to sun dry

131) PAPI ARUT GENAA SICHENI ARUT GENAA
Should it be kept on stage inside house
EMBASA DATANE EMBA MACHI DATANE
Where it will be dirty
KUMDA JAGDITA GENAMUNDA JAGDITA GENA
Should it be kept on pumpkin stage
LENGU LENGU WATI PAKA PAKA WATI
Bamboo foils, bamboo branches
TANU KANDRAWADI TANU WARPUWADI
He is Kandra man
TADEJAPA SENA MADA JAPA SENA
Where Sagopalm pith is kept to dry
ITENJIENENJE RASENJIENENJE
Keeping them there
LENGU GRASPINENJE PAKA GRASPINENJE
There keeping the bamboo to dry
ALALA LENGU ALALA PAKA
You bamboo
SATADINA JAI SATABARA JAI
For seven days

132) LENGUBRAJE GITAMU PAKA BRAJE GITAMU
Be here to be dried
ASITIBA MANENJE ASI DAI MANENJE
Promising, taking oath
SATADINA NINAKA SATABARA NINAKA
After it is seven days
TANU KANDRAWADI TANU WARPUWADI
He is the Kandra

LENGU KADI MANENJE PAKA KADI MANENJE
Bringing out foils, bamboo branches
WARANITIGAI JAGUNITIGAI
After seven days
LENGUBRAJI MANJANE PRAKA BRAJI MANJANE
It is perfectly dry
LENGU BRAJATGAI PRAKA BRAJATGAI
Foils, branches dried
INAT SIRI NAHI INATI PDAKA NAHI
With which to be (still) foiled
SIRIPALUTE SIRIDATATE
Could it be with teeth

133) SIRINAHA MENENJE PDAKA NAHA MENENJE
Trying with teeth
IRIBA ADATE IRIBA RANJATE
It can't be ok by such
SIRIPALU DIMBATE SIRIDATE DIMBATE
Tooth broke down
ATE AKAD MANENJE ATE GANGAD MANENJE
Thinking again
INAT SIRI NAHI INAT IDAKA NAHI
With which I will foil bamboo
TITI UNGA LAATI MATI UNGA LAATI
Could it be with fingers
SIRINAHA MENENJE PDAKANAHA MENENJE
Trying with fingers
TITI UNGALI DINIBANE MATI DIMBANE
Trying it with little finger
IRIBATI ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE
It can't be ok by such
ATE EDU MANENJE ATE BUDHI MANENJE
Thinking for another knowledge

134) TANU KANDRAWADI TANU WARPUWADI
He is the Kandra
TEDI TEDI KANGARI RENI RENI KANGARI
Observing again
TANI KANDRA KARETI TANI WARPU KARETI
With his knife
LENGU UPKINENJE PAKAUPKINANENJE
Making foils (of bamboo)
LENGU UPIMANJANE PAKA UPIMANJANE
Bringing out foils out of bamboo pieces

NULU LEGA UJANE DRASILEGA UGANE
Making them thread like thin
LENGU UPKINENJE PAKA UPKINENJE
Brought out foils
MESA MESA INJI PUNJA PUNJA INJI
Making bundles
LENGU UKCHANANGA PAKA UKCHANANGA
After finishing foiling
INAT LENGU SUARI INAT PAKA SUARI
With which it will be ok

135) INAT TUDUL INAT TUDULI
With which that will be soft
ATE AKAD ATE GANGAD MANENJE
Thinking again
TANU KANDRAWADI TANU WARPUWADI
That Kandra man
LENGU SUARGAI PAKASUARGAI
Could the foils be made thinner
TANI JANGATE TANI KALUTE
On keeping them on thigh
SIRI REJA MENENJE PDAKAREJA MENENJE
Testing on pulling
TANIJANGA KARANENJE TANIKALU KRANENJE
Thigh, leg was serached
IRIBA ADATE IRIBA RANJATE
How it will be ok, how it will fit
TANU KANDRAWADI TANU WARPUWADI
He is the Kandra
KANA KANA KANGARI MUJU MUJU KANGARI
Looking at four corners

136) TANI USA LAUDI TANI USA DENGUSI
Using his walking stick
DAPANGADA TANENJE DIPINGADA TANENJE
Bringing his walking stick
LENGUSUARI INJIKA PAKA SUARI INJIKA
To make bamboo foils thinner
SIRI RELPINENJE PDAKA RELPINENJE
Pulling the foils
LEGUSUA RAJANE PAKA SUA RAJANE
Foils became soft
LASA LASA INJISI PUNJA PUNJA INJISI
Made them into bundles

IRIBATI ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE
Now its not ok, not fit
LENGUSUAR AJATE PAKASUARRAJATE
Foils became fully soft
INISATISI ADINE INISATISI RANJIINE
How to do , how it will fit
TANU KANDRAWADI TANU WARPUWADI
He is the Kandraman

137) KANDRAWANA IJISI WARPUWANA IJISI
On seeing his face
SACHE NAPINENJE GEANAPINENJE
Started doing for Sareni
SACHE NACHANANGA MEHA NACHANANGA
Started making Sareni
KANDRAWANA IJISI WARPUWANA IJISI
On seeing his own face
MURUDIPINENJE KANADAPINENJE
Cutting down the nodes
IRIBA ADATE IRIBA RANJATE
Now it's not ok, not fit
KANDRAWANA AJATE WARPUWANA AJATE
Became like the Kandra's face
IATI BECHANGRA IATI JARANGRA
In it seeds can't be kept
ATE TUPKINENJE ATE BETPINENJE
Again started making
TANU KANDRAWADI TANU WARPUWADI
He is the kandra man

138) TUPCHA JIANANGA WETPA JIANANGA
On opening out all foils
ATE EDU MANENJE ATE BUDHI MANENJE
Thinking again for knowledge
INA BAINA INA SAINA
Which one should I do
WANASILA DINATA SAI SILA DINATA
Where people are not found
TANU KANDRAWADI TANU WARPUWADI
He is the Kandra man
KDANIBANA MEHISI ALIBANA MEHISI
Doing like tiger colour, bear colour
SITADBANA MEHISI SIADBANA MEHISI
On imagination of deer colour

RADA KANA IJISI RADA BANGA IJISI
Boring them
SACHE NAPKIMANENJE GIA NAPKIMANENJE
Started weaving the Sareni again
PENATOI MANENJE MURUTOI MANENJE
Weaving by pressing on toes

139) KANADAPI, MUJUDAPI MANENJE
Making corners
SARIKANA INENJE SARIMUJU INENJE
Made four corners
SARENI ATELGAI SARENI BARELGAI
For Sareni to be strong
SIRANG IBKI MANENJE NANANG IBKI MANENJE
Adding bamboo on four sides
SIRANG IKCHANANGA NANEK IGJANANGA
After making border frame
ATE SACHI MANENJE ATE GEPI MANENJE
Started weaving again
SACHE NACHANANGA GIA NACHANANGA
Begining the work
ATE SIRANG IDPI MANENJE NANANG DAPIMANENJE
For strength, adding bamboo
SARENI WESPAGAI BANJURI WESPAGAI
For Sareni to look beautiful
LENGU UTPINENJE PAKA UTPINENJE
Binding the buffer foils

140) LENGU WATCHANANGA PAKA WATCHANANGA
After joining all the foils
IRIBATI ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE
Now it's not ok, it's not fit
SARENI BATI AJATE BANJURIBATI AJATE
The sareni is made ok
SARENI SARITI LENGUTA BANJUR SARITI LENGUTA
To the buffer stock foils
ATE SACHINENJE ATE MEPINENJE
Started weaving another
DIA BURKI RANDA KAHA BURKA RANDA
Making a bambo pot to measure rice
SACHE NAPMANENJE MEA NAPI MANENJE
Begining to do it
KUTANAIKA GAI LAMBINAIKA GAI
For the Kutaka (astrologer)

KANDRASECHE RANDA WARPU SECHI RANDA
A wirrow
NINANDI SUATGAI ADANDI SUAT GAI
For his self livelihood

141) SIRA BURLA RANDA NANA BURLA RANDA
A seed carrying vessel
TARDAIBAGAI LADAIBAGAI
To do work
TARDA KACHA RANDA LADA KACHA RANDA
To make large bamboo basket
SIRA DAANGAI DANDA DAANGAI
For unmarried girls
SAJULI ITA GAI MEKAD ITA GAI
To keep necklace
SAJUL PIRCHADE RANDA MEKADI PIRCHADI
Making a box
KAPANGAUD GAI NEPANGAUD GAI
For the milk man
AKUSATADI RANDA GAU SATADI RANDA
Making an umbrella
MDIKA DATULI RANDA JANANG DATULI RANDA
A fishing net (made of bamboo)
MNIKA BISERI RANDA JANANG BISERI RANDA
A basket to keep fishes, crabs

142) KUDAGANA INENJE PARJAGANA INENJE
Made of many types
TANU KANDRAWADI TANU WARPUWADI
He is the Kandra man
TANU LENGU BINDARA TANU PAKA BINDARA
He is the Bamboo foiling man
ATE EDU MANENJE ATE BUDHI MANENJE
Thinking again for knowledge
ICHEK KUDA ITEYE ICHEK PARJA ITEYE
Made these types
INISATISI ADINE INISATISI RANJINE
How it will be ok, how will fit
IRIBATI ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE
Now it is ok, now it's fit
BARA SACHANDI BIHATE BARA GEPAND BIHATE
This time everything is finished
SARENBATI AJATE BANJURIBATI AJATE
Sareni is made

SARENI ATIGAI BANJURI ATIGAI
After finishing Sareni

143) TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali she is Kapandali
TANI BARABICHANI TANI BARAJARANI
Her seeds of many types
BICHA TAPKI MANGANE JARA TAPKI MANGANE
Carrying the seeds
BICHA TAKE NANGANI JARA TAKE NANGANI
Carrying them on her waist
INISGUNDA MANJANE INIS DUDING AJANE
How to made powdered
BICHA BACHIKANE JARA BACHIKANE
Drying the seeds
YI BARA BICHA YI BARA JARA
The seeds (that are) got now
EMBE GUNDAINA IMBE DUDI INA
Where to go to make it powdered
SENISILA DINATA KUTANI SILA DINATA
Mortar is not there, pestle is not there
INIS GUNDA AJANE INIS BUDI AJANE
How to make powder

144) SENIDAPIMANERE KUTANIDAPI MANERE
Searching for mortar, pestle
MASKAKALU GENA MASKA KUTEN GENA
Could it be with mango mortar pestle
PUJUKULU GENA PUJUKUTENI GENA
Could it be with Mahuli mortar, pestle
SENA KALU GENA SENA KUTANI GENA
Could it be possible to get mortar, pestle
LAKA KALU GENA LAKA KUTANI GENA
Could it be with Semul mortar - pestle
ARE ADAMUE ARE RANJAMUE
Those can't be
INAT KALU PANI INAT KUTANI PANI
With which mortar pestle to be made
KALUDAPINANERE KUTANIDAPIMANERE
Bringing mortar - pestle
SARENIKALU GENA SARENIKUTANI GENA
Could it be with sal mortar - pestle
MARDI KALU GENA MARDI KUTANI GENA
Could it be Asan mortar - pestle

145) EMBE GUNDA AJINA EMBE DUDING AJINA
With which to make powdered
EMBE BICHANG SAJAN EMBE JARANG SAJAN
Where seeds will be powdered
JAMBUKALU GENA JAMBU KUTANI GENA
Could it be with Jamun mortar - pestle
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera
KALUMEPI MANENJE KUTENIMEPI MANENJE
Could see mortar - pestle
MUJEKALU MANENJE KAE KALU MANENJE
Got sissoo tree's mortar - pestle
ARINE SENIPA ARINE KUTANI
That can be useful
EMBA BICHANG SAJAN EMBA JARA SAJAN
can be pestled
AYI MUJE KALUTA AYI BAE KALUTA
With this wood of sissoo
ARAD BICHA SAJAN ARAD JARANG SAJAN
With that it will be ok

147) MUJE MEA NANGANI KAEMEA NANGANI
On seeing sissoo tree
MUJE API MANENJE KAE API MANENJE
Cuting it down
KALU API MANENJE KUTENI API MANENJE
After cutting down mortar - pestle
KALU AHANANGA KUTANI AHANANGA
Cutting for the mortar - pestle
KALU BDIANGAI KUTANI BDIANGAI
Fell it down
DASTANJIE MANENJE TUNJAJI MANENJE
Cut into pieces
KANDANGIE NANENJE BENDANGJIE MANENJE
Cutting it 'n small pieces by axe
KANDA'A ANGA BENDAIANANGA
Finishing tl segmentation
PAL PADPI NANENJE PANDAPADPI NANENJE
Removeing its bark
PALA PADJANANGA PANDA PADJANANGA
Finishing the pee'ing

148) ATAD MACHALA GANAN MACHALA
All its nodes, inte nodes

TRAHANGATI MANENJE TRAPANGATI MANENJE
Seraping them off
TIBAIANANGA SATARIANANGA
Made it to the desired type
KALUTAPI MANENJE KUTENI TAPI MANENJE
Carrying mortar - pestle
KALU TACHANANGA KUTANI TACHANANGA
Brought mortar - pestle
SAPANGADA WANGAOTA SARCHANGADA WANGAOTA
Made it reach at Sapangada
KALUKEPI KUTANIKEPI MANENJE
Morta:· - pestle got
TAPENJIE MANENJE KATKEJIE MANENJE
Scraching again
KALUKEPI MANENJE KUTANIKEPI MANENJE
Mortar is got, pestle is got
TIARIE MANENJE SATARIE MANENJE
Polishing them properly

149) TIARIANANGA SATARIANANGA
On finishing the making
KALUBATI AJATE KUTANIBATI AJATE
Mortar - pestle already made
INATI SENI KUNDARI INAT KUTANI KUNDERI
Where to keep mortar - pestle
INALI SENI KUNDARI ATE INALI KUNDARI
In which hole they will fit
ASI AKAD MANJANE ASI GANGAD MANJANE
Thinking deeply
SENI KUNDARGAI KUTANI KUNDARGAI
For fitting the mortar -pestle (in holes)
WAE TITIKIRINI WAE BAIRENI
Hello woodpecker bird
SENIKUNDERIBAMU KUTENI KUNDERIBAMU
Come to make a hole on mortar
ASI ARPIMANGANE ASI KELPI MANGANE
Saying like that
SENI KUNDARGAI KUTANI KUNDERGAI
To make hole on mortar

150) TANU TITIKIRINI TANU BAIRINI
It is Titikirini (wood pecker)
KULIDAPI MANJANE BUTIDAPI MANJANE
Searching for wage labour

ELEDELA NERANDI ELEDELA KAPANDI
Why Nerandi, why Kapandi
ENGE KULI SIAMU NANGE BUTI SIAMU
Give me the wages
ASAN SENI KUNDARI ASAN KUTANI KUNDARI
Then it can be done
SENIKUNDARGAI KUTANI KUNDARGAI
For hole to be made rounded
KULISIE MANJANE BUTISIE MANJANE
Giving the wages
TANI TITIKIRINIE TANI BAIRINIE
Giving to that woodpecker
ELEDE TITIKIRINI ELEDE BAIRINI
No woodpecker
MARASANI NECHUTA DADISANI NECHUTA
By time of death of trees

151) MARAPDIU TINGAMU DADI PDIU TINGAMU
Eat up insects from tree trunks
ERINI KULI ERINI BUTI
That will be your wages
KULI SINIGAI BUTISINIGAI
To be a wage labour
TANU TITIKIRINI TANU BAIRINI
That woodpecker
SENI KUNDARIKANE KUTANI KUNDARIKANE
Making hole on the mortar
SENI KUNDARANAKA KUTANI KUNDARANAKA
After the hole was made
SENIBATI ADATE KUTANIBATI ADATE
Hole is made on the mortar
EMBENANGA MUSINA EMBENANGA PAKINA
Where to place it
SENI EMBE MUSIE KUTANI EMBE MUSIE
Where to bury the mortar
SENI SENI BATI KUTANI KUTANIBATI
Mortar mortar, pestle - pestle

152) TANGE ADINE BASATA TANGE RANJIN BASATA
In its place
MUSANJIE MANGANE PAKANJIE MANGANE
Burying it
NECHUR ARU MEHINSI NECHUR PATI MEHINSI
Just under the main (middle) beam of roof

SENI SUSPI MANGANE KUTANI SUSPI MANGANE
Going to put mortar in hole
SENI GDANGALEGA KUTANI GDANGALEGA
For it not to be shaken
SENI MUSANANGANI KUTANI MUSANANGANI
Placed it properly in hole
IRIBATI ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE
It's ok now
SENI ANIGAISI KUTANI ANIGAISI
After mortar - pestle (were) ready
BICHAGREPI MANGANE JARA GREPIMANGANE
Bringing seeds
BICHA GRECHANANGANI JARAGRECHA NANGANI
After measuring seeds

153) SENI KAPA KIKANE KUTANIKAPA KIKANE
Filled the hole on mortar
TANI BARABICHA TANI BARAJARA
Her mixture of seeds
BICHAJI MANJANE JARAJI MANJANE
Pestling them
TADE GUNDALEGA MADA GUNDA LEGA
Like powder of Sago Palm
BICHANGPAI MANJANE JARANGPAI MANJANE
Pestling the seeds
GLUBU GLUBU NANGA GLABA GLABA NANGA
Hammering heavily
GUNDABANI LEGA DUDINGANI LEGA
Like completely powder form
KALINGEJIN LEGA DEMANGEJIN LEGA
Like separating the seed coats
BICHANG RENI LEGA JARANGRENI LEGA
Like powder
BICHANGSAI MANJANE JARANGSAI MANJANE
Pestled the seeds properly

154) BICHANG SENIGAI JARANGSENIGAI
When seeds were powdered
BICHAGREPI MANGANE JARA GREPIMANGANE
Bringing seed flour out
BICHA BRECHA NANGANI JARAGRECHANANGA
After bringing seed flour
TANU SARENIJALI TANU BANJURTALI
The Sareni mother

SAIDUKI KANATA MIODUKI KANATA
Looking here and there
SAPANGADA WANGAWOTA SARCHANGADA WANGAUTA
At Sapangada earth, Sarchangad earth
BICHANG RENKELA JARANG RENKE LA
Whether powder will fall or not
SARENIA MEKANE BANJURIA MEKANE
Taking observation of it
PEISA MEKANE GADAISA MEKANE
To see after shaking Sareni
BICHANG REPI MANJAN JARANG REPI MANJAN
Seed Flour falling down

155) GUNDANG REPI MANJAN DUDING REPI MANJAN
Flour fell properly
DEMANGEJI MANJAN KALINGEJI MANGAN
Seed coats got separated
IRIBATI ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE
It is good, it's fit
WARI SARENI SALE BANJURI SALE
Sareni can't go alone
WAE MALANDALI WAE DUPANDALI
Hey Malandali Hey Dupandali
MALANANI ATATI DUPANANI ATATI
Come having fire with you
TIDEPENDI ATATI SAKRAPENDI ATATI
Fire with dried Tila plants
TANU ARPIMANGANE TANU KELPIMANGANE
She is calling, she is directing
ASI ARGAN GAISI ASI KERGAN GAISI
For the purpose
TANU MALANDALI TANU DUPANDALI
She is Malandali she is Dupandali

156) MALANANI TODUTI DUPANANI TODUTI
Following the lamp, following the torch
TIDEPENDI TODUTI SAKRAPENDI TODUTI
Following fired dry plants of Tila
SARENI NAVI MANJANE BANJURI NAVI MANJANE
Sareni will move
SAPANGADA SARENI SARCHANGADA SARENI
For levelling Sapangada for levelling Sarchangada
RANIPALU SARENI BENDIPALU SARENI
For levelling Ranipalu, Bendipalu

MALANANI TODUTA DUPANANI TODUTA
Following the lamp, following the torch .
PEIN PEIN SARENI GADA GADA SARENI
Sareni moving, Sounding Pein pein
SATIKAMBANI, PDITIKAMBANI SARENI
For levelling Satikambani, Pditikambani
PENAKAMBAN, MAJAKAMBAN SARENI
For levelling Penakambeni, Majakambeni
TAKAMACHI BARADMACHI SARENI
For levelling Takamachi, Baradmachi

157) MALA UJADATI DUPA UJADATI
In the light of lamp torch
SARENI NAVI MANJANE BANJURI NAVI MANJANE
Sareni moved slowly
TIKIPADARI SARENI BANDIPADARI SARENI
For levelling Tikipadari - Bandipadari
RAJI LINGA, PENULINGA SARENI
For levelling Rajilinga, Penulinga

Sareni moved from Sapangada - in the East.

BARIGATI SARENI PATAGATI SARENI

JENDAWEDI	DO	SABAWEDI	DO
JATRUKUPDA	DO	BANAKUPDA	DO
SARENVALI	-	SAGERVALI	-
VIRAPUKUR		VALIPUKUR	-
PDINGENELLA -		GAPASNELLA	-

158)

SOLUBIRI	BANDIBIRI
GUNJINANU	MAHANANU
PIJUBATA	WIDIBATA
SANASELLA	RUPASELLA
WENDAMNIJI	DUNAMNIJI
KALANGURA	ENDANGURA
SUTAGATI	MARELGATI
SORUDARING	PANGADARING
NACHAVANI	KANGAVANI
KDUKINGNELLA	MATADNELLA -

159) GUNDANGDINI BASATA DUDING DINI BASATA
Dusting (seed powders) throughout
NEHI WANGA AJANE NEHI NELLA AJANE
To make rice fields
KALING DINI BASATA DEMANG DINI BASATA
On the seed coats that's falling

RITADI WANGA AJANE RITADI NELLA AJANE
Will be converted to stones
MALANG DINI BASATA DUPANG DINI BASATA
Where fire falls
URLA DANI AJANE KAPELIDANI AJANE
Urla plant comes out
PENI PENI SARENI GADA GADA SARENI
Sareni moving, sounding pein pein
PIDKIDIJI SARENI KANDANADIDI SARENI
PITRIMARA - SOARI MARA
KADINGBARGA KARKA TARGA

160) USARENA BAERENA
ANIPURA JADIGATI
KATUGADA PADIGADA
ATE BENDEK - ATE DUNEK -
WENDA SAPANGADA WENDA SARCHANGADA
(Sareni moved) through Sapangada
SARENI MNIE MANJANE BANJURI MNIE MANJANE
Sareni moving slowly
ANGASORU SARENI BERING SORU SARENI
PETAVALI - BRAHIVALI
JUANBALU SARENI PAAMBALU SARENI
DAPINELLA - DAKUDNELLA -

161) DEPANELLA TUNGARINELLA
PIPARANI BATARANI
ARIKADA PAKIRADA
PADELPANGA WANGAPADELI
MANALADA DARIADA
PUKIGATI - KRIYAGATI -
GANJUGATI SREKAGATI -
KADAMNELLA DADAMNELLA -
MELE ENDE - TUE ENDA
PITE VALING GANIVALING

162) TIDE DABERI - SAKRADABERI - -
ANANGADU KENANGADU .
TUMUDIBANDHA ROELBANDHA
WANGA JELESI NELLAJALESI
RAHUDI NELLA BRADANELLA
MUNDIGADA LAKAGADA
SACHINGNELLA KUDENGNELLA
WANGASANDAK NELLA SANDAK
WANGA KUDELI NELLA KUDELI

	WANGA GARETI	NELLA GARETI
163)	PEIN PEIN SARENI GADA GADA SARENI	
	TAKA NACHI SARENI BARADNACHI SARENI	

KALING DINIBASA DANA DINIBASA
Where seed coats are falling
RITAD WANGA RITAD NELLA AJATE
Stoney lands come out
GUNDANG DUDINGA DINIBASA
Dusting the powders
NEHI WANGA AJANE NEHI NELLA AJANE
Nice fields are being formed
ATE BENDEK SARENI ATE DUNEK SARENI
Again Sareni moving
WENDA BEKAD SARENI WENDA DANASI SARENI

	USAVALI	DAUVALI SARENI -
	RINDAVALI	DUCHAVALI
164)	PIKUSNELLA	SARANGNELLA
	DARA BENGERI	KAJABENGERI
	GERMEL NELLA	DIPUR NELLA -
	SINDER SORU -	SAMBING SORU
	WANGA NALAKI SARENI NELLA MALEKI SARENI	
	WANGA KUMUDI -	NELLA KUMUDI
	WANGA KANJAD	NELLA KANJAD
	TERA JINDANG	TERA GADA
	KUPA NELLA	BAKI NELLA
	LAKADARA	SIMELI DARA
165)	NIGA NELLA	TALADNELLA
	GADA VALI	NAGARAVALI
	ADA GADI	PIOGADI
	DIMBUL BANDHA	RANIBANDHA -
	TERA DIMBUL	TERA ATAL -
	SENDUROTI	DAUROTI
	ACHABANDA	MNIABANDA
	PIJUMUNDA	BIDIMUNDA -
	PIJUSUDI	BIDISUDI
	SINGULI NELLA	GUNDELI NELLA
166)	LADURACHA	KIDADRACHA
	KAKADAKA	KIDADIDAKA
	BDELAKERI	BANDAKERI
	KANDU NELLA	PALAD NELLA

JARUGATI		KESUGATI
KICHANG JORU		RABANG JORU
RENGANI SORU		RENGANI GATI
TULANGDIBA		MALANGDIBA
AKUDANJA	-	PDIPADANJA
LIDILADA		KDANILESPA

167) DADINGBADA — MAGDAMADA

DADINGBADA		MAGDAMADA
SATRADIKA	-	MANINGDIKA -
DEUSANA		TUMASANA
ISIKIDI		BIMBIKIDI
KANDABADA		BAKABADA
TIDITADA		BAJARGADA
GUNANIMBAR		GADINIMBAR
KRIYARINJA		PUKIRINJA
APKADEPA		KAMANGDEPA-
PDIUDUPA		PARADUPA

168)

TALABEGA		BANABEGA
PATIGDUA	-	NAPAGDUA
ETANDUDU	-	PAMANDUDU

WENDAMIAN DINA WENDANIAN KASA

Throughout the country

WENDA MNIE SARENI DUNAMNIE SARENI

Sareni moves all through

GUCHKA NELLA SARENI PADEL NELLA SARENI

WANGATIDI	NELLATIDI
SIK DANDANGI	BDELADAHDA
JURGABATA	SAKADBATA
SINGAVALI	MERAVALI

169)

WANGAPITA		NELLAPITA
DEUGARA		SIPANANA
DIDKINELLA		DADKINELLA
KUNADELI		BASADELI
KACHELAKU		BRANJELAKU
PUSABADI		SINDURBADI
TUAKOLA		MASKAKOLA
WANGA GARDI		NELLA GARDI
DUMANGATI		ERPUGATI
WANGA LANJA	-	NELLA LANJA

170) RANDA DINA IJISI RANDA KASA IJISI

Makinng one country

WENDAMDIJI DUNAMDIJI SARENI

Moving throughout

KUTUMUNDA PATIMUNDA
SUNABANGI RUPABANGI
KINIPANGA EKAPADA
MANAVALI WIRKIVALI
RANGAPARU PITADPARU
SIKERBADA BAERBADA
DERI PIJUR KAGARI PIJUR
WANGA SULER - NELLA SULER

171) KANANGDAKA KATANGDAKA-
BATIPADA SELAPADA -
WANGA BRAMBU NELLA SRAMBU
BASI GATI - POEGATI
WENDAMDIJI SARENI DUNAMDIJI SARENI
SATIVALI - PDITIVALI
BELAGADA RAYGADA -
ALISORU KDANISORU
KUSUMUNDA BALUMUNDA
SECHKURI ARU DABERI ARU

172) SEKAGATI MUNDIGATI
SIRAMDEU BAMANADEU
GETAVALI MUANVALI
WANGA WANGURI - NELLA WANGURI
WANGA KATADI NELLA KATADI
BURLUBARU TIKERBARU
PUJUGATI IRPIGATI
MANINGKERI - DAMBINGKERI
MIUNDUTI KANADUTI
ADAVALI KANAVALI

173) KURANGALU BAINGALU -
DAMENSORU GASENSORU
ALING GAHADI KDANINGAHADI
WANGA TENGELI NELLA TENGELI
WANGA PAKARI NELLA PAKERI
RINDAVALI DUCHAVALI
SABDUNI BAEDUNI
ALIDAPA ARTU DAPA
WANGA SIKADI NELLA SIKADI -
SORU SUPENI PANGA SUPENI

174) PEIN PEIN SARENI GADA GADA SARENI

TAKA NACHI SARENI BARAD NACHI SARENI
Sareni is Making, moving

KALING DINIBASA DEMANG DINIBASA
Where seed coats falling
RITAD WANGA AJANE RITAD NELLA AJANE
Stoney lands coming out
GUNDANG DINIBASA DUDING DINIBASA

NEHI GOBA AJANE NEHI DANI AJANE

SORU GUMU PANGA GUMU

SORUBDALI PANGABDALI
DERI JRAMELI KAGIR JRAmELI -
SURAMBARU ATISADA -

175) BICHANDI NIBASA - JARANGDINIBASA -
NEHI WANGA AJANE NEHI NELLA AJANE
Nice earth, nice fields forming
MALANDINIBASA DUPANDINIBASA
Where fire falls
URLADANI AJANE KAPELIDANI AJANE
Urla plants comes on
SARENI NABINJANE BANJURI NABINJANE
Sareni being operated
PEIN PEIN SARENI GADA GADA SARENI
Sareni moving sounding pein pein
WANGA TAJANGI SARENI NELLA TAJANGI SARENI
For levelling all the earth, fields
WANGA JAKERI NELLA JAKERI
For levelling wangojakeri, Nellajakeri
BADE GATI SARENI TUTA GATI SARENI
ACHADIGER - MNIADIGER

176) WENDAMNIJI - DUNAMNIJI
RANDA DINA IJISI RANDAKASA IJISI
Making one country
ATINGARADA SARENI GADANGARADA SARENI

WANGA DURJUDI NELLA DURJUDI
PALKI NELLA KANDAM NELLA
SELA SORU TATISORU
DAMANIGATA KNELIGATA
KERAVANI BAIVANI
KAMESORU KAMEGADA
TULAPADA BALIPADA

177) SARENI MNIENJANE BANJURI MNIENJANE
Sareni in operation

WENDAMNIJI DUNAMNIJI SARENI
Sareni being made throughout
WENDAMAIDINA SARENI WENDAMAKASA SARENI
Throughout my country
PEIN PEIN SARENI GADA GADA SARENI
Sareni moving, sounding pein pein
LALAKUTI SARENI SURKUTI SARENI

	LAKTINELLA		RUNENELLA
	LAKINGADU		PAGINGADU
	TAMBADEDI		PITADDEDI
	BARIGABA		SIRIGABA
	SINDINGKALA		MADANGKALA
178)	KINIGABA		KINEVIRA
	SERSANGADA	-	BAINGADA -
	WANGA SARCHANGADA	-	NELLA SARCHANGADA
	SANA DUER	-	RUPADUER
	JUDANGADU		GEDANGADU
	SENINGADU	-	KAJANGADU

SARENI MNIE MANJANE BANJURI MNIE MANJANE
Sareni is in operation
SARENI NACHIMANGANE BANJURI NACHIMANGANE
Sareni shaking - moving
MALA UJADAATI DUPA UJADAATI
In light of lamp - torch
TIKERPADA SARENI DUMBER GUDA SARENI
For levelling Tikerpada Dumberguda

179) MELU ENDA - KNEHALI ENDA
SINJANGERI SARENI GRAPANELA SARENI

RINDAVALI	-	DUCHAVALI
GUCHKA NANGA	-	AMBADAPADAR
SORU JARAM		PANGAJORAM
DUPANELLA		DUPAPADAR
JANAVALI		BANDUGODA
SUKILABATA		OINLABATA
AMADULA		BISAMKATA
ASANGSALA		PARANGSALA

180)	NANGELBADI	JUALBADI
	WANGA SIRCHUDI	NELLA SIRCHUDI
	MUNIGUDA	DAIKALA
	RAMANIGUDA	BAMANIGUDA
	TATIKANA	BISALADI
	ATE BENDEK	ATE JONEK -

	LAURKUDAN		LAURPATAN	
	SIRKIBANDHA		ARKABANDHA	
	WANGA KATADI		NELLA KATADI	
	AJIN SALU		PERANSALU	
181)	SURGABATA		BECHABANDHA	
	WIDI-OKAD	-	DALANGBATA -	

RANDA DINA IJISI RANDAKASA IJISI

BARANGARU SARENI KAPANGARU-SARENI

	SECHKURI ARU		DABER ARU	
	KARLA KUDANG		SAKRAKUDANG	
	TANGANI SORU		TANGANI GATI	-
	BAKE LAKU		BAKEL PADAR	-
	PUSARANI		BATARANI	
	PADEKANDA	-	TOARANJA	-
182)	SANDILI GATI	-	BANDILIGATI	

RANDA DINA RANDAKASA IJISI

GAHINVALI SARENI DARNI MASKA SARENI

	TIDE KUDANG	SAKRAKUDANG	
	SORU BARENG	PANGABARENG	
	MUNDIMASKA	PINGAMASKA	
	NISIPIDI	MUNDIPIDI	
	ACHANGADEL	BAPANGADEL	
	BASAKADA	PUNAKADA	
	MUSKASORU	KAJANGSORU	
183)	LAKAPAJU	BADAPAJU	
	ATADTULLA	SIADTULLA	
	HAISALA	PRAPASALA	
	GUNANGADU	GANINGADU	
	TULAMPADI	MALANGPADI	-
	BINDANKERI	SATRAKERI	-
	WANGAPUDRUNG	NELLAPUDRVNG	
	SIPANGADU	GUNAGADU	
	TADKALA	MACHADKALA	
	RINDAVALI	DUCHAVALI	
184)	JINDAGADU	MARKADU	
	NACHULADU	TALALADU	
	JAGADALPUR	SATANPUR	
	SATALUDANJA	KUDADDANJA	
	BALIGUDA	REKIGADA	
	DADINGMADA	PIPADMADA	

	ACHANGDELI		MNIANGDELI	
	SARENI MNIATE		BANJURI MNIATE	
	WENDA MNIJI		DUNAMNIJI	
	WEKADMNIJI		DUNAMNIJI	
185)	ACHAKADU		BANANAKADU	
	WANGABAKLA		NELLABAKLA	
	PUJUGATI		IRPIGATI	-
	SORU BURLANG		PANG ABURLANG	
	UKANMUNDI		BERENGMUNDI	
	KRANJIKANA		MASIKANA	-
	BAGAMUNDA	-	PAGAMUNDA	
	TAKANASANA		BIRMASANA	
	BIKAPANGA		NANAPANGA	
	DAMANVALI		KNEHELIPALI	
186)	TANBADAKU		DAMPATANGA	
	DUNDRUKADU	-	PETEKADU	
	SUNIVALI		SINDEBARU	-
	WANGAPADEL		NELLA PADEL	
	GARANGINELLA		NANANGNELLA	
	DAMANPANGA		KNEHELI PANGA	
	BILAMALA		MALABILA	
	VALIGATI	-	JAMBAGATI	
	SAMBANGSORU		SATASORU	
	DUDUS NELLA		MANUSI NELLA	
187)	DERI DENGENI	-	KAGERI DENGENI	-
	JAMBUGUDA	-	ARTAGUDA	-
	SUNAKATAK		RUPAKATAK	
	SARENIDANGA		MARDIDANGA	-
	KINAD NELLA		DANDAD NELLA	
	TIDENGADU		SAKRANGADU	
	MAHAVALI		GETAVALI	
	GULAMPANGA		REKIPANGA	
	KANEBARU		ENDABARU	-
	WANGA BANGERI		PIJUBANGERI	-
188)	BECHABANDHA		SANABANDHA	
	SANASELA		RUPASELA	
	NUAMUNDA		PURUNAMUNDA	-
	PEDEM NELLA		GOPAS NELLA	
	WANGA SIKERI		NELLA SIKERI	
	KANANGADU		ANANGADU	
	JENDAWEDI		SABAWEDI	

SARENIPUNDA DANEDE BANJURI PUNDA DANEDE

	DINAGUNDA -	KASAGUNDA
	JATRUKUPDA	BANAKUPDA
189)	JENANGUDA	NISANANGUDA
	RAJILINGA	PENULINGA
	RANIPALU	BENDIPALU
	SAPANGADA -	SARCHANGADA

DINAGUNDA DAJATE KASAGUNDA DAJATE

	ATE BENDEK -	ATE DUNEK
	TUITAMBU	DARMALADI
	PENUKALA -	MAJUKALA
	RAJAM KALA -	SADGA NELLA
	BARDA GATI -	ARDAGATI
190)	RANIMUNDI	BADAMUNDI
	MNASUKERI -	DANDAKERI
	BURLAPANGA	ARDAPANGA
	SOSABATA	PAGERPADI
	KRICHITULA	SALAPADI
	MUNDAVALI	SEKAVALI
	ODAVALI	KNAVALI -
	MAAVALI	PARTIVALI
	SIRASMBAR	BAIMBAR -
	SIRADANDANG -	SIRAPAKAR
191)	SONDEKIDI	BAIKIDI
	DODOD KALLA -	MUCHAN KALA
	LAKAJADA	GRABAJADA
	KRANJANELLA	BARINELLA
	KUTUDIDI	BANANGJALA
	TIKIMADAR -	BANDI MADAR

SAPANGADA PUNDADI SARCHANGADA PUNDADI

SARENPUNDA AJATE BANJURI PUNDA AJATE
Sareni coming on, moving through
ATE BENDEK AJATE ATE DUNEK AJATE

KAJUGER AJATE BAIGER AJATE

192)	GUNJIGATA	BAIGATA
	TADENGBARU	ARDABARU
	DAMANKALA	KNELUKALA
	MESKARI KALA	MIOKALA
	SITKIPANGA	TOADONI

	SAPAR NELLA		PUDENI NELLA
	GRISPA VALI		MRATPAVALI
	KUJANELLA	-	GAMBAR NELLA
	DUER BEDI		ANGURI BEDI
	KUDE PANGA	-	TEDI PANGA -
193)	KAKIBAKI		BARABAKI
	MASANGDIA	-	KADANGDIA
	PIDELNELLA	-	JADELNELLA
	WANGO PRIENI		NELLA PRIENI
	SITKA MATI	-	KATPA MATI -
	ROGAMARA	-	BICHUMARA
	MERAVALI	-	MNEPAVVALI -
	JAPINELLA	-	PDUBANELLA

SARENI PUNDA DANEDE BANJURI PUNDA DANEDE
Sareni returned covering all through
SARENI PUNDA ADATE BANJURI PUNDA ADATE
Sareni operation is ok

194) E SAPANGADATA E SARCHANGADATA
In this Sapangada
DINA PUNDA AJATE KASAPUNDA AJATE
The whole country became levelled
MAI SARENI TALI - MAI BANJURI TALI
Our Sareni mother
SAPANGADA GUNJARI SARCHANGADA GUNJARI
Around Sapangada
BICHADIA WATALI JARADIA WATALI
Broadcasted seeds
KALING IJI WATALI DEMBANG IJI WATALI
Broadcasted seed coats
DINEWIDE WATALI KASAWIDE WATALI
Have covered the whole country
ANA BIDE WATALI GATIWIDE WATALI
Jumping over Ana-Gati
KERIWIDE WATALI DANDABIDE WATALI
Jumping over steep slopes wide slopes
MAI SARENI WATALI MAI BANJURI WATALI
Our Sareni is that

195) KELU BRIA WATALI MARA BRIA WATALI
Sareni is broken
SRO DOA ATALI MACHI DROA ATALI
Sareni has become dirty

IKJA TUA TUNA DANJEGENA TUNA
Should it be thrown off
IRI ITANDI ADE IRI RASPANDIADE
This can't be kept
E KELU BRITALI E MARA BRITALI
It's hands are broken
IKJANODE TUASA WANJENADE TUASA
We'll nothrow it
LIKE SARENIJI TUASA LIKE BANJURI WANA TUASA
Is it an ordinary Sareni
DINA WIDE WATALI KASA WIDE WATALI
It has covered the country
EMBE ITENJINA EMBE RASENJINA
Here we'll keep it
KATAMUNDAT GENA BEI MUNDAT GENA
Should it be near hedge

196) WIDI OKAD GENA KATA WEKAD GENA
Should it be kept at courtyard
KUMDA JAGDIT GENA MUNDRAJAGDIT GENA
Should it be kept under pumpkin stage
SICHENI ARUT GENA PAPI ARUT GENA
Should it be kept on stage inside house
EMBA SRA DATANE EMBA MACHI DATANE
There it will be dirty
EMBA LENGU ADANE EMBAPAKA DENGANI
Where it will be good
EMBE PITENJINA EMBERASANJINA
Where shall we keep
SARE SARENBATI BANJU BANJUR BATI
Our Sareni
TANGE ABIN BASA TANGE RANJIN BASA
Where to keep
PIJU PANA BASA BIDIPANA BASA
Where there is no rain
SRO DOABASA MACHIDOA BASA
Where there is no dust - dirt

197) KUKUDAHA BASA BUMBUDAHA BASA
Where there is no water
SARENI ITENJINA BANJURI ITENJINA
Sareni is to be kept
KARAMARA PECHAT GENA BIDIMARA PECHAT GENA
Should it be kept on kara tree, Bidi tree

EMBA ADA MUE EMBA RANJAMUE
There it can't be
NA PIJU WANALI NA WIDI WANALI
If rain approaches
ECHKITAHA NACHANE RAPCHITAHA NACHANE
It will come back suddenly
EMBE PITENJINA EMBEPARSANJINA
Where shall (we) keep
MAE SARENANI MAE BANJURANI
To our Sareni
SARENI ITA GAI BANJURI ITAGAI
To keep the Sareni
TANU TIBA INENJE TANU BAINENJE
He is promising, taking oath

198) ADE LAKA DARA - ADE BIMA DARA
Taking name of the ancestors
ADE SARA SAUTA ADE BURA SAUTA
Hey Sora Sauta, Bura Sauta
ADE PIJUBIMENJE ADE BAIBIMENJE
Hey lord of rain, wind
SARENI ITENJIE BANJURI ITENJIE
For Sareni to be kept
MERA NULU SIAMU SINGANULU SIAMU
Give us yellow thread
MNIADARA DETAMU PATPADARA DETAMU
Please open the door
TANUPIJU GULRA TANUBIDI GULRA
He is rain god, wind god
TIBA INIGAI DAU INIGAI
Promising, taking oath
MNIA DARA DENENJE PATPADARA DENENJE
Opening the door
MERANULU REPNENJE SINGANULU REPNENJE
Yellow thread came down

199) MERA NULU REPNAKA SINGA NULU REPNAKA
When yellow thread came down
SARENI GASPINERE BANJURI GASPINERE
Binding the Sareni
SARENI GASANANGA BANJURI GASANANGA
Finishing the binding
TANU LAKIDARA TANU BIMADARA
He is the ancestor

SARENI RELPINENJE BANJURI RELPINENJE
Pulling the Sareni
PIJUPADI KUETI BIDIPADI KUETI
Above the rain sphere, wind sphere
NACHADANGA KUETI TOADANGA KUETI
Above the slopes of heaven
SARENI REJANANGA BANJURI REJANANGA
On pulling the Sareni up
TANU ITINENJE TANU RESPINENJE
He is keeping
PIJU PANA BASA BIDIPANA BASA
Where rain can't be

200) SRO DOHABASA MACHIDROABASA
Where dust can't be
KUKUDOA BASA BUBMUDOA BASA
Where it will not imbibe water
SATA BAKRIDAE SATA PERLI DAE
In a seven compartment house
SARENI ITENANGA BANJURI ITENANGA
Kept the Sareni
ATETARU TIBAMANERE ATE TARU DAIMANERE
Promising again, taking oath again
ADE LAKI DARA ADE BIMA DARA
Remebered the ancestors
ADE PIJU GULRA ADE WIDI GULARA
Took name of rain god, wind god
PALAS PEIN ISA PALAS GADA ISA
Unncessarily don't rain (please)
PALAS DUNDRUMETA PALAS KUDU META
Unnecessarily don't make mist and fog
PALAS JANJADIA PALAS NIBADIA
Unnecessarily don't make mist

201) MASKA KALA MEHISI DASIKALA MEHISI
May rain come with mango flowers
SACHI KANDULI MEHISI KUDE KANDULI MEAISI
May rain come with gram flowers
RAI MANDE MEHISI KADA MANDE MEHISI
At the time mustard, finger millet emerge out
TIA PAKA MEHISI TIA JUNU MEHISI
On seeing maixe flowers, bean flowers
EMBE PEI ISTAMU EMBE GADA ISTAMU
May the rain come then

EMBA TAKA NACHA EMBA BARAD NAÇHA
Then push it pull it
EMBA DUNDRU METAMU EMBA KUDU METAMU
When there will be fog, mist
ASI TIBAIA ASI DAIA
Promising, taking oath
TIBAIANANGA DAI IANANGA
Promised, took oath
IRIBATI ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE
Now it is ok, it is fit

202) SARENIBAKI ICHITE BANJURI BAKI ICHITE
Kept the Sareni there
IRI LAING AJATE IRITUKING AJATE
Now its ok, its fit
SARENI SACHI BEKADI BANJURI SACHI BEKADI
After the Sareni
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali she is Kapandali
TANU JENDALADU TANU KASALADU
She is the central woman
SAPANGADA WANGO SARCHANGADA WANGAOTA
In Sapangada earth, Sarchangada earth
SARENI SACHI BEASI BANJURI SACHI BEASI
Following the Sareni's path
TANU WIDE MEPINGANE TANU KREJE MEPINGANE
She is roaming, observing
SARENI BATI SAJATE BANJURI BATI SAJATE
Following the Sareni's path
IRIBATII ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE
It's alright, it's fit

203) SARENI SACHI BEASI BANJURI SACHI BEASI
Following the Sareni's path
RANGAN SAJANJILEYE PABER SAJANJILEYE
Stones have not gone there
RANGAN AJA SILE PABERI AJA SILE
Rangan is not done
DENGE DENGE AJANE DENE DENE AJANE
(Earth) is shaking being pushed down
JABAMERA LEGA JABA KETA LEGA
Like muddy lands
KADA AJA MANJANE KUTIAJA MANJANE
Still small holes are there

DEPA AJA MANJANE TUPUR AJA MANJANE
Furrows are still there
TANI KANGARINAWA TANISINADINAWA
She is observing
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali she is Kapandali
ATE AKAD MANGANE ATE GANGAD MANGANE
Again thinking for knowledge

204) AKAD MANJANANGA GANGAD MANGANANGA
After thinking
AKAD MACHISI ADE GANGAD MACHISI ADE
Only thought can't do
WAE RANGANTALI WAE PABERI TALI
Hey Rangan mother
RANGAN TALI PABER TALI ATATEE
Rangan mother coming
RANGANI AJANJILEYE PABERI AJANJILEYE
The earth is not made Rangan
TANA RUENJILEYE PATA RUENJILEYE
Earth is not properly levelled
DILI KASTA MEBAMU BUDUNG KASTA MEBAMU
Hammer the earth to make it plain
SINDEMATA AJATI KAJURMATA ATATI
Date palm trees are there
SANA JATRA ATATI RUPAJATRA ATATI
Small bushes are there
DILI KASTAMEBAMU BUDUNG KASTAMEBAMU
Hammer the earth to be hard

205) RANGANIA MEBAMU PABERIA MEBAMU
Make the earth plain with Rangan
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali she is Kapandali
ASIARPI MANGANE ASI KELPIMANGANE
Calling like that
ASI KARGAN GAISI ASI KELGAN GAISI
To tell like that
TANU RANGAN TALI TANU PABER TALI
She is Rangan mother
RANGAN TALI PABERI TALI AISI
Rangan mother came
SINDEMATA, KAJURIMATA AISI
Mat weaving mother (from Date palm leaves)

SANA JATRA RUPAJATRA AISI
Golden brown, Silver brown came
SAPANGADA WANGO SARCHANGADA WANGAWOTA
In Sapangada earth, Sarchangada earth
DILING GATPIGANE KUDUNG GATPINGANE
Hammering hard

206) DILING GASTI MANGANI KUDUNG GASTINANGANI
Hammering to plain the earth
SAPANGADA RANGANI SARCHANGADA RANGANI
Making Sapangada, Sarchangada plain
RANIPALU BENDIPALU RANGANI
Making Ranipalu, Bendi palu plain
PIJUSILAT DINATA WIDISILAT DINATA
In the country without rain
SUGAD SUPI RANGANI NOAD SUPI RANGANI
Putting earth on earth
KADA ATALA KUTI ATALA
Holes were made, slopes made
KADA ATIBASA KUTI ATIBASA
At the place of composting
KALU DUDI TRICHISI GADA DUDI TRICHISI
Removing dirt from body (and putting in the holes)
TUPURI ATIBASA DEPA ATIBASA
At places of ups
KICHENDUI RANGANI RABENDUI RANGANI
Taking out earth

207) DILINGASTI RANGANI KUDUNGASTI RANGANI
Hammering hard
SATI KAMBANI RANGANI PDITI RANGANI KAMBANI
Making Satikambani, Pditikambani plain
PENA KAMBANI RANGANI MAJA KAMBANI RANGANI
Making penakambani, Majakambani plain
SAPANGADA GUNJARI SARCHANGADA GUNJARI
Around Sapangada, around Sarchangada
RAGAMARA RANGANI BICHUMARA RANGANI
Making Ragamara , Bichumara plain
SITAKAMATI RANGANI KATAPAMATA RANGANI
Making Sitkamati katpamati plain
PIDELNELLA KAMBANI, JADELNELLA KAMBANI
Making pidel nella, Jadel nella plain
SAPANGADA GUNJARI SARCHANGADA GUNJARI
Around Sapangada, around sarchangada

RAGAMARA RANGANI BICHUMARA RANGANI
Making Ragamara-Bichumara plain
RANGAN AAI MANJANE PABER AAI MANJANE
Rangan being made

208) TANA KAJAT BASA PATA KAJATBASA
At places where earth is not levelled
DURUVALI IGJISI DURUPATA IGJISI
Throwing away stones
SENDURVALI IGJISI DAURVALI IGJISI
Red stones thrown off
GRAPKI VIRA IGJISI GARLI VIRA IGJISI
Earth taken out, thrown off
TANA KAJATBASA PATA KAJATBASA
At places of dry earth
IGJA NAPINGANE KAPKE NAPINGANE
Throwing off and going on
MASANGDIA RANGANI KADANGDIA RANGANI
Making Masongdia - Kdangdia plain
KUDEPANGA RANGANI TEDIPANGA RANGANI
Making Kudepanga Tedipanga plain
DUERBEDI RANGANI PABERBEDI RANGANI

ANARDROHA RANGANI KADAKDROHA RANGANI

209) WANGO JANAKA RANGANI NELLA JANKA RANGANI

SINDASUR RANGANI MADASUR RANGANI

SUSABATA RANGANI PAGARPADI RANGANI

SALAPADI RANGANI KRICHITULLA RANGANI

RANGAN NABINJANE PABER NABINJANE

SAPANGADA GUNJARI SARCHANGADA RANGANI

DILINGGASTI RANGANI BUDANGASTI RANGANI

PIJUSILA DINATA BIDISILA DINATA

SUPTISUPI RANGANI NAWADSUPI RANGANI

MUNDAVALI RANGANI SEKAVALI RANGANI

210) ODAVALI RANGANI KNAHAVALI RAMGANI

MAA VALI RANGANI PARTIVALI RANGANI

SIRAMBAR - BAIMBAR

SIRADANDANG RANGANI SIRABAKAD RANGANI

SINDEKIDI BEDI RANGANI

DUDUDKOLA RANGANI MUCHADKOLA RANGANI
LAKAJADA RANGANI BRABAJADA RANGANI
KRANJANELLA RANGANI BARINELLA RANGANI
UTISIRA RANGANI TANGISIRA RANGANI
KUTUDUDI RANGANI VANAJALA RANGANI

211) NUAMUNDA RANGANI PURNAMUNDA RANGANI

PIJUBANGERI -	BIDIBANGERI -
PEDEMNELLA	DASAMNELLA
JENDAWEDI	SABAWEDI
BARIGATI	PATAGATI
JATRUKUPDA	BANAKUPDA
JENANGUDA	NISANAGUDA
SARENIVALI	SAGERIVALI
HIRAKUPUR	VALIKUPUR
PRINGANELLA	GAPASNELLA -

212)	SALUBIRI	BANDIBRI
	GUNJINANU	MAHANANU
	GUNJERVALI	PUDMAVALI
	SANDIMASKA	DEDAMASKA
	KALANGURA	ENDANGURA
	MAJIMUNDANG	MOELMUNDANG
	KANGASORU	BERENGSORU -
	VIRA PANGA	VALI PANGA
	INDIRA MUNDI	KADAKMUNDI
	JIPKABATA	PRAPABATA

213) JUDHAABATA - KELABATA -
WIDI OKADI SARENI DALANGBATA SARENI
GUMAGADA - SERAGADA
TIKI PADARI - BANDIPADARI -
RANGEN PUDANEDE PABER PUNDANEDE

RANGANI PENULINGA RANGANI
RANGEN PUNDADI AINJADI PABERIPUNDAINJADI
DINA PUNDA AINEDE KASA PUNDA AINEDE
RANIPALU RANGANI BENDIPALU RANGANI
SAPANGADA SARCHANGADA

214) RANGAN PUNDADAJATE PABERI PONDADAJATE
IRIBATI ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE
RANGANBATI PABERIBATI SAJATE

E RANGAN VALINI E PABERI VALINI
To this Rangan stone
INISATISI ADINE INISATISI RANJINE
How it will be ok, how it will be fit
DINA RUKCHABATALI KASARUCHAVATALI
To make a good country
IGJA GENA TUNA DANJE GENA TUNA
Should the stone be thrown off
INA PDIBANDI ADE INA RASPANDI ADE
It will come in no use
IGJANADE TUASA DANJENEDE TUASA
No we will not throw it
LIKET RANGANI VALITA LIKET PABERI VALITA
Is it an ordinary stone

215) DINA RUKUCHI BATALI KASA RUKUCHA
(It) Has levelled the earth
INISINA NERANDI INISINA KAPANDI
How to be done Nerandi
E RANGANVALINI E PABERIVALINI
To this Rangon stone
IMBE ITANJINA IMBE RASANJINA
Where shall we keep
KATAMUNDAT GENA KASAMUNDAT GENA
Should it be near the hedge
KICHAD PECHATA GENA PADIPECHAT GENA
In which place it's to be kept
AMBA ADA MUE AMBA RANJAMUE
There it can't be
AMBA LAINGAE AMBA TUCINGAI
There it will not be ok, not be fit
IMBE ITENJINA IMBE RASANJINE
Where shall we keep it
KARAMARAT GENA BIDIMARAT GENA
Should it be kara tree - Bidi tree

216) AMBABA ADE AMBABA RANJE
There it will not be ok, not be fit
MAE RANGAN VALINI MAE PABER VALINI
Our Rangan stone
ITE NJIE MANERE RASENJIE MANERE
Keeping it there
NA LAURGAI NA KANJAR GAI
For our blacksmith

NA SASAGAJ NA GURUGAJ
For other people
MAI RANGAN UALINI MAJ PABER VALINI
Our Rangan stone
ITENJIE MANERE RASENJIE MANERE
Keeping it there
AAI DIDKI NELLATA AAJ DADKI NELLATA
Came to Dadki nella
AAJ DEUGARA AAI SIPANANATA
Came to Deugara, Sipanana
DEUGARA WANGA SIPANANA WANGAWOTA
In Deugara earth

217) RANGANVALI LANI PABER VALILANI
To this Rangan stone
ITENJIE MANERE RASANJIE MANERE
Keeping it there
ITENJIANANGA RASANJIA NANGA
After keeping it there
TARU TIBAMENERE TARUDAIMANERE
They are promising, taking oath
ALA RANGAN VALI ALA PABER VALI
Hey Rangan mother
NASUMNIA GITAMU DUENMNIA GITAMU
You be here as garlic
URKUMNIA GITAMU ARKAMNIA GITAMU
You be here as iron
ANDA MNIANAMU PABA MNIANAMU
Be here as iron pot
ANDA AJAMANJAMU PABA AJAMANJAMU
After my promise
NAJ TIBA TODUTA NAJ DAI TODUTA
My blacksmith will come

218) NA LAURGAJ NA BINJARGAI
For that blacksmith
NA GURUGAISI NA SASAGAISI
For that man
ALA RANGANVALI ALA PABER VALI
Hey Rangan mother
ARKA MNIANJAMU URKU MNIANJAMU
Convert from stone to steel
ASITIBA INENJE ASI DAJ INENJE
Promising, taking oath

TIBA IANANGA DAI IANANGA
After promising, taking oath
IRIBATI ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE
Now it's ok, it's fit
IRIBATI LAINGI IRIBATI TUKINGI
Now it's alright, it's fitting
RANGAN BATI SAJATE PABER BATI SAJATE
Rangan stone went
TANAGATI RUATE PATAGATI RUATE
Became perfectly levelled

219) KADABATI MUNJATE KUTIBATI MUNJATE
Holes filled in
TANAGATI KAJATE PATAGATI KAJATE
Earth, Ghats became full
IRIBATI ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE
Now it's ok, it's fit
TANU NERÁNDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali she is Kapandali
TANU JENDALEDU TANU KADALADU
She is the central woman
RANGAN SACHI BEASI PABER SACHI BEASI
Following the path Rangan moved
SAPANGADA WANGO SARCHANGADA WANGAWOTA
In Sapangada earth, Sarchangada earth
WIDE MEPINGANE PREJE MEPINGANE
Going to roam and observe
TANI BIDINEBA TANI PREJINEBA
When she was roaming
JIN JIN DEWALI WANGO WANGO DEALI
Earth looking solitary, vacant

220) USUMAI SILE RUMAI SILE
Not crowded, not noisy
JIENANGA DEALI WANGANANGA DEWALI
Only vacuum was there
IRIBA ADATE IRIBA RANJATE
Now it's not ok, not fit
JIEN JIEN AJATE WANGO WANGO AJATE
Looking solitary, vacant
SORU NINGE SILE GADANINGE SILE
No hills , no holes
ARA NINGE SILE TIMBANINGE SILE
Not a small hill (even) there

MANANG SAJASILU ADANG SAJASILU
Manang is not there to make hills
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali she is Kapandali
MANANG LACHAGAI ADANGLACHAGAI
To measure with Manang-Adang
WAE MANANDALI WAE ADANDALI
Hey Manandali hey Adandali

221) ASI ARPIMANGANE ASI KELPIMANGANE
Calling like that .
BAE SRA MANANATI MATIMANA ATATI
Bring your dirty mana
VIRA MANA ATATI VALI MANA ATATI
Mana that was measuring earth, sand
MANA LACHE MEBAMU ADA LACHE MEBAMU
Measure the Mana
ASI INIGAI ASI BENIGAI
On saying like that
TANU MANANDALI TANU ADANDALI
She is Manandali, she is Adandali
MANALACHI MANGANE ADALACHI MANGANE
Measuring with Mana
SRA MANAT MANEKA MACHIMANAT MANEKA
Measuring one Mana
VIRA MANATI MANEKA MACHI MANATI MANEKA
One Mana of earth
MANANG ACHINGANE ADANG LACHINJANE
Measuring with mana

222) SAPANGADA KIKANE SARCHANGADA KIKANE
To put it in Sapangada
NINGAMU SAPANGADA NINGAMU SARCHANGADA
Grow on Sapangada, grow on Sarchangada
TARU PANGI NINGAMU PADA PANGI NINGAMU
You grow high
DARU GACHI NINGAMU PADA GACHI NINGAMU
Keeping your own name, grow on
JENDALIJE NINGAMU KADALAJI NINGAMU
You grow as a big one
RANIPALU KIKANE BENDIPALU KIKANE
To put it in Ranipalu, Bendipalu
NINGAMU RANIPALU NINGAMU BENDIPALU
Grow on Ranipalu, grow on Bendipalu

DARU GACHI NINGAMU PADAGACHI NINGAMU
Keeping your own name, grow on
USARANA KIKANE BEARANA KIKANE
To put it in Usarana, Bearana
NINGAMU USARENA GROW ON BEARENA
Grow on Usarena grow on Bearena

223) JENDABEDI KIKANE SABABEDI KIKANE
PIJU BANGERI KIKANE BIDI BANGERI KIKANE
NINGAMU PIJU BANGERI NINGAMU BIDIBANGERI
DARU GACHI NINGAMU PADAGACHI NINGAMU
DENE DENE NINGAMU DENGE DENGE NINGAMU
KRIAJIKA LEGA PUKI JIKA LEGA
KERING IJI NINGAMU DANDANG IJI NINGAMU
SANASELA KIKANE RUPASELA KIKANE
NINGAMU SANASELA NINGAMU RUPASELA
DARU GACHI NINGAMU PADAGACHI NINGAMU

224) PIJUBATA KIKANE BIDIBATA KIKANE

Manang started functioning. It measured earth and poured at certain places. Hills grew up in such places. Manang moved around. It started working from Sapangada and followed the same path of Sareni. It covered the whole world around Kuttia Kondhs. Here, only the names of certain large hills are mentioned.

SUTAGATI KIKANE MARELGATI KIKANE

PIPARADI	-	JENDARADI	-
KENANG ADU		ANANGADU	-
DARA BENGERI	-	BIJA BENGERI	-
WANGO SANDAK	-	NELLA SANDAK	
WENDA MNIJI		DUNA MNIJI	
SIKA DANDANG	-	BDEL DANDANG	
SURGABATA		SAKAD BATA	-
SORU PIJUR		GADA PIJUR	-

225) TERA DIMBUL - TERA ATAD -
NINGAMU TERA DIMBULI NINGAMUTERA ATADI
Grow on Dimbuli grow on Tera Atadi
DARUPANGA NINGAMU PADAPANGA NINGAMU
Having your name grow on
DINA PANGA KIKANE KASA PANGA KIKANE
To put it in the country

ACHABANDA - MNIABANDA
To put it in Achabanda, Mniabanda
NINGAMU ACHABANDA NINGAMU MNIABANDA
Grow on Achabanda, Mniabanda
BETAKANA PIHISI PRAMBUKANA PIHISI
In the name of Betakana, Prambukana
KDANI ANA PIHISI ALI ANA PIHISI

KANDUM NELLA PALAM NELLA

NINGAMU KANDUM NELLA NINGAMU PALAMNELLA

226) TIDITADA KIKANE BAJARGADA KIKANE
NINGAMU TIDITADA NINGAMU BAJARGADA
KANDABADA KIKANE BAKABADA KIKANE
DEUSANA - TUMKSANA
PUKI RENJA - KRIARENJA
NINGAMU PUKIRENJA NINGAMU KRIARENJA
DARUGACHI PADAGACHI NINGAMU
TALABEGA KIKANE BANABEGA KIKANE
NINGAMU TALABEGA NINGAMU BANABEGA
DARUGACHI PADAGACHI NINGAMU

227) WENDAMNIJI KIKANE DUNAMNIJI KIKANE (+BC)
ACHA DIGERI - MNIA DIGERI - (+BC)
SELA SORU TATI SORU - (+BC)
WANGO DURJUD - NELLA DURJUD - (+BC)
MANANG LACHI MANGANE ADANG LACHI MANGANE

JUDANG NELLA KIKANE MENANG NELLA KIKANE
SENINGADU KAJANGADU - (+BC)
SANA DUERI BADADUERI - (+BC)
WENDA MDIJI DUNAMDIJI - (+BC)
SORU DAPENI PANGA DAPENI - (+BC)

228) SORU POKAR - PANGAPOKAR - (+BC)
WENDA MAI DINA WENDA MAI KASA

SIRAMDEU KIKANE BAMANDEU KIKANE (+BC)
SORU BURLANG - PANGA BURLANG - (+BC)
SRA MANAT MANEKA MACHI MANAT MANEKA
VIRA MANAT - VALI MANAT -
MANANG LACHI MANGANE ADANG LACHI MANGANE

MANA KAPA KINALI ADA KAPA KINALI

PANGA JORU AJANE PANGA GADA AJANE

NINGE DUNGU TALANI NINGE BDESU TALANI

229) SAPANIJI NINGAMU BRISENIJI NINGAMU

KHALI SIJI NINGANU DANA SIJI NINGAMU

BECHASIJI NINGAMU MUKISIJI NINGAMU

BAUDIJI ATADIJI NINGAMU

PARAJATI NINGAMU GUNOAJATI NINGANU

NINGE DUNGU TANI NINGE BDESU TANI

MANA SRAPAD KINALI ADAKI SRAPAD KINALI

LADA SORU AJANE LADA GADA AJANE

MANA NESANAI ADA NESA NAI

BADE GATI KIKANE TUTAGATI KIKANE (+BC)

230)	LAKTI NELLA		RUNEM NELLA	- (+BC)
	LAKI NELLA	-	PAGING NELLA	- (+BC)
	TANBA DEDHI	-	PITADI DEDHI	- (+BC)
	JURGABATA		ACHABANOHA	- (+BC)
	DARANGARU		KAPANGARU	- (+BC)
	SECHKURI ARU	-	DABER ARU	- (+BC)
	PUSARANI	-	BATARANI	- (+BC)
	SANDILI GATI	-	BANDALI GATI	- (+BC)
	SORU BARENG	-	PANGA BARENG	- (+BC)
	NISIPIDI	-	MUNDIPIDI	- (+BC)
231)	HATISADA	-	PRAPASADA	- (+BC)
	TUITAMBU	-	DARMALADI	- (+BC)
	SARGI DONGAR	-	MARDI DONGAR	- (+BC)
	KILANG NELLA		BANDANG NELLA	- (+BC)
	MIO DUERI		MIO BANGURI - (+BC)	
	WANGO DIMULI	-	NELLA DIMULI- (+BC)	

MANANG PUNDADANEDE ADANG PUNDA DANEDE

SORU PUNDA DANEDE GADA PUNDA DANEDE

DINA PUNDA DANEDE KASA PUNDA DANEDE

SINGA BDEU KIKANE MERA BDEU KIKANE (+BC)

232) JENDABEDI SABABEDI - (+BC)

PIJUBANGERI KIKANE BIDI BANGERI - (+BC)
RANIPALU - BENDIPALU - (+BC)
SAPANGADA - SARCHANGADA - (+BC)
MANANG PUNDA JAT ADANG PUNDA DAJAT

SORU PUNDADAJATE GADA PUNDA DAJATE

IRIBATI ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE

233) MANANG SACHI BEASI ADANGSACHI BEASI

Operation manang ceases and large hills are developed. For formation of smaller hills operation muting (fist) starts in the same way, begining from Sapangada to finish at Sapangada in a circular path (TREYENA)

SORU NINGIT BEKATI
For hills to be formed
MUTING NABINJANE GRALING NABINJANE
Operation muting was done
MANA ADA SACHI BEKADI
For mana Ada to be made
LIKA SORU LIKA GADA GAISI
For small hills, small holes
MUTING NABIMANJAN GRALING NABIMANJAN
Operation muting was done
LIKA SORU LIKA GADA GAISI
For small hills, small holes
SAPANGADA NACHANE SARCHANGADA NACHANE
throughout Sapangada-Sarchagada
RANIPALU NACHANE BENDIPALU NACHANE
Throughout Ranipalu, Bendipalu
RAJININGA - PENUNINGA -
Throughout Rajininga, penuninga

234) KRANJANELLA - BARINELLA -
Throughtout kranja Nella- Bari Nella
MUTI BARADANG PINALI GRALI BARAD PINALI

LAMBASORU PINALI LAMBAGATI PINALI

KAJU PECHAT DINALI MALAPECHAT DINALI

KANGA TUPUR AJANE BERENG TUPUR AJANE

MUTING NACHI MANJANE GROLING NACHI MANJANE

LIKA SORU GAI LIKA GADA GAISI

BARI GATI NACHANE PATAGATI NACHANE

JATRU KUPDA	BANAKUPDA
SARENI VALI	SAGERVALI
235) HIRA PUKUR	VALI PUKUR -
PRINGERI NELLA	GAPAS NELLA -
SOLVBIRI -	BANDIBIRI

MUTING MNIENJANE GRALING MNIENJANE

WENDAMNIJI NACHANE BUNAMNIJI NACHANE

BEKAD MDIJI NACHANE

DANGASI NACHAN BASA

DIASI NACHAN BASA

Operation muting follows the path in which Sareni and manang operation was made under the supervision of Nerandali. Muting made small hills which the manang did not do. All the names of small hills are not listed here. The hills and planes covered by Sareni minus the hills made by Manang can give the names of the smallerhills - that are made by Muting. The above marked lines after comes in between the lines that are recited to give an account of operation muting.

EVOLUTION OF PLANTS AND TREES

TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera
BETA SALUOGA PRAMBU SALUGAISI
Beta went for hunting Prambu went for hunting
BANDUDE KAGARA BANDUDE LIKARA
Come elder brotthers come younger brothers
ANA DIA GATI DIA MEKANA
Let's go to see Ana and Gati
SORU SISPINJANE GADA SISPINJANE
Hills, holes looking vacant
TANU KAGA RAJA TANU LIKARAJA
He is the big boy, he is the small boy
RUNDA WAINERE GUTA WAINERE
Gathering at one place
RUNDA BAJANANGA GUTA BAJANANGA
• Being gathered
TANU BETA MANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera

236) BANDUDE KAGARA BANDUDE LIKARA
Come elders come youngers (males)

BETA SAJAMENA PRAMBU SAJAMENA
Beta is going Prambu is going
ANA DIA GATI DIA MEKANA
To see the Ana Gati
KERI BANGAMENA DANDA BANGAMENA
Crossing the steep slopes and wide slopes
TANU KAGA RAJA TANU LIKA RAJA
He is the big boy, he is the small boy
BETA SAJINER PRAMBU SAJINER
Beta going, Prambu going
SAPANGADA KATA SARCHANGADA KATA
From Sapangada from Sarchangada
RANIPALU KATA BENDIPALU KATA
From Ranipalu from Bendipalu
TELI RACHA KATA MALIRACHA KATA
From the meeting road
LEKENJA SAJINER LUKUNJA SAJINER
Going step by step

237) AAI SASKINELLATA AAI MATADINELLATA
Reached at Saskinella, reached at Matadinella
MENDUDE LIKARA MENDUDE KAGARA
Encircle elders encircle youngers
KDANI BDAKA ALI BDAKA JINDU
Kill tigers kill bears
BADA BDAKATARA BDAKA JINDU
Kill the beasts
TANU BETAMANGER TANU PRAMBUMANGER
He is Betamanger he is prambumanger
TANU UDURENGAD TANU PENARENGAD
He is Uderengad, he is Penarengad
JIAN PINE AHAN PINENJE
Killing and going
KEBUNAINERE KIKANAINERE
Howling, noising
BIWA INJINERE GAGA INJINERE
Noising with huge voice
KAMA PUTINERE TUTU PUTINERE
Blowing horn pipes

238) ANANG RATPE GATING RATPE MANERE
Encircle passages at Ana - Gati
AAI SASKINELLATA AAI MATADINELLATA
Reached at Saskinella, Matadinella

MAJUWA SILAT BRAHAWA SILAT
Sambar not there wild boar not there
LAKAMAJI SILATE DARA MAJI SILATE
Large Sambar not there, small Sambar not there
ADEBEDE TADA ADEBEDE KAKU
Hello elder brothers, hello uncles
INISANA TADA INISANA KAKU
How to do elder brother, how to do uncle
EMBEN KANA SANA EMBEN MUJU SANA
To which direction should we go
BANDU BANDU TADA BANDU BANDU KAKU
Encircle elder brother, encircle uncle
SAJANJIA MENA RECHANJIA MENA
Will go there and see
KATA BARTA RALE NANGA
Made a discussion

239) RUNDA GUTA AJANANGA
Gathering (all there)
TANU SAJINERE TANU REPINERE
He is going he is leaving
BETA SAJINERE PRAMBU SAJINERE
Beta going prambu going
Going (for) hunting
NACHIKERI WANGAWOTA BINDANIKERI WANGAWOTA
To Nachikeri fields, Bindanikeri fields
UDUGUTU BRAPAGUTU
To Udugutu fields Brapagutu fields
ADE BEDE TADA ADE BEDE KAKU
Hello elder brother, hello uncle
ANANGA RATPANDU GATINGA RATPANDU
Encircle the Ana - Gati
MAJUMUA BRAHAMUA MANE
Sambar, wild boar are present
ANANGA GATINGA RATPANDU
Encircle Anas, Gatis
BIWA INJI MANAMU GAGA INJI MANAMU
Make huge noises

240) KEBUNI KIKANI AJANDNAMU
Come with loud voice
KAGARAJA LIKA RAJA NANGANI
Elders, youngers all will go
TANU KEBUNI KIKANI AINERE
They are howling

KEBUNI NA BENA KIKNIÑA BENA
While making noise
AKU GAU MRAKANA BENA
Nothing was there to be hidden
SEKA SAMA DARA SAMA SAKANE
Huge Bison came out
SEKA MAJU DARAMAJU SAKANE
Huge Sambar came out
PAPA NASTA MRIANI GIRITI
Who has no parents
ANANGA GATINGA KAPA SAKANE
Come out covering Ana - Gati
TANU PAPA MRIENJA
That orphan

241) MAJU MEA BRAHA MEA
On seeing Sambar, wild boar
TANU AJINENJE TANU DURINENJE
He surprised, he feared
JELLA ITELIA KALI ITELIA
Soul trembled
AMBU PUTPINENJE AMBUNILU PUTCHA
Took arrow on bow
ARE NITINE MURE NITINENJE
Left the arrow off bow
NEI ANDE NEI TRALA MEHISI
Targetted to the chest liver
JIAN JIA AHANJIA MANENJE
Arrow reached target
ADE BEDE TADA ADE BEDE KAKU
Hello elder brother, hello uncle
SEKAMAJU DARAMAJU JIAMI
I've killed large Sambar
JAMAI WAHAMAI
Have arrowed it

242) ANANGAPA GATINGAPA SAKATE
Sambar come out (its body fitting exactly to the size) of Ana
SATATE GAISI PDIATE GAISI
To come out, to emerge
JIANJIA WAHANJIA MA
Killed with arrow
TANUJENDI KAKA TANU JENDI KAKU
He is big uncle

INISATI TADA INISATI KAKU
How to do elder brother, uncle
ARE MURENA NITEMAI
Took arrow on bow
RAKATIRA MEPENERE
Following blood drops
IBA KAJANGA IBA MADANGA
Here is the foot prints
KAJA LESPI MADALESPI MANERE
Following foot steps
KAJAMADA LESANANGA
Following track of foot steps

243) RAKA MEHI TIRA MEHI LESNERE
Following blood drops
KAJA KAJA MADA MADA SANERE
Going on Following foot steps
TANU SAJI TANU REPI MANERE
He is going, he is leaving
AAI GUNJINANU AAI MAHANANUTA
Reached at Gunjinanu, Mahananu
EJU GAHI KUDU GAHI INJI
To drink water
GUNGINANU MAHANANU EJU
Water of Gunjinanu Mahananu
EJUGAPA KUDUGAPA KURATE
Sambar fell down (there) to drink
GUNJINANU MAHANANU DAKATA
Gunjinanu Mahananu spring
IRIDE TADA IRIDE KAKU
Here it is elder brother here it is uncle
MAJU KURENJA BRAHA KURENJA
Sambar (has) fallen, Boar has fallen

244) A BARA ADITE A BARA RANJITE
now it's ok, now it's fit
A BARA LAINGI A BARA TUKINGI
Now its equal
MAJUPUNDE BRAHAPUNDE NANGANI
Met the animal
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera
EDU GIANANGA BUDHI GIANANGA
Thought came, Knowledge came

LAUD DAHA MUCHI DAHA MENDU
Search for Sticks, rods
DEKINJIA DUCHENJIA MENA
Let's see the earth
TANU BETAMANGERA TANU PRAMBUMANGERA
He is Betamangera, he is Prambumangera
TANU UDURENGAD TANU PENARENGAD
He is Uderengad he is Penarangad
ATE EDU IANANGA ATE BUDHI IANANGA
Again thought

245) EDU IANANGA BUDHI IANANGA
Thought
A BARA ADITE A BARA RANJITE
Now it's ok, now it's fit
VIRAKALI VALIKALI DAHA
Worshipped earth, leaves
KIU DUPINERE PANDA DUPINERE
Worshipped Sambar's ears
KIUDUSA NANGANI PANDADUSA NANGANI
On worshipping ears
ROE TUDU ROE PALU GATALI
May more take birth at the same place
KANUDUMBE MUKUDUMBE MAPALI
May new beast come closing its eyes
NA ANA NA GATI DINAWA
Again when to Ana Gati
NAE KERI NAE DANDA DINAWA
While going from one hill to another
ANAGAPA GATIGAPA SATALAPALI
May it come out as came out

246) SAPANGADA SARCHANGADA RASI
Of Sapangada, Of Sarchangada
RANIPALU BENDIPALU RASI
Of Ranipalu , of Bendipalu
SATAVALI MURLIVALI RASI
Of Satavali of Murlivali
PIJUBANGERI BIDIBANGERI RASI
Of Pijubangeri of Bidibangeri
SANASELLA RUPASELLA RASI
Of Sanasella of Rupasella
KUDEPANGA TEDIPANGA RASI
Of Kudepanga of Tedipanga

KANUDUMBE MUKUDUMBE MAPALI
May it come closing eyes
ACHEKA INJA ACHEKA JANANGANI
Saying this much
A BARA ADITE A BARA RANJITE
Now its ok now its fit
SURIKARE GABAKARE AHA
Taking knife, big knife

247) TADENGARE MADANGARE AHA
Taking Salap cutting knife
SANDEKACHA JIENERE
Cutting down
KAUDUJU BECHADUJU BECHINERE
Cut the back flesh
SUKJA JIENERE MAKE JIENERE
Burnt the flesh
SUKJANJIA MAKENJIA
Burning finishing
JIBANGAT WAKANGAT NAI
To hunting people
SIRIPALU SIRIDATA BAENJI
Unnecessarily to give teeth, jaws
TANI KAUDUJU TANI BECHADUJU
That flesh of back
MUCHIGRALI API SIENERE
Giving to the hunter
TANI UJU TANI PDENU IGNALI
It's flesh, bones (he) threw

248) TANI KUBJU TANI PDENU IGNALI
Threw away its hind legs, forelegs
SIRE WANGO KANDEK WANGO AJANE
Became small fields
IKJA DANJE DUPINENJE
Throwing fleshes off
SIREWANGO KANDEWANGO AJANE
Hills, fields came on
MARA LINGANJA DADI LINGANJA AJANE
Trees took birth, leaves took birth
KIUSIRI PANDASIRI IGNALI
Threw away ear pinna
RAELMARA RAELDADI AJATE
Rael tree Rael leaves came out

TANI ANDE TANI PAJE IGDALI
Threw its bile
DURUVALI SINJAVALI AJATE
Big stones come out
BICHAVALI JARAVALI AJATE
Grainstone come out

249) TANI KAPDA TANI MUNJU IGDALI
Threw its head skull
RITOD WANGO RITAD NELLA AJATE
Stoney earth, field came out
TANI PALU TANI DATA IGDALI
Threw its molar and other teeth
DARNIVALI JAKERVALI AJATE
Dharni stone came out
TANI BURI TANI GADI DITALI
Threw its body hairs
PDIBALINGA JADALINGA AJATE
Grasses , small plants came out
TANI WAHEN TANI PAJA IGDALI
Threw its intestine
TULA LINGA MALA LINGA AJATE
Creepers and leaves came out
ATADI GABDA PAERI GABDA AJATE
Atadi creeper, Siali creeper came out
A BARA ADITE A BARA RANJITE
Now its ok, now its fit

250) MARA DADI LINGAINJANE
Trees, leaves took birth
EDU ITERE BUDHI ITERE
Thought for knowledge
INISATISI ADINE INISATISI RNJINE
How it will be ok, how it will fit
TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali she is Kapandali
TANU PUSARANI TANU BATARANI
She is Pusarani, she is Batarani
EDU IANANGA BUDHI IANANGA
Thinking for knowledge to come
A BARA ADITE A BARA RANJITE
Now its ok, now its fit
SORU USUMGAISI GADA USUMGAISI
For hills, holes to be crowded

MARA LINGANJANE DADI LINGANJANE
Trees took birth, leaves took birth
KARAMARA LINGA BIDIMARA LINGA
Kara tree took birth , Bidi tree took birth

251) LINGAINJANE JANANAINJANE
Taking birth getting covered
MARALINGA DADILINGA AAINJANE
Trees and leaves taking birth
ASAMARA LINGA BESAMARA LINGA AINJANE
Medicine tree, poison tree took birth
LINGAINJANE JANANAINJANE
Taking birth, getting covered
SORVRETE GADARETE AINJANE
Took birth in hills, holes
SORU USUMGAISI GADA USUM GAISI
For hills, holes to be crowded
SORUTA SORUTA GADATA GADATA
In hills, in hills, in holes, in holes
JADITA JADITA, DAKATA DAKATA
In stream in stream , in fountain in fountain
LINGAINJANE JANANAINJANE
Taking birth, getting covered
MNIA MARA LINGA MAKUMARA LINGA
Mnia tree took birth, Maku tree took birth

252) BADEMARA LINGA BANDAMARA LINGA
Banyan tree took birth, Bonda tree took birth
EJU PIPADI LINGA KUDUPIPADI LINGA
Water people took birth
JAPI MARA LINGA JAPI DADI LINGA
Champak tree took birth
KADAMARA LINGA KADA DADI LINGA
Cadamba tree took birth, Cadamba leaves took birth
SARAGI MARA LINGA SARAGI DADI LINGA
Sal tree took birth, sal leaves took birth
LAKA MARA LAKA DADI
Semul tree took birth
BENGER MARA BENGER
Piasal tree took birth
MARDIMARA MARDI DADI
Asan tree took birth
LINGA AINJANE JANA NAINJANE
Taking birth, getting covered

SORU USUMGAISI GADA USUMGAISI
For hills to be crowded

253) A BARA ADITE A BARA RANJITE
Now it's ok, now it's fit
JAMBUMARA LINGA JAMBUDADI LINGA
Jamun tree leaves took birth
SORU SURGAKI - PANGASURGAKI -
Amla myrobalan took birth
LINGA AINJANE JANANAINJANE
Taking birth getting covered
BAJAD MARA LINGA BAJAD DADI LINGA
Bajad tree took birth, Bajad leaves took birth
TATA MARA - GUDKI MARA -
Big mango, small mango tree took birth
MASKA MARA - DASI MARA -
Mango tree took birth
DENGEN MARA - DENGEN DADI -
Dengen tree, leaves took birth
BE NA MARA - BE NA DADI -
Bahada tree, leaves took birth
DAMAN MARA - DAMAN DADI -
Daman tree, leaves took birth

254) LINGAINJANE JANANAINJANE
Taking birth getting covered
SORU USUMGAISI GADA USUMGAISI
For hills, holes to be crowded
LINGAINJANE JANANAINJANE
Taking birth getting covered
SORUTA SORUTA GADATA GADATA
In hills, In holes
JADITA JADITA DAKATA DAKATA
In springs, In fountains
MARA LINGANJA DADI LINGANJANE
Trees took birth leaves took birth
A BARA ADITE A BARA RANJITE
Now its ok, now its fit
JATRUMARA LINGA JATRUDADI LINGA
Jatru tree, leaves took birth
GAMBAR MARA - GAMBAR DADI
Gambar tree, leaves took birth
LINGAINJANE - JANANAINJANE
Taking birth, getting covered

255) KUEN SAPANGADATA KUEN SARCHANGADATA
On Sapangada on Sarchangada
KUEN RANIPALUTA KUEN BENDIPALUTA
On Ranipalu on Bendipalu
LINGAINJANE JANANAINJANE
Taking birth getting covered
MARALINGANJA DADI LINGANJA
Trees took birth leaves took birth
BAJAD MARA LINGA BAJAD DADI
Bajad tree, leaves took birth
SEKCHURI MARA - SEKCHURI DADI
Sekchuri (?) tree, leaves took birth
MADE MARA LINGA MADE DADI LINGA
Mahi tree, leaves took birth
BISAMARA LINGA BISA DADI LINGA
Poison tree, leaves took birth
MARA DADI USUMGAISI
For trees, leaves to be crowded
TULA MALA LINGA AJATE
Creepers came out

256) MARANJAPA DADINJAPA AJATE
Coiled around trees
MARA DADI WESPA GAISI
For trees, leaves to look beautiful
SORU WESPA GADA WESPA GAISI
For hills, holes to be beautiful
KANJA MUSU DUGAGAI
For monkeys to hide
TULAGENES MALAGENES GAISI
For squirrels to hide
PATAKIRA GAISI
For birds
TULAMALA PRAGINJANE
Creepers coiling around
MARA DADI ADITE
Ok for trees , leaves
TULANAKA MALANAKA ADITE
Ok for creepers
A BARA ADITE A BARA RANJITE
Now its ok, now it's fit

257) EDU ITERE BUDHI ITERE
Thinking for knowledge

TANU NERANDALI TANU KAPANDALI
She is Nerandali she is Kapandali
LINGANAINJANE JANANAINJANE
Taking birth getting covered
SORU GADA USUMGAISI
For hills and holes to be crowded
SORU GADA WESPA GAISI
For hills and holes to be beautiful

258) MARA LINGA AJATE DADI LINGA AJATE
trees came leaves came
AA BARA ADITE AA BARA RANJITE
Now its alright, its fit

Appendix - 1.1(B)

KAPAKA GAANI

TANU BETA MANGERA TANU PRAMBU MANGERA
He is Betamangera he is Prambumangera
ANA ANE GATI ANE
Fell at the Ana - Gati
KERI BANGENE DANDA BANGENENJI
Jumping the steep slopes, wide slopes
TANI KAPAMANDA TANI RAPAMANDA
His guard man
DADI MRUKAGANE GAUMRAKU GANE
Collecting leaves from trees
BADA KATA KATA DAMANA KATA KATA
From banyan tree, Daman tree
TANU PIAPATA TANU KADAPATA
It is singing bird
PIADAPINE KADADAPINE
Bird crying
INAKALA PIA INAKALA KADA
Why do you cry bird

(1) PIADAPINJANEKADADAPIONJANE
The bird crying
MRAJUMUA SUTANE BRAHAMIUA SATANE
Sambar, Boars would come out
KADANI MUNI SUTANE ALIMUA SATANE
Tiger - Bear would come out
ASI OOCHE MENENJE ASITANDE MENENJE
Crying loudly, replying loudly
KILIAITE PIKIAITE
The bird kept quiet
ERA GUTIRAJANDI ERA SANDI AAJANDI
This is scolding
ASHEK OOCHEMENENJE ACHEK TANDE MENENJE
(Both man and Bird) cried loudly
Tanu beta manger Tanu Prambumanger

PINJE BAINENJE GOOE BAINE
Running fast to hide
TANI PINJE BANABA TANI GOOE BANABA
When he was running

(2) SIRAABA AATALI SIRAKAKI AATALI
Same across sister-in-law,aunt
RUDA BAPKIMANALI MACHI BAPKI MANALI
To throw dust, dirt
AADE AAPU BETAKA AADE AAPU PRAMBUKA
Hey son
(Apu used to call to males who are younger than the person who calls)
BILU REGASE AAMBU REGASE
Keep your bow, arrows
INAKILA AABA INAKELA KAKI
Why sister-in-law, why aunt
NENJU JAKA JELAKIA JAKAKALI EEANDI
Today to save my life
ELEDEDE APU ELEDEDE RAJI
No younger man, no our king
DUASIKANI PADA KARA SIKAN PAD
Give him chewing tobacco
KUTABENGI SAGAMU BARTABENG SAKAMU
Talk to us and go
ME ARI AATALI ME JUDI SATALI
Your friends were coming

3) NASA MNIAA MANABANE TUNGA MNIAA MANBANE
Came through the hamlet
TEDI KAPAATALI OODUNG KAPA AATALI
Have tied hair knots irregularly
RAJI MAGANI MAANGA PENU MAGANI GIANGA
The king's daughter is crying
BRAPA NEMBER DIWATE PIRA NEMER DIWATE
Out of Malaria fever, cold fever
PALU SEDE DIWATE DATA SETE DIWATE
Rubbing her teeth
RAJI MAGANI GIANGA
The king's daughter
PENI SRULU DIWATE PENI SRULU DIWATE
Trembling with cold
RAJI MAGANA GIANGA PENU MAGANI GIANGA
The king's daughter
SAMANA RAJI MAGA SANANA PENU MAGA
Do you think the king's daughter is ordinary

EKA BEDANA TALI KA BEDANATALI
She is carrying a broom

(4) NEJU DNIPA TRINALI PALU DNEPATRINALI
She talks as if an oil mill
EENDINGA DEUMAGA BINDINGA DEUMAGA
She talks Hindi, Telgu
BETA RAJIMAGA KATA RAJIMAGA
She is the daughter of came carrying man
SARCHA SANDIMAGA RAI SANDIMAGA
Daughter of a mustard, rap seed cultivater
SREKA NEJA ATALI GANJU NEJU ATALI
A person who massage oil of chara and marking nut tree
KALAMA KALI ATALI RASAM KADI ATALI
A person who uses pen, ink
SANI BANGLA KATA SADANI BANGLA KATA
Whose house is made with resin of sain tree
ADASISKIKUDA KATA NI BIDASI KUDAKATA
From hedges to walls of house
KISA RANJINE KANA RANJIMANE
What she is saying
BALA TELINGI ATALI BALA MALINGI ATALI
Telugu, Malayalam speaking person

(5) TANI KASU GUNJINA TANI BULU GUNJINA
Can you understand them
PUI NILEMA WEI ENILEGA
To understand her
BAE KICHENJATA WAE RABENJATA
Why to scrach ourselves
LAKA AKU ATALI PIPADA AAKU ATALI
Person who writes on Semul leaves. Pipada leaves
LIRE LIEENJI PICHIRELIEENJI
To point (chita ?) on floor
TANU EDU MANE TANU BUDHI MANE
She is thinking for knowledge
NA WANAI INASAEE
Which picture is to be drawn
TANU AKADAI MANE GANGADAEE MANE
Thinking with hand on forehead
WEDA BANA SANDEKA LANJUBANA SANDEKA
Separated Sun, moon with a border line
SROBANA SANDEKA MACHIBANA SANDEKA
Pointed with dirt, dirt of body

(6) EJUBANA SANDEKA KUDUBANA SANDEKA
Mixed water (with dirt)
MINUBANA SANDEKA JANA BANA SANDEKA
Pointed figures of fishes, crabs
MASIBANA SANDEKA BADABANA SANDEKA
Pointed figure of old snake, python
LEE RELPEEMANE PICHING RELPI MANE
Stretching the art
KUDA GANA SANEKA PARJA GANA SANDEKA
Didn't she tell a lot !
SADI BANA SANDE GUA BANA SANDE
Drawing border of printed cloth
ATIBANA SANDE GADA BANA SANDE
Separated with a border line to elephant, horse
KUENA BANA SANDE MNIBENJA BANA SANDE
Separated the Kuena (Kuttias), spirits (ancester)
RAJI BANA SANDE PENUBANA SANDEKA
Separated king, god
SNANA BANA SANDE PATU BANA SANDE
Separated bullock, cow

(7) PITE BANA SANDEKA GANIBANA SANDEKA
Separated bag, basket
KANDA BANA SANDEKA BANA BANA SANDEKA
Separated sword, gun
PIDE BANA SANDEKA KAPA BANA SANDEKA
Separated box, bamboo box
NAKI BANA - JARI BANA SANDEKA
Separated big pots, small pot
SIELI WANA SANDEKA TOPEL BANA SANDEKA
Separated turban, turban feather
IMBALINGA BIHATA IMBA JANANI BIHATE
There she ended giving birth (to pictures)
LI BIATKATA PICHI BIATKATA
Drawing the art finished
TANU TODU RAJI TANU TODU PENU
He, king's friend, god's friend
AKDAI MANENJE GANGDAI MANENJE
Thinking deeply
GIRISAINJI DUJU SAINJI
Shall go on to road

(8) TANU EDU MANE TANU BUDHI MANE
Thought, knowledge came

RAN EKALAI RAN MUNDELAI
I will be alone
RAJINJI PUNERE PENUINJI PUNERE
No body will know be as king, lord
MAJHI BENGI MANENJE JANI BENGI MANENJE
Called for Majhi, Jani
SETHI BENGI NENJE SANI BENGI MANENJE
Called for pano, Domb people
GIRISAINJI DUJU SAINJI
Shall go on to road
RAN MULU AENE RAN DATA AENE
I will not be alone (people should follow me)
JACHA DINANJA INERE BRIA DINANJA INERE
I will be told as beggar
GADA DAMENJA INERE GADA SETENJA INERE
I will be regarded as Domb, pano
ACHEKA TUTELIA ACHEKA BANGELIA
Saying this much, he promised

(9) MULUNI DATA BENGE DUJUGIRI SAPINENJE
He'll leave when all are gathered
TANI SADA TANI GUA BECHINENJE
Bringing out his king dress
TANI JAGA TANI ANGI MEDINENJE
Wearing his dresses
KALU PANDA GADA PANDA MEDINENJE
Wearing his leathers, shoes
MEDENANGANI EMBAKATA ATE TANU EDUMANENJE
After being dressed, again he is thinking
RAJIATANJA PENUATANJA
King's servant, lord's servant
NAIN ATANI NAIN GADANI ARPINENJE
Bring my elephant, horse
ALA TENDAATI ALA TENDA GADA
Hey my hunch back elephant, horse
ANUGIRI SAPIMAI DUTU SAPIMAI
I am going on to road
NAIN DINASAYEE NAIN KASA SAYEE
I will go to my country, my state

(10) ADE SIKA GADADA ADE KACHA GADADA
Hey weight lifting people
DEKUL SIKA ATATI PUTKA SIKA ATATI
Bringing Dekul sika (?) Putka (sika)

BADE KACHA ATATI DAMAN KACHA ATATI
Bringing banyan shoulder rods, Daman rods
BAMUKANJU BAMUBDENJU PUTUBAMU
Come weight lifting people
HATINI SARI GADANI SARI MANALA-A INU PUTBAMU
Whatever (luggage) is left from elephant horse, you carry them
ADE RAJI ADE PENU
Hey king, hey lord
PITERITPI GANIRITPI MANENJE
(we) are loading all your luggage
.ATINI GADANI RITENJE
(Everything) kept on back of elephant
ATENI LAI GADANI LAI ATE
Loading on elephant, horse ends
SIKA GADADA KACHA GADADA PUCHTENJE
Weight lifting people tied up everything

(11) SIEL SETHI GAPEL SETHI
Siel sethi, Gopel Sethi
TANU RAJI ATANJA TANU PENU ATANJA
He is king man, lord man
MULUNI BENGI DATANI BENGI MANENJE
Announcing before the mass
AATE TADA AATE KAKU
Is n't it elder brother, uncle
ANUSAJI ANUREPI MAI
I am going, I am leaving
NAI DINA NAI KASA SALI-EE
I am going back to my country, my state
GIRIDENJA DUIJUDENJA ATE
I have got my road
JENDALAJA MACHE KADALAJA MACHE
I am grown up in your place
RAJI AJAMACHE PENU AJAMACHE
I was the king, the lord here
ANU SAJIMAI ANU REPINAI
I am going, I am leaving

12) ADE TADA BANDU ADE DEKU BANDU
Hey elder brother, uncle, come with me
ALA MILA BANDU ALA DALI BANDU
Hey children, kids, come with me
NANGE BAJENBAGAI ATENDIBAGAI
To cook for me

NANGE PITIPARA SIAMU PITIGUNDA SIAMU
To make rice flour in your palms
ANUGIRI SAPIMAI DUJU SAPIMAI
I am going on the road
IDANGULI SIAMU MUNDAGULI SIAMU
Give me paddy from fields
ANU SAJIMAI ANU REPIMAI
I am going, I am leaving
ATERINDIMAI GADARINDIMAI
Sat on elephant, horse
RAINGABANAI PIRINGABANA AHI
Sat with gun in hand
BANAJIJI SALI NALI JIJI SALI
Going by firing from gone

13) ALA ILU PENU ALA KANDA PENU
Hey home deity, kanda (Main supporting beam of roof) deity
NANEKA BANATI BAMU NANEK RENATI REMU
Who want to come with me come or stay
ALa ILU PIERI ALA KANDA PIERI
HEy home pieri kanda pieri (Pieri : Thaching grass)
NA MILA AJINE NA DALI AJINE
My children will fear
NANE JIEEBAIAA NANE BANGABA-A
There life will be in trouble
NA RANDIAJI NA DUHKHIAJINE
Don't come with me you all
ANU SAJIMAI ANU REPIMAI
I am going, I am leaving
NAI SENIPENDA NAI RENI PENDASI
After I go back
MILA AJAPAI DALI AJAPAI
May not your children fear at
RANDI AJAPAI DUHKHI AJAPAI
May not the widows, cry

14) ANU SAJIMAI ANU REPIMAI
I am going I am leaving
ALALA RAJI ALALA PENU
Hey king, hey lord
NAI ATI RINDINABA GADA RINIDINABA
At time I ride on elephant, horse
MENANGAETALAMU KANIOTALAMU
(Elephant,Horse) Sat at their knees, elbows

SATARAJIATI SATAPENU ATISI
Is it really that the king is coming, lord is coming
BIRA MATALAMU BALI MATALAMU
Threw away earth, stones
BIWA INJALAMU GAGA INJALAMU
Cried loudly (Elephant / Horse)
ATI KUETRINDI GADA KUET RINDI
Sitting on elephant, horse
RAJI RINDI MANENJE PENU RINDI MANENJE
King is sitting , lord is sitting
TANI ATI KUETI RANDINABA
When he sat on elephant

15) MASA LAINGATE MASA DUKING ATE
Everything became alright
TANU KANGARAMANE SINADAMANENJE
He is looking, he is observing
TANI KANGARINA BENA SINADINA BENA
At the time he was observing
GIRIDELA LAISILE DUJU DELA LAISILE
Nowhere road was seen
BISAGIRI MANE KANIGIRI MANE
(Road seems to be very narrow) Road is there for flies
NARAGIRI MANE KAPE GIRIMANE
Road is there for human beings
RAKASA GIRIMANE BAENI GIRIMANE
Road is there for demons
PENU GIRIMANE MAJU GIRIMANE
Road is there for gods, sambar
TANU KANGARIMANE SINADI MANENJE
He is looking, he is observing
TANU KANGARINA BENA SINADINA BENA
At the time he was observing

16) GIRIDELA LAISILE DUJU DELA LAISILE
Nowhere road was seen
TANI SALIINJI REINJI AKADAI GANGA DAI MANENJE
He is thinking to go out
EMBA-A ATE TANU EDU BUDHIMANENJE
He is thinking for knowledge to come
SATERAJI SATAPENU ATISI
Is it really the king, lord is comming !
BISAGIRI KANIGIRI SALENJE
He will not go on narrow path (fly path)

RAJIDANDRU PENUDANDRU DANENJE
Searching for grand road
MATARADANDU RIELA DANDU DANENJE
Searching for motor road, rail track
BANAGASUNDHI GULINGASUNDHI MANENJE
Taking gone aiming at
EMBAKATANI BANANGASAPI GULINGASAPI SILEE
Then, no firing even after triggaring
MIA EJU REPELI KUDU REPELI JINENJE
He tried to fire towards the spring

17) JENDHA WEDI SABA WEDI JINENJE
He fired at Jendawedi - Sabawedi
BANANGA SAPI SILA
Gun is not firing
GULING SAPI SILA
Bullet is not coming out
DINA KANGARA KASA KANGARA JINENJE
Firing at all corners of the country
KATA MUNDA BEI MUNDA JINENJE
Firing at the hedges
WEDA DUERI LANJU DUERI JINENJE
Firing at sun door, moon door
SURU GADA GUNA GADA JINENJE
Firing at Sukugada (Hole of wood pecker), Guna gada
BANANGSAPA GULINGSAPA SILA
Bullet not coming out even after firing
EMBAKATANI AKDAI GANGDAI MANENJE
Then he is thinkin deeply
NAINDEENA NAIN KASA MEHENE INJIKA
Can't I see my country, my state

18) AKDAI GANGDAI SANENJE
Thinking deeply
TANU TODU RAJI TANU TODU PENU
He is the king , he is the lord
BANANGGASPI GULING ASPI SILA
Bullets not coming out after tiggaring
ATE BANA ATE NALI KANGARA MANENJE
Again testing his gun
ATE WEDA ADASI LANJU ADASI ATENJI
Again fired at sun, moon horizontally
KASKI GADA, TARABA GADA, KADIGATA A, KARUGATA
Looking towards cattle sheds, buffallo sheds

BANANGA GULINGA JIPINENJE
Firing his gun again
KASKIGADA TARABAGADA JIPINENJE
Firing at Kaskigada, Tarbagada
GULING ASPI BANANG ASPI SIL-A
Bullets not coming out after triggaring
MANIGADA PARJAGADA JIPINENJE
Firing towards crowded places, community places

19) NULUGADA DRASIGADA JIPINENJE
Firing at Nulugada (Thread) Gada, Drasigada
BANANGA ASPI SIL-A
Bullet didn't come out
EJU SAPI KUDU SAPI MANJANA
Water is inside the gun
ELEDE RAJIAENE PENUAENE ANDAMA
I can't be the king again
ATE AKADAIATE GANGADAI MANENJE
Again thinking deeply
ALA SORU ALA GADA PENU
Hey hill god, hole god
ISINAR ISIDUR WAINA
Is it I will mingle in soil
GADA SETHI GADA SANI AINA
Is it , I will be Pano or Dambo
ATE AKADAI ATE GANGADAI MANENJE
Thinking again deeply
NAINGIRI SATALI DUJU SATALI ADAMUDA TENA
Was it inauspicious to come out to road

20) REGAI GIRIPANPI DUJU PANPI SILENE
I am not finding my known path
BANANG ASPI GULING ASPI SIL-A
Gun is not firing
INIS JENDAL INIS KADAL AIE
How can I be the king
NANDA DINA NANDAKASA MEHI ICHISI
I will see my country
NA RANDI NA EBUKHI MANJANA
I have also suffering people
KANGARI SINADI MANENJE
He is observing
TODURAJI TODUPENU ATANJA
He is the king, lord man

BEDARAJI KADARAJI ATANJA
Hand cup on the cane handed man
INDINGDEU BINDING DEU ATANJA
Hindi, Bengli speaking man
ATE BANANGJIPI GULINGJIPI MANENJE
Again fired the gun

21) TANU BETA KADA RAJI
Hand cup on cane carrying man
BANANGASPI GULINGASPI SIL-A
Bullet not coming out on firing
EJUSAPI KUDUSAPI MAN-A
Water coming out instead of bullet
BEDADUERI JINENJE LANJU DUERI JINENJE
Firing towards sun door, moon door
SUKAGADA TARBAGADA JINENJE
Firing towards Sukagada, Tarbagada
AITI JENDASEINE KATALAENE
The king gained power
ATE KANGARIINENJE SINADIINENJE
Again looking , observing
MINUKADA JANAKADA JINENJE
Fired towards fish hole, crab hole
BANANG AASTA, GULING AASTA
Gun fired, bullet came out
EJU KUMBELA KUDU KUMBELA JINENJE
Fired towards water waves

22) BANANG SALA GULING SAL-A
The bullet did not come out
ATE EDU MANENJE ATE BUDHI MANENJE
Again thinking deeply
TANU EDU INALI TANU BUDHI INALI
Again thought for knowledge
NARA AJANENGENA DURA AJANENGENA
Is it again I will be mingled in soil
INAGAI NARA BAJANE INAGAE DURA BAJANE
Why shall I mingle soil
ATE EDU MANENJE ATE BUDHI MANENJE
Again thinking for knowledge
ATE BANANG JINENJE ATE GULING JINENJE
Again firing for bullet to come out
ATE GADA GANI GADA JINENJE
Again fired towards holes

KASKI GADA TARBA GADA JINENJE
Fired at Kaskigada, Tarbagada
KADIGATA JINENJE KARUGATA JINENJE
Fired at cattle sheds, buffallo sheds

23) ATUGATA JINENJE BDINJABATA JINENJE
Fired at Atugata, Bdinjabata
AITI BANANG GULINGA AS-A
Here gun will not fire
ATE BANANG LESPI GULING LESPI MANENJE
Again raised his gun
PIRING BANA RAINGA BANA ANENJE
Raised his pistol, gun
ATE BANA SUNDI GULING SUNDI MANENJE
Again aiming at
TATIKANA KASALADI JINENGE
Firing towards Tatikana, kasaladi
ATE EDUMANENJE EMBETI NAIJENDALI AJANE
Again thought if anybody superior than him is there
RASI JUERI BAKARI JUERI MANJANE
Fired towards cattle grazing site
NAI RANDI NAI DUHKHI GADA
My family place
ICHEKA AN EDU ITEDE BUDHI ITENE
His thought said like this

24) EMBADUNE DINAMEPI KASAMEPI SILE NE
From there also my place is not seen
EMBE JENDALAI EMBEKADALAI ANU
Where shall I be grown up
RAJIPANGENE PENUPANGENE ANDAMA
I can't again get hold of the king's post
TANIKANGARINABENA SARASAKI SARAESKI SATEDE
When he is loking towards all corners he feels hungry
MUNELBAIN SINELBAIN ATEDE
Intestine is drying up
WEDALAI LANJULAI ATEDE
Sun, moon coming out / going away
BANANG ASPI GULING ASPI MANJANA
Gun is not firing, bullets not coming out
SINAPURA GADAPURA GADATA
Fired at Sinapur, Gadapur holes
ASAGADA PARAGADA GADATA
Fired at swan, pigeon holes

ARHINANDI DEENA ANDAMA
That is also my place

25) EMBAKATANI TANUKANGARI MANENJE
Then he looked at
RAJIATANJA PENUATANJA
He is the would- be king
NULUGADA DRASIGADA ARINAI JENDALI
Fired at Nulugada - Drasigada
ARINAI KATALI
Is my place
IMBAKATANI NAIN DINA NAIN KASA METE E
Then I saw my place
JENDALAI KADALAI RANJIBA
My country is there
EMBAKATANI EDUSANENJE GANGADAMANENJE
Then thinking deeply for knowledge
TANU RAJIATANJA PENUATIANJA
He is the would - be king, would be lord
NAIN DINA NAIN KASA METE E
I saw my country, my state
SINEL BAIN SUNEL BAIN ATENE
Feeling very hungry

26) WEDALAI LANJALAI ATETE
Time has already been due
WAJENDEIDI ANENDEIDE IJI
Will eat after cooking
ACHEKA AKADAMANENJE GANGADAMANENJE
Thinking deeply for this
NAIN ATINI NAIN GADANI
My elephant, my horse
EMBE GASIE EMBE ALII
Where will they drink
TANU RAJI ATANJA PENUATANJA
He is the would be king, would be lord
DUAMEPI MANENJE MADAMEPI MENENJE
Looking for tree shades
MASKAMARA DUA DASI MARA DUA
Shade of mango tree
TAAMARA DUA PENA A
Shade of mango tree
IRIBAADE E ERIBA RANJE E
That can't be alright, fit

27) EMBEDASANJIRI DUAPANENE MADAPABENE ANDAMA
Under which shade I will tie them
ATE KATAMUNDA MENENJE BEIMUNDA MENENJE
Again testing the hedge poles
AMBA ATIGASI GINA-A GADA GASI GINA A
Should I tie elephant there ?
EMBA A ADAMUE EMBA RANJA MUE
There it can't be ok, fit
KATAJUERI BEIJUERI BASA
Should I tie them with poles on the road
AMBANA MILABANE NA DALIBANE
Here children may come in
NA HATIKE BHARI GADAKE BHARI ANE
Breathing of elephant, horse will touch children
ATI DADU GADA DADU ANE
Ring worm of elephant, horse will spread
ATI KAURA GADA KAURA HUNALI
Disease of elephant, horse will spread (to children)
BAPUNAMBERI PIRANAMBERI ANE
Malaria fever, cold fever will spread

28) ATI DADU DADU ANE
Elephant, horse ring worm will spread
AMBATI AMBAGADA GASPANDI ATE-E
Tying here won't be alright
ATE GUCHELI ATE SANGELI MANENJE
Taking them to another place
ATE KANGARI ATE SINADI MANENJE
Again looking, again observing
TODU RAJI TODU PENU ATANJA
He is the would be king, lord
ATE DUAKANGARA MADAKANGARA MANENJE
Again looking for tree shades
TODI RAJI TODU PENU ATANJA
The would be king, lord
DUA KANGARA MADAKANGARA MANENJE
Looking for tree shades
BADE MARA BANDA MARA MENENJE
Bade tree, Banda tree is there
AMBA ATI AMBA GADA GASNENJE
There tying elephant, horse

29) AMBA ATIRETE GADA RETE INJANE
Here tying elephant, horse will be strong

BADEMARA BASA BANDAMARA BASA
Bademara place, Bandamara place
AMBALAINGAJANE TUKINGAJANE
There it will be ok, it will fit
NAIN ATI NAIN GADA
My elephant, my horse
TATAMARA GUDUNGIMARA DUATA
Under shade of large mango trees
ATIGUSU GADAGUSU RENENJE
Got down from elephant, horse
SIKAD RABDI MANALA
Cleaned the garbages there
SIKARI RABANI NACHE-E TANIPITEGANI KEPNENJE
Unloaded all luggages from elephant, horse
SIELI TAPELI REPNENJE TADINENJE
Put off his turban, cap
DUAGAI MADAGAI
For shade

30) TANI SADHI TANI GUA TANDINENJE
Put off his clothes to sorround the place
DUAGAI MADAGAI ATINI GASNENJE
Started to tie up elephant, horse
ALIMARA TA PIPADI MARA TA
At Mahul tree , Pipadi tree
ATI TINBO GAISI
For elephant to eat
ALIKENA PIPADIKEME SIINENJE
Breaking twigs of Mahul tree, pipada tree
SARASAKI SARAESKI SATEDE
He is feeling very hungry
SUNEL WAINGA SINEL WAINGA ATEDE
Intestine drying up
EJU SILA A KUDU A DINA TA
In the country without water
EMBAOOSARA EMBABEARA ATE E

EJU DELAL KUDU DELAL AISILE E
Water is not seen

31) EMBE EJU EMBE KUDU PANII
Where shall I get water
EMBE EJU EMBE KUDU MANJANI
Where is water

TANU TODU RAJI TANU TODU PENU
He is the king, the lord
EJU KAJA KUDUKAJA SALEBA GABASI
To go for water
TIKA BAMANA BANABANANA EJUGURA AISEE
Water needed to smear on forhead
EJU KAJA KUDUKAJA SANENJE
Went in search of water
SATIKAMBANI GIRITI PDITI KAMBANI GIRITI
PENAKAMBANI GIRITI, MAJAKAMBANI GIRITI
Through penakambari, Majakambari route
EJUKAJA SANENJE, KADU KAJA SANENJE
Went is search of water
RAGAMARA EJUNA BICHUMARA EJUNA
If Ragamara water, Bichumara water

32) PIDELNELA EJUNA, JADEL NELA EJUNA
If Pidelnella water, Judelnella water
ARI ADA MUE RAJI TINBO ADE E
That is not suitable for king to eat
MASANGADIA EJUNA KADANGADIA EJUNA
If Masangdia water, Kadangdia water
KAKIBAKI EJUNA BARA BAKI EJUNA
For kakibaki, Barabaki water
ARI BA A ADE E ARI BA A RANJE - E
That will not be ok, fit
ARI MAJU GATALI ARI BRAHA GATALI
There Sambar is drinking, Boar is drinking
SUSABATA EJUNA PAGARIPADI EJUNA
If Susabata water or Pagerpadi water
KRICHITULA EJUNA SALAPADI EJUNA
If Krichitulla, Salapadi water
NUAMUNDA EJUNA PURNA MUNDA EJU
If Nuamunda water, Purna munda water
ARI KANJA GATALI ARI MUSU GATALI
There monkey's drinking

33) MAHABALI EJUNA PARATIBALI EJUNA
If water of Mahabali or Paratibali
SIRADANDANGI EJUNA SIRA BAKADI EJUNA
If water of Siradandangi, Sira Bakadi
EMBE EJU PANI EE EMBE KUDU PANI EE
Where shall I drink water
SARA SAKI SATEDE SARA ESKI SATE-DE
I am feeling very hungry

EMBE EJU MANJANE EMBE KUDU MANJANE
Where is water available
KAJA SAJI MANENJE SADA SAJI MANENJE
Going in search of water
SINDEKIDI EJUNA BAMBHAKIDI EJUNA
If water of Sindekidi - Bambikidi
DADADA KALA EJUNA MUCHADA KALA EJU
If water of DadakaLa - Muchadakala
LAKA JADA EJUNA BRABA JADA EJU
If water of Semul pool
KRANJA NELA EJUNA BARI NELA EJU
If water of Kranjanella - Barinella

34) UTISIRA EJUNA TANGISIRA EJU
If water of Utisira Tangisira
KUTUDUDI EJUNA BANAJELA EJU
If water of Kutududi - Banajella
NUAMUNA EJUNA PURNAMUNDA EJU

PIJUBANGER EJUNA WIDI BANGER EJU
If water of Pijubanger widbanger
ARI BA-A ADE-E ARI BA-A RANJE-E
That can't be ok, fit
ARI KDANI GATALI ALIGATALI
There tiger is drinking, bear is drinking
EMBE EJU PANI-EE EMBE KUDU PANI-EE
Where shall I drink water
PEDEM NELA EJUNA DASARI NELA EJU
If water of pedem nella Daseri nella
JENDA BEDI EJU SABABEDI EJU
If water of Jendawedi or Sababedi
BARIGATI EJUNA PATIGATI EJU
If water of Barigati and Patigati

35) JATRUKUPDA EJUNA BANAKUPDA EJU
If water of Jatrukupda or Banakupda
SARENA BALI EJUNA JAGERI BALI EJU
If water of SareniVali or Jagerivali
RAPUKARI EJUNA BALI PUKURI EJU
If water of diamond pond or stone pond
ARIBA-A ADE-E ARI BA-A RANJE-E
That can't be ok, can't be fit
ARIPATA GATALI ARIKIRA GATALI
There bird is lying

ARIRIJI TINBANDI ARIPENU TINBANDI THAD-E
It is not worthy of a king, lord
ARI ADO MUE ARI RANJO MUE
That can't be ok, can't be fit
PINGENELA EJUNA GAPAS NELA EJU
If water of Pringenella or Gapasnella
SALUKARI EJUNA BANDIKARI EJU
If water of salukari or Bandikari
TANUTODU RAJI TANUTODU PENU
He is the king man , lord

36) TANUTIKA BAMANA TANU BANA BAMANA
He has smeared his forehead
GUNJINANU BANGAWADA MAHANANU BANGAWADA
Gunjinanu earth, Mahananu earth
MINANDULA DAETI JANANDULA DAETI
Under fishcreeper, crab creeper
TANUKANGIRA NENJE TANU SINARI NENJE
He is looking, he is observing
SISISIDI TENJALI NUNGUNUNGURI TENJALI
Looking glittering, transparent
KEJEL DAKI DAETI RACHAL DAKI DAETI
Under roots of kejel grass bush
ARIPENA EJU ARIPENA KUDU
This is King's water, lord's water
TANUTODU RAJI TANUTODU PENU
He is the king, he is the lord
EJUKAPE-E SANENJE KUDUKAPE-E SANENJE
Going nearer to water
TANU TIBA MANENJE TANUDAI MANENJE
He is promising, taking oath

37) SATE RAJI ATISI SATE PENU ATISI
If I am truely the king, the lord
KEJELDAKI RENAWA RACHELIDAKI RENAWA
On uprooting the bushes
KAJUNIBÁDA SATAMU MALANIBADI SATAMU
May water come out
RAJI ELE ICHISI PENU ELE ICHISI
He can't become the king
EJU SATA SEA KUDU SATASE-A
Water didn't come out
SATE RAJI ATISI SATE PENU ATISI
If really he is the king

PANDA BASI SATAMU DRANGASI SATAMU
Water will come out in flush
ASITIBA MANENJE ASIDAI MANENJE
Again he is promising, taking oath
ACHEKA TIBBAI-A ACHEKA DAI-A
Taking oath to this much
KEJEL DAKI RENENJE RASEL DAKI RENENJE
Again tried to uproot the kejel bushes

38) TANI RENABENA TANI TADINABA
To the time he was uprooting
PATKE MINU DAI BARUL MINU DAI
Bush came out with fishes
ANDIRA GASI SATANE DRA-A GASI SATANE
Water flow came out
ENDA MINU MESA BDASA MINU MESA
With fishes swiming in water
BANDAGASI SATANE DRANGASI SATANE
Water flew through embarkments
SATENE RAJI SATENE PENU
Really he will be the king, the lord !
TANUTODU RAJI TANUTODU PENU

EJU SATAT GAI KUDU SATAT GAI
For water to come out
EJU PDUPKINENJE KUDU PDUPKI NENJE
Water flows on
EJU PDUKCHA NANGA KUDU PDUKCHA NANGA
Bringing water

39) EJU MIEE MANENJE KUDU MIEE MANENJE
Taking water bath
EJU MIA NANGA KUDU MIANANGA
After taking water bath
JIRI JAYEE MANENJE GANDA JAYEE MANENJE
Washing the clothes
JIRAJAmUCHA GANDAJAMUCHA
After washing ofF the clothes
TANUTODU RAJI TANUTODU PENU
He is the king, the lord
EJUDEKI MANENJE KUDUDEKI MANENJE
Taking water
EJU TAPI MANENJE KUDU TAPI MANENJE
Water is flowing

GUNJINANU KATA MAHANANU KATA
From Gunjinanu ,Mahananu
TANUTODU RAJI TANUTODU PENU
He is the king, the lord
TANUTIKA BAMANA TANUBANA BAMANA
He is wearing smear on forehead

40) EJUTACHA NANGA KUDU TACHA NANGA
After bringing water
TANU AKAD MANENJE TANU GANGAD MANENJE
He is thinking deeply
EMBEBAJENDI-EE EMBE ATENDAJI-EE
Where to cook
EJU PAHA ATENA KUDU PAHA ATENA
Water is got
BANI SILA DINATA JUI SILA DINATA
There is no fire
INATNANI NANI-EE INATIJUI NANI-EE
Where to get fire
BADAPAKA TANENJE DAMANI PAKA TANENJE
Brought banyan sticks, Daman sticks
TANURACHE MENENJE TANUTERE MENENJE
Rubbed the sticks to each other
NANI SAIDI SILE-E JUI SAPI SILE-E
There is no fire
DRAMBITULA TANENJE DRAMBIMALA TANENJE
Brought Drambi creeper

41) TERE MEPI MANENJE RACHE MEPI MANENJE
Again rubbed the sticks
NANI SAPI SILE-E JUI SAPI SILE-E
There is no fire
TANUTODU RAJI TANUTODU PENU
He is the king, the lord
ATE AKADAI MANENJE ATE GANGADI MANENJE
Again thinking deeply
RAJI RAJI BATI PENU PENU BATI
He has become the king (in oath)
NANI KILANGA ADI JUI KILANGA ADI
Brought his match box, fire box
NANITPATI MANENJE JUITPATI MANENJE
Rubbing sticks to get fired
NANIBATI RIATE JUIBATI RIATE
(Sticks) Caught fire

INA BERAMU MRASINA INA AKU MRUSINA
Which wood is to be burnt
TANUTODU RAJI TANUTODU PENU
He is the king, the lord

42) MUJEBERAMU TANENJE KAEBERAMU TANENJE
Brought sissoo wood, dry wood
NANI MRUSPI MANENJE JUI MUSPI MANENJE
Added to fire
MERGU MUSA NANGANI AKUMUSA NANGANI
Wood caught fire
NANIBATI RIATE JUIBATI RIATE
Fire is caught
INA WAJENDII INAATENDII
What to cook
INASALU EE INADEBA EE
Where to make hearth
MERA DEKNA TANENJE KETA DEKDA TANENJE
Should crop field soil be brought
ERI BA-A ATE-E ERI BA-A RANJE-E
That can't be
ATE AKADA MANENJE ATE GANGADI MANENJE
Again thinking deeply
TANUTODU RAJI TANUTODU PENU
He is the king, the lord

43) RAJI RAJI BATI PENU PENU BATI
He is the man to be king, be lord
MENDAKATI MANENJE KATAKATI MANENJE
Digging pitting to make earth
KANDA KATENENGA KATAKATE NENGA
After Digging the pits
SALUDAE NANI EBKIMANENJE
Put fire inside hearth
JUI EBKI MANENJE NANI EBKI MANENJE
Went to fire it properly
EJU KATPI MANENJE KUDU KATPI MANENJE
Putting water pot over fire
EJU KANDIMANA KUDU KANDIMANA
Water came to boiling point
EJU KANDITGAI KUDU KANDITGAI
For water came to boiling point
PRANGA KI MANENJE PARA KI MANE
Put rice in water

TANUTODU RAJI TANUTODU PENU
He is the king, the lord

44) BIDIBAJENANGA PAGA BAJENANGA
Cooked rice
BIDI BEIMANE PAGA BEIMANE
Rice was cooked
BIDI BIATGAI PAGA BIATGAI
After finishing cooking rice
BIDI ESPINENJE PAGA ESPIMANE
Brought down rice (from fire)
TANU AKADMANENJE GANGADA MANENJE
He thought deeply
INA AKUPANINE INAGAU PANINE
Where to get leaves
RAJIRAJIBATI PENU PENUBATI
He is the would be king, lord
OOSHATADE LAKU MATA TADELAKU
Banana leaves are right
JENDIKA TA SHA JENDI KANA TA
The foliage leaf of banana
DINGIGATE TANENJE TODA GATE TANENJE
Cut it and brought

45) AKU PAEGAI GAU PAI GAI
After getting leaves
BIDI BAPKI MANENJE PAGABAPKI MANE
Brought rice on leaves
BIDI BAPCHANANGA PAGABAPCHANANGA
After bringing rice (on leaves)
JAU BAJAGAI JAKANA BAJAGAI
For dal to be cooked
ATE EJU KAPTI MANENJE KUDUKAPTI MANENJE
Again put water over fire
EJU KANDIDGAI KUDU KANDITIGAI
For water to be boiled
BRJHANGDALI KINENJE MUGANGDALI KINENJE
Put black gram, green gram in
MASANGDALI KINENJE KRADANG DALIKINE
Put Cajanus gram
MINU UJUKINE JANA UJUKINE
Put a piece of fish
ASAUJU METNENJE PAIUJU METNE
Put flesh of swan

46) KAJU UJU METNENJE MELU METNENJE
Put fowl meat, peacock meat
MERAGUNDA KINENJE SRINGAMUNDA KINENJE
Put turmeric powder
ULIMUNDI KINENJE NASUNIMUNDI KINENJE
Put onion, put garlic
PULARSARU KINENJE PULANUNU RINENJE
Put salt
RAJIRAJENI KINENJE PENU RAJENI KINENJE
Put big chilly
NASUNI INE PUENI RA MANE
Roasted it
LIKE TODU RAJI LIKE TODU PENU
Is it an ordinary king
RANDARUDA TINENJE RANDA PAJA TINENJE
(Who) will eat with one item only
TANUTODU RAJI TANUTODU PENU
He is the king, he is the lord
BIDI TINBOGAI PAGA TINBOGAI
For rice to eat

47) BIDI BARAMANENJE PAGABARA MANENJE
Brought water
TANUTODU RAJI TANUTODU PENU
He is the king , the lord
BIDI TINBOGAI PAGATINBOGAI
For rice to eat
KAJU NABGINENJE MALA NABGINE
Washed his hands
TANUTODU RAJI TANUTODU PENU
He is the king , the lord
TINJAI-INJI GADHA JI-INJI
To eat
RAJI TINJIMANENJE PENU TINJINE
King is eating, Penu is eating
RAJI TINJIMANAWA PENU TINJIMANAWA
After eating up
TANU SALEK SETHI TANU GAPEL SETHI
He is Salek Sethi, Gapel Sethi
MERANG DENENANGA ADANG DENENANGA
Carrying turmeric

48) DAGANG SAJIMANENJE MIRING SAJIMANENJE
Passing through that way

ADE SALEK SETHI ADE GAPEL SETHI
Hey Salek Sethi, Gapel Sethi
NAING TINJIMANAWA NAING GAPI MANAWA
When I am eating
RAJI-INJI GUNANA PENU INJI GVNANA
Don't you know king is eating
NANGE BANGI MANJANDE NANGE DEI MANJA
Passing infront of me
ABADE RAJI ABARE DE PENU
Why king, why lord
MINGE PUNJALA ADENE METALAATANE
I couldn't recognise you
EREK KAPA-A EREK DANGA-A
Don't feel otherwise
JUARIDE RAJI JUARIDE PENU
I alute you king, lord
TANUTODU RAJI TANUTODU PENU
He is the king, the lord

49) TANI TINJIMACHALA-A MEGIMACHALA-A
He finished eating
ADE SALEK SETHI ADE GAPEL SETHI
Hey salek sethi, Gapel sethi
NAI TUDIJUTA NAI TUDI KATA
My left food
TINJIMUNJIN SETHI TINTIMUNJIN SAAN
Will you eat Sethi ?
ABARIDE RAJI ABAREDE PENU
Why king, why lord
GADA KAKA PADA GUDA KAKA PADA
I am like crow who eats here and there
SITAPEKJANDINANA PARA PEKJANDINANA
I am eat on picking up the left
TANU SALEK SETHI TANU GAPEL SETHI
He is salek sethi, Gapel sethi
RAJI TUTALA-A PENU TUTALA-A
The king's left
TANU TINJIMANENJE TANU GOPI MANE
He is eating

50) TINJAJIANANGA GIAJIANANGA
After he ate up
RAJITICHIKALI PENU TICHIKALI
To the king's leaf plates

TANU SALEK SETHI TANU GAPEL SETHI

KALI APIMANENJE DANA APIMANENJE
He is taking leafplates, cups away
NAKI APIMANE JARI APIMANE
To throw in stream
TANU SATE EJUE SETE KUDU E
To water places
NAKI RACHINE MANENJE JARI RACHIMANENJE
Washing the pots, (utensils)
TANU SALEK SETHI TANU GAPEL SETHI
He is Salek sethi, Gapel sethi
TANI KALILA ANI TANI DANA LA-ANI
Bringing his leaf plates, cups
TANI TELI NANDI TANI MALI NANDI
Threw in Tel river

51) KALI PANDIMANE DANA PANDI MANENJE
Throwing the leaf plates in water
JANA UNASATA MINU UNASATA
To fish house, crab house
SAE TELI NANDIAMU MALI NANDIAMU
Take them to Tel river, Mohanadi river
EJU SE-EMBI AKANG KUDU SE-EMBI AKANG
May it be tortoise in water
TANI BIDIPARA DITALI PAGAPARA DITALI
That left rice
ENDA MINU AKAMU KRASA MINU AKA
May it be fishes
MERA PALURI DITALI STINGA PALARI DINALI
The turmeric peels
KANJA BES AKAMU MUSU BESKA AKAMU
May it be algae
ACHEK TUTELIANANGA BANGE LIANANGA
Telling this much
TANU SALEK SETHI TANU GAPEL SETHI
He is Salek Sethi, he is Gapel Sethi

52) RAJIBASA MANENJE PENU BASA MANENJE
Went to the king, the lord
TANU TODU RAJI TANU TODU PENU
He is the king, the lord
BADA BIJI SANERE SADA BIJI SANERE
Returned to the king, the lord

ADE SALEK SETHI ADE GAPEL SETHI
Hey Salek sethi, Gapel sethi
RA MERA TANATI RA STINGA TANATI
Taking only one turmeric
SHAE ASUGADA SAE BRINJA GADA
Go to the low countries
NULU KADI SAGAMU DRASI KADI SAGAMU
To buy threads
KARA KADI SAGAMU LUGA KADI SAGAMU
Go to buy clothes
KANGANAKARU KADAMU KEKANAKARU KADAMU
Go to buy bullocks, buffalloes
DEBARI EE MANGAMU BANAJII MANNGA
Go to do a business there

53) RA MERA TANATI RA STINGA TANATI
Taking only one turmeric
KADE NINALI PANE-E AHE NINANIPANE-E
Buying not buying people
BANDIK KICHE MANALA LATAT KITE MANALA-A
What they would be keeping in pots
MASHALACHA LAPA ADA LACHA LAPA
Bring from them on measuring
ADEK TUTELI IZEE SANERE BANKELIZI SANERE
Promise this much
SALMU NEDE SETHI SALMU NEDE SANI
Go down sethi
INUBAAD RAZI INUBAAD PENU
You are the right king, right lord
NI SANIGIRI NI RENIGIRI
On your path
KADI SAJI MANABARA LANI SAJA MANABARA
People might be doing problems
ANI THAJAMANABA BENITHAJAMANABA
Might have been cut, murdered

54) KATI SAJA MANABARA JIEE SAJA MANABARA
If they have murdered one
KADI SE E NE MU LACHI SE E NEMU
Demand them bribe
MILA PURI NEMU DALI PANJI NEMU
May you help the children, kids
MANA RUPE PANGA MANA TAKA PANGAMU
You will get measures of money,paise

ASI BADABAJI SANERA SADA BIJI SANERA
Go like that
TODU RAJIMESA TODU PENU MESA
With the would be king, lord
BADABISANERA SADA BIJI SANERA
They went
RIZISAZINENJE PENU SAJIMANENJE
The king is going
RAJI SACHIKATA PENU SACHIKATA
After the king, the lrd
SETHI SAJINENJE SANI SAJINENJE
Sethi is going

55) RAJIKATA BIHIT PENUKATA BIHIT
The king's tale ends
IRIBATI ADITE IRIBATI RANJITE
Now it's ok, its right
TANU AKAD MANENJE TANU GANGAD MANENJE
Again he is thinking deeply
ISI AKAT MACHIS ADE E GANGAD
It will not be , if only thoughts
TANU EDU MANENJE TANU BUDHI MANENJE
He is thinking deeply
INI SATISI ADINE INISATISI RANJINE
How to do , how it will fit
DAEN SAPANGADA DAEN SARCHANGADA
Under Sapangada, under Sarchangada
WEDA SILADAE LANJU SILADAE
Where there is no sun, no moon
SATAANDARADAE SATA KADA KDAE
In full darkness
BIRA MUGURDAE BALI MUGVR DAE
Into the earth

56) MALASILA DAE DUPASILA DAE
Where no lamps, no torch
PAE RANIPALU DAEN BENDIPALU
Under the Ranipalu-Bendipalu
DAEN BANGADAE DAEN NELADAE
Under the earth

57) DAEN DARNI DAE DAEN JAKER DAE
Under the Darni

Appendix - 1.1 (C)

LETTERS AND CIRCULARS

Govt Of Orissa.
H & TW Department.
No.Stat. 38/89 18482/HTW, Dtd. 12.6.89 Bhubaneswar.

From

Sir G.Mohan Kumar IAS.,
Directer Tribal Welfare Cum Joint Secy.to Govt.
Govt. of Orissa, Bhubaneswar

To ,

The Commissioner cum Secy.
Health and FW Department

Sub : Family Welfare programme in its relation to tribal society.

Madam,

In inviting a ref. to let No. V.13011/3188-ply. dated 30th Mar. 89 of the minister of H & FW Govt. of India (copy enclosed), I am directed to enclose a statement showing the community wise tribal population of Orissa as per 1971 & 1981 census, percentage of growth from 1951 to 1981 census and list of primitive tribes included under the major tribal groups in Orissa for reference by the field officer in implement of FW scheme in tribal areas as per Govt of Indias's guidline.

The Deptt. may kindly be intimated of the action taken in matter

Yours faithfully

Dir. TD. Cum Jt.Secy to Govt.

No.V.13011/3/88 Ply.
Govt of India.
Ministry of H & FW (Department of FW) New Delhi.
Date. 30.3.89

To,

The Chief Secys, all the states/UTS

Sub : FW programs in its relation to tribal society.

Sir,

I am directed to draw your attention to our letter no V-13011/3/88 ply. dated 9.1.89 on the subject noted above and to say that various communications have been received from states/U.T.S whereby copies of letters noted in the Margin of the above mentioned letters, have been asked for. The same are enclosed here with for further necessary action.

Yours faithfully

Ramesh Chandra.
Under Secy. (Policy)

Copy to.

1. Health Secys. of all states & U.Ts.
2. Dir of Health services of all states & U.Ts
3. State Family Welfare officers of all states and U.Ts.
4. All regional Dirs of the Ministry of H & FW

KG.Verma
Section officer (Policy)

No.V. 13011/3/88-ply
Govt of India
Ministry of H & FW, (Deptt of FW)

To,

The Chief secys. all states/ U.Ts.

Sub : FW Programme in its relation to tribal society.

Sir,

I am directed to invite you attention to these ministry's letters quoted in the

margin regarding implementation of the FW programme in tribal areas and to say that instructions contained theirin do not in some cases appear to have reached the field level. It is reiterated that programme in tribal areas should not be implemented mechanically and their should be more emphasis in the FW components in such areas and the out reach health care and MCH services arrangement (including immunisation) should be strengthened and care taken to improve nutritional status as part of an integrated effort. i.e. programme amongst the numerically small and extremely backward tribal population should be sensitively implemented as to ensure balanced development, well being and health care of these groups, tribes facing the prospect of extinction should not be subjected to an intensive family planning drives. It is requested that these instruction may be conveyed to all concerned and their observance ensured.

2. There is also need for clear identification of tribal areas, where FP Programme should be differentially implemented and few staff may perform better if particular tribes are identified for whom FP prog. should be implemented only along with an economic package within the tribal subplan. Such a programme should ordinarily be implemented among such tribes only after fulfilling following conditions.

(a) The birth rate of the particular S.T is above the natural and state average rate.

(b) A package of economic measures suited to the locality and the ethos of the concerned tribe study sanctioned (community and individual base) for the S.T.

(c) The S.T concerned excepts the prog. voluntarily

(d) The areas where such ST is concentrated is covered under ICDS and the primary Health supporting such centres be already estab lished there in.

(e) The area should be covered by Rural Banking System so that prog. like ERDP could be effectively implemented.

(f) Govt. Progs. relating to employment generation, particularly the women are identified in consultation with the covered agencies, including voluntary agencies and suitable economic package worked out for implementation.

3. It is requested that a committee of state level may be constitu to identify areas where PW Progs. should not be implemented as effecting primitive tribes and in other cases, the lighting of particular tribes for whom the prog. Should be implemented after fulfilling the conditions mentioned in para II above. The committee may also chalk out guidelines for economic package for the tribes and provide funds required under tribal sub-plan and other plan schemes for implement-

ing the programme. The committee may consist of secys. in charge of tribes, H & FW & Planning.

Yours faithfully

S.K.Alok.
Jointt. Secretary

Copy to

1.Health Secys. of all states & U.Ts.
2. Dir of Health Services of all states and U.Ts.
3. State family welfare officers of all states / U.Ts.
4. All Regional Dirs of Ministry of H & FW.

K.G.Verma.
Section officer (policy).

Mrs Saria Grewal, IAS.
Addl Secretary and
Commissioner (TW)

D.O.No.N.28011/1/78.PLY.
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF HEALTH &
FAMILY WELFARE
(DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY
WELFARE).
New Delhi, dated 6.5. 1978.

Sir,

I wish to draw your attention to this Department's letter No. N. 28011/1/75.PLy. dated the 16th,July,1976 and earlier communication of the same number dated 31.10.75. You are also aware that at the conference of state Health Ministers held on the 28th/29th July,1977 the special problems of tribal and backward areas were considered and the following recommendations was made.

"It was agreed that in tribal areas population control should not be propagated. At the same time MCH.Services as well as other general health care services should be strengthened in these areas".

"It was unanimously felt that in the promotion of family welfare programme, police, excise and revenue staff should not be involved".

These recommendations were accepted in to and were forwarded to the state Government.

You most have also received our communications regarding levels of performance to be achieved during 1978-79. These have been sent to you vide my U.U.letter No. Q.11011/2/78-PLY.dated 29.4.1978. A fear has been expressed that the implementation as the family welfare programme in the tribal areas is done mechanically and due attention is not given to their need for the strengthening of general health care and maternity and child health services. In such areas the need is for laying greater emphasis on welfare activities rather than on population control. I am confident that you would please ensure that the implementation as the family welfare programme amongst such numerically small and extremely backward tribal population is in the right and the population control measures are not thrust on the people unless specifically requested. Maternity and child health schemes under the family welfare programme in such area should be given increasing attention. The Tribal Welfare Department of your State will be in a position to help identify such tribal population groups as we threatened with extinction in the longrun on win to their stagnant or negative growth rate. In such areas the population control measures need not be pushed, the services for maturity and child health including immunization and improvement of nutritional status should be given special attention.

I shall be gratful if you kindly appraise me of the action taken in this regard after consultation with the Tribal Welfare Department of your State.

Yours Sincerely,

Serla Grewal.

J.S.Baijal,IAS.
Additional Secy. and
Commissioner (FW)

D.O.No. M.12014/4/81-E&I
Government of India.
Ministry of Health and
Family Welfare.
New Delhi, dt.10.8.1982).

Please refer to my letter of even number, dated 31.3.1982, intimating the targets for 1982-83. It seems approach to be adopted in some tribal populations.

I would like to clarify that the intention was to go slow on family planning only in respect of certain tribes which have either stagnant population or we declining in numbers.

2. I am enclosing here with, copy of letter No. 1404/JS/TD/78. dt.25-4-1978 from Dr.B.D.Sharma, Joint Secretary Ministry of Home Affairs which formed the basis of enunciating a new strategy for adoption among selected tribes. As stated in para-1 of that letter our basic problems in the case of some of these communities is the stagnant population and in some cases they are declining numbers. Dr. Sharma had stated that state govts. mechanically fixed the targets for different areas and regions which results that some of the tribes facing extinction become the target of intensive family planning programme.

3. In the light of these, it was suggested that we should adopt, a Maternal and Child Welfare approach instead family planning approach for this section of the community so that their well being and health is fully ensured in para-9 of my letter referred to above. I would like to reiterate that this approach should be restricted to tribal population which are either stagnant or so declining numbers. In all other tribal population it is necessary to have the normal family planning approach particularly among many tribes which, according to the census report, showing a highest growth rate then all India average.

** That there has been some misunderstanding about the.....

Yours faithfully,
Sd/

Copy of

D.O letter No.1404/JS. (TD) 78,
Dr.B.D.Sharma, Joint Secretary, C.O.I.,
Ministery of H & F.W.
(Deptt. of Family Welfare) New Delhi.
Dated 21st April, 78

Sub :- Family planning programme amongst certain tribes and AREAS.

We have discussed some time back the problems of some of the more backward tribal communities small in size and living in spousely population inaccessible areas. Many of these communities and areas are still deprived of any medical facilities and infant mortality amongst them is high. It has also been recently brought out that they have a high incidence of sickle cell anaemia which reduced

the general expectancy of lift. Our basic problem in the case of some of these communities is their stagnant population and in some cases their declining number. Some of them are likely to disappear unless certain effective measures are taken.

2. The Government of Madhya Pradesh have recently raised this question in a letter addressed to us (copy enclosed for ready reference). The desirability of having family planning programme in the more spousely populated tribal areas have been under discussion for quite some time and it was agreed that the approach in their case has to be that of family welfare rather than that of family planning. In actual practice, however, there is no difference in the programmes in the field and the state Governments, Mechanically fixed targets form different areas and regions which results that even some of the tribes facing extinction become the target of intensive family planning programme. It is these groups who are most afraid of the authority and who can be subjected to explicit or inflict pressure. It is easiest to achieve target amongst these groups. In the light of these circumstances it appears that it will be necessary to have a clear policy about family planning programme in respect of these tribal areas which are extremely backward and sparsely populated and those tribal groups which are small in size and whose numbers are declining.

3. I shall be grateful if these facts are considered by the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare and an appropriate policy frame is evolved for this. I shall be happy to come up for discussion in this regard at your convenience.

With regards.

D.O.No.28011/1/85-PLY.
SECRETARY
MINISTRY OF HEALTH
& FAMILY WELFARE.
NEW DELHI - 110011
December, 30th, 1985

As you know, Family Welfare Programme is of prime rational importance today and the Prime Minister is himself reviewing the performance under the programme every month. While we have to direct all our efforts at bringing about a sharp decline in the birth rate, we must ensure that these are in keeping with the Government's commitment of pursing the programme on voluntary basis as a people's movement.

2. While the programme is to be pursued zealously, we have to be especially careful in dealing with the tribal areas where the population of certain communities are either stagnant or declining. A need has, therefore, been felt to reiterate our earlier guidelines regarding the approach to be adopted for promoting the programme in such areas. May I, in this connection, draw your attention to the circulars issued by this ministry in the two D.O. communications No. N.28011/1/78 ply. dated 6th May, 1978 and M. 12014/4/81 - E&I dated 10th August, 1982. These instructions prescribe that the programme should not be implemented mechanically in these areas and due attention should be given to the need for strengthening the general health care and meeternal and child health services including immunisation and improvement of nutritional status. These should be greater emphasis on welfare activities in such areas.

3. You may kindly ensure that the implemenation of the family welfare programme amongst the numerically small and extremely backward tribal population is done in the right spirit in order to ensure balanced development well-being and health of these groups. Your State Tribal Welfare Department must have identificatted such vulnerable groups in your state already. However, for your convenience I am enclosing a list of primitive tribal groups identified by Ministry at Home Affairs indicating the approximate population which required special attention. I sincerely hope that you will feel the pulse of the programme and ensure that tribes facing extinction may not be subjected to any intensive family planning drives.

With regards.

Your's sincerely,

(S.S.Dhanda)

Appendix - 1.2

(From Vitebsky, P.1993)

LIST OF SONUMS RECORDED IN ALINSING
(excluding 'Ancestor', *idai*)

Cagetories given here were recorded in *Alinsing* village. The *Sonums* listed under each of these headings are their sub-Experiences which cause illness but do not in themselves cause death or store victims (though in usage these names sometimes serve as synonyms for the main categories under which I have grouped them). The main Experiences remain constant throughout the area studied by me, though other villages would give a slightly different repertoire of sub-Experiences. A discussion of the symptoms associated with each of these categories would make this appendix unnecessarily long and complex.

1. Uyung-sim (sun-sonum)

General imagery: heat fire, burns and lesions, blacksmithing, dissolution of form, redness, menstrual blood, formation foetus, swallowing, abortion, Telugu cowherds, Gansi blacksmiths (both low castes).

Residence: in the Sun, in Uyung-sing(Sun-House)

Sub-Experiences attacking adults as well as children.

Uyung-boi	Sun-Woman
Anggai-sim	Moon-sonum
Anggai-boi	Moon-woman
Mo'mo'yung	Dumb-sun
Kika yung	Imbecile-sun
Id-tang-yung	Hit-cow-sun
Id-tang-joma	Hit-cow-Yama (Hindu God of death)
Su-yung-tar	Painful-sun-vein
Godu-sim	Cowherd-sonum
Godu-boi	Cowherd-woman

Duri-sim	Lumbago-sonum.Hobble-sonum
Duri-boi	Lumbago-woman
Gobgob-dur	Sitting-Down-Lumbago
So-boi	Decomposing-woman
Madu-sim	Leprosy-sonum
	[a sonum sometimes credited with its own residential site and ability to cause death: associated with skin disorders caused by a Sun's scorching (Umdrab) such as leprosy, leucoderma, external tubercular scars, various lesions, boils, gangrene, etc.]

Sub-Experiences attacking infants and nursing mothers.

A-budbud-sim	Maggot-sonum
A-denung-ki	Shove-out[of foetus in miscarriage]
A-dulang-sim	[translation uncertain]
A-Jora-sim	Stream-sonum
A-Komoria	[translation uncertain]
Anar-jo	[?]-Smear[with medicine]
A-saleng-da-nod	Waterpot-shelf-python
Lur-jad	Python-snake
Mo-gai-sim	Moon-Eclipse-sonum [literally Moon-swallowing sonum]
Mo-gai-Yung	Moon-Eclipse-sun [literally Moon-Swallowing]
Sindin-ar-jo	[?]-smear[?]
Til-jang-drama	Bury-Bone-[?]
Ural-sim, Ural-ba-sim	Bud-Drop-Sonum
Balong	'the falling of a seed before it can be harvested'.
A-baro-sim	Baro-Tree-sonum
A-lud-sing-boi	Dark-House-Woman

2. KANI-SIM (convulsion-,Epilepsy-,spasm-sonum)

General symptoms : Convulsions, epilepsy, spasms.
Residence : associated with the sun and moon but has one Kani-sing (convulsion House) in a clump of bushes outside each village.

Sub-Experiences:

Kani-yung	Epilepsy-Sun
Kani-anggai	Epilepsy-Moon
Kani-boi	Epilepsy-Woman
Kindal-Kan	Basket-Weaver's-Epilepsy
Su-tar-dib-kan	Painful-Vein-Loin-Epilepsy
Tanong-da-kan	Dancing-Water-Epilepsy
Nardabul	[Untranslatable]
Naning	[Untranslatable]

3. LABO-SIM (Earth-Sonum)

General imagery :	Water sources, coolness, wholeness of person or of kin group, blocking of bodily orifices including death in child birth, can also seduce victims sexually.
Residences	there is a distinctively named Lobo-sing (Earth-House) in every spring and water source, amounting to many around each village and throughout the jungle.

Sub-Experiences :

Kinad-lo	Crab-Earth
Langgi-boi-sim	Lovely-Girl-Sonum
Pang-sal-sim	Take-Wine-Sonum [i.e. a sonum which marries its victim]
Lobo-sim-tui	Earth-Sonum-Star [causes erotic dreams of copulating with a star].

4. KINA-SIM [LEOPARD-SONUM]

General imagery	attack by leopard, clawing or nibbling sensations, furriness, growling.
Residence	One Kina-sing (Leopard-House) in a rock outside each village.

Sub-Experiences :	
Jojo-mar	Grandmother-Man
Bena	(name of the first leopard victim)
Kurkur-pung-sim	Rumble-Tummy-Sonum
Sani-sun	[untranslatable]

5. RA'TUD-SIM [RA'TUD (untranslatable)-sonum]

General imagery	associated with paths and journeys; sudden onset of illness; coughing of blood.
Residence	One Ra'tud-sing(Ra'tud-House) at a main path - junction outside each village.
Sub-Experiences:	
Tangor-sim	Path-Sonum
Kidtung	Kidtung [associated with Ra'tud in certain contexts only]
Ba-kidtung	Twice-kidtung
Kamba-tung	Kidtung's bear(with which Ra'tud hunts down victims)
Ro-nu-jel-sim	Impale-snout-Pig-Sonum
Badong	[a certain hill-slope)
Dirama	[name of an original Ra'tud victim]
Jedu-il	Become-jedu [i.e. absorbs victim on path uphill, towards Jedu Saora territory]
Sarda-il	Become - Sarda [ditto, on path downhill, towards Sarda Saora territory]
Kansid-il	Become-Khond [ditto, on path to wards Khnod territory]
Badbad-kanti-boi	Immured-Woman [a woman once walled up by an Oriya raja]

6. RUGA-BOI(Smallpox-Woman)

General imagery	a sonum from the plains, associated with epidemic disease, peacocks and the goddess Durga; speckles,pustules, rashes.
Residence	Victims reside somewhere in the plains.
Sub-Experiences	
Mardi-sim	Cholera-Sonum
Babu-sim	Clerical-Officer-Sonum
Buyi-boi	[?]-woman
Gal-bed-sim	Bundle-[Peacock]-Feather sonum
Gusara	[Untranslatable]
Kukun-boi	Cough-Woman
Mandua-sim	Temple-Sonum
Udeng-mar-ku	[Strangled in a] Noose-Peacock-Cough
Ranggi-sim	Wind-Sonum
Sinol-boi	Rash-Woman
Yuyu-boi	Grandmother-Woman

7. TANAI-SIM(SORCERY SONUM)

Activated by a living sorcerer, this works only in conjunction with another residential experience with which the sorcerer makes a pact. Includes Guru-sim, 'Guru-Sonum', the Sorcercer's teacher and familiar.

Residence	One Tanaising(Sorcery-House) outside each village. Victims reside here soon after their death but soon move to the residence of the Experience into which they have been ensorcelled (ab-taj-)

8. OTHER, MISCELLANEOUS SONUMS

Tudtum-sim	Lizard-sonum [Makes children as thin as a lizard]

Keru-sim	Monkey-Sonum [Makes children as thin as a Monkey]
Tangsir-bob	Tangsir-Tree-Head [causes acute headaches]
Buto	[ghosts of dead Oriyas]
Duba-sim	Obstruction-Sonum. Propping-Up-Sonum
Rauda	From a root meaning 'lose consciousness': a Shaman's familiar sonum, herself a former shaman, who guides the shaman to the underworld where she herself resides. Ilda a Shaman's familiar sonum : a Telugu or Oriya Kshatriya whom the Shaman marries in the under world. Resides in the underworld and on mountain tops.

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